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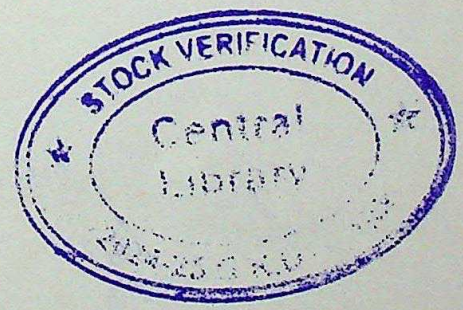

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THE

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SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, *Bar-at-Law.*

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INDIAN HIGHER EDUCATION: A CRITICISM.—I.

By the Rev. Prof. C. F. Andrews, M.A.

HIGHER Education in India is of such primary importance in national development that any serious discussion of its problems which is based on personal experience may be of some value, however tentative and hesitating the conclusions. I confess that in my own experience, the difficulties of the present situation loom larger than their solution, and I have no cut and dried remedies to offer. Criticism is always easier than construction and this paper may well be open to the charge of vagueness and indefiniteness. Yet the first steps of a constructive policy are often reached by an examination of defects, and positive positions are not unfrequently attained by the *via negativa.*

In what follows I have in view the great bulk of the higher education of the country which is now directed and controlled by the State. I shall not deal with those deeply interesting efforts which are being made apart from State-aid or State-control. These latter are already of great importance and will be of greater importance in the future, but the chief practical problem of the present is that afforded by State Universities and Colleges, and to these only attention will be called. I regret this limitation, but the subject is a very large one and it is best to deal with a definite area.

Two factors stand out clearly in Government Higher Education :—

(i) The employment of English as the medium of teaching and as the chief subject of study.

(ii) The absence of all direct religious teaching.

To the latter must now be added what amounts in practice to the absence of all direct teaching on political and national subjects.

(i) The spread of English has been one of the most remarkable factors making for national unity in modern India. It has moulded and fashioned the educated classes of different provinces and different

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religions into a compact body, with common conceptions and common ideals and in the main a common programme of reform. It has made National gatherings possible and a National movement feasible. The very fact that the New Spirit has shown itself, first of all, among the English-educated, and has spread from them to the masses, is in itself a striking testimony to the strength of English education as a factor making for National unity in India.

On the other hand, the danger has at times been near at hand that this very factor of English education might denationalize rather than nationalize, and destroy unity rather than create it,—making a new English-educated 'caste' in India entirely divorced by sentiments and ideas from the common people. I believe that this danger is now practically over, and that the strong conservative force, which is so marked a feature of the Indian mind, together with the New Spirit of modern India, have at last conquered the insurgent 'anglicising' tendency and dealt it a death-blow from which it can hardly recover.

Once again there has been the obvious advantage arising from the study of English that educated Indians in every province have been brought rapidly, indeed almost forcibly, into line with the conditions of modern progress. It is hard to see how this could have come about so quickly except by the study at first hand of English Literature and Western Science. The former has rekindled in Indian minds the sentiments of freedom, equality and nationality; the latter has made real once more the great material world and revealed its possibilities; it has also created what may be called the scientific temper and destroyed innumerable antiquated superstitions.

Yet in spite of all these great advantages the mind of India has been in danger all the while of starving for want of its own proper and peculiar food. Knowledge of the West has too often been purchased at the cost of ignorance of the East. Vernaculars have remained undeveloped, ancient literature has been left unexplored, while English has been imperfectly mastered. The attempt to think in a foreign and unfamiliar language has stunted originality, and in a large proportion of cases the struggle to obtain fluency in English has taken the place of acquirement of higher culture. The price has been paid, but it has been a heavy one, and the question again and again is asked with misgiving: Will the results obtained by this method be ever equivalent to those that come from indigenous learning? On the whole, the answer seems to be in the affirmative; the compensations outweigh the losses. But the problem of the future, if English is to be continued, is to find a means whereby the losses will not be so serious as they have been in the past. A more genuine harmony

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between Western knowledge and Eastern culture must be made possible, if the true Indian spirit is to be nourished and strengthened by the education given.

(ii) Government neutrality in the matter of religion has had its great advantages in a country which has been distracted for centuries by religious dissensions. The growth of a spirit of tolerance in modern India has been in no small measure due to this neutrality. It may be justly argued that the decrease of the old narrow spirit of intolerance among the educated is due in some measure to the absence of religious teaching of any kind in Government Colleges, which has made a common platform for Hindu and Musalman possible. The fact that these two great sections of the community have now for some generations sat side by side in the same class rooms, with no religious susceptibilities wounded and no controversial passions stirred, has brought about a rapprochement between the different sections of the community. The truth underlying the somewhat doubtful phrase that a man should be 'an Indian first and a Hindu or Musalman afterwards' has been learnt in the school of religious neutrality and has accounted for the dying away of much bigotry and oppression. Tolerance begets tolerance, and there can be little doubt that Government religious neutrality, especially in the field of education, has borne fruit.

Yet, on the other hand, the danger has been very near at hand that in the process of laying aside religious differences, religion itself should be laid aside, and that religious neutrality might result in religious apathy. But the strong conservative force in the Indian mind, which has been already mentioned, has asserted itself in this sphere also, and the deep-rooted hold on religion among the people has averted in a great measure the danger. I wholly disagree with the *Times'* indictment of the Indian student in a recent leading article as irreligious and atheistic, and I have already written strongly, both in India and in England, on the unfairness of the charge. With regard to Sir Bamfylde Fuller's attack in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, I can only assert from my own personal experience as a Tutor and Professor that it was as vindictive and cruel as it was ignorant and uncalled for. While all this is true and needs stating clearly in answer to accusations, yet at the same time it cannot be said that the danger of religious indifference is passing away. Rather it may be taken for granted that the religious spirit is bound to grow weaker on account of neglect. The complete absence of direct religious teaching in Government colleges and the extremely small place given to moral teaching cannot fail to be increasingly harmful, and the wonder is that the Indian student has not long ago deteriorated under such unsatisfactory conditions.

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I cannot believe that it would now be difficult to teach the fundamentals of religion and morality without trenching on controversial ground or hurting religious susceptibilities. Now that people are beginning to understand one another better and tolerance is widespread, the present secular education might reasonably give place to an education of a wider and more spiritual character, in which the highest motives and sanctions of mankind could be appealed to, and moral character be moulded by direct instruction.

The absence of teaching on political and national subjects will come up for discussion later in this paper and nothing need be said about it at this point.

With some of the problems of Indian Higher Education thus roughly stated, it may be of interest to consider, by way of illustration, certain expressions of opinion which have been recently published in the Indian Press. I shall take for criticism those that represent three different schools of thought,—first of all, what may be called the old-fashioned point of view, secondly, that which represents a modern Indian Civilian's opinions on the subject, and, last of all, the statements of a young Indian Nationalist.

I would first quote from the conclusion of a very kindly paper of the old type of thought from the pen of Mr. C. W. Whish, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, which appeared recently in the *Indian Review*. It rubs up every nerve that is sensitive in the younger generation of Educated India. Le tme give the passage, italicising the phrases that grate most and call for strongest criticism :—

> The leaders of Indian thought may be recommended to study Roman History and compare the prospects of that France of Asia—Hindustan—with what actually happened in the case of European France, or rather Gaul. *The Gallic chieftains recognized that their political condition afforded no prospect of successfully building up a great Nation, and unreservedly accepted the Roman Leadership*.....Had the Gauls not *accepted the situation*, had they continued to strive for independence before they were ready for it, there would have been no French Nation, in more than one sense the successor of Rome—Europe would have been 'barbarised' instead of being Romanised. That will be the fate of India if she tries prematurely to push away the guiding hand of Britain. Let no craving for popularity induce her leaders to adopt such a suicidal policy.

This analogy between Gaul and India is brought forward in all seriousness by the retired Indian Civil Servant who claims for it the acceptance of all right-thinking Indians to-day. The use of this analogy goes back to the days of Macaulay and Trevelyan, who based on it an educational policy which was, in Macaulay's own words, 'to make the Hindu more English than Indian' and so attach him to England by the strongest of all ties,—the tie of sentiment. It is an analogy with a remarkable history behind it, for it turned the scale in favour of the adoption of English as the medium of Indian Higher Education and thus set once for all the type of teaching to be adopted. The practical gain of that step, in spite of the

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false premises on which it was taken, I have already discussed in the pages of the *Modern Review*. The fallacy underlying the analogy remained for a long time unchallenged. Professor Seeley glories in it in the second part of *The Expansion of England* and writes a whole chapter upon it; and though in modern times its inadequacy has been exposed again and again, it reappears constantly in English books on India and is evidently still regarded as valid by Mr. Whish.

Yet it is easy to point out the difference between Gaul in the time of Caesar, with no single literary, scientific or philosophic achievement,—a country sunk in barbarism—, and India with her Vedas and Upanishads, her Epics and Dramas, her art and culture, her ancient science and philosophy. If Gaul had nothing to choose but 'barbarism' or 'Romanism,' India is in no such poverty-stricken condition. She has treasures of her own of priceless worth. Mr. Whish would imply that if India does not become 'anglicised' she must become 'barbarised.' Such can be the only interpretation of his phrase,—'This will be the fate of India.' The use of the word 'barbarise' of India in this connexion is an insult akin to the average Englishman's use of the word 'native,'—it seems to imply, that the Indian, if left to himself, is but little removed from the savages of Central Africa! It displays the grossest carelessness concerning Indian History and Indian traditions and it is difficult to read it with patience. One's whole soul revolts against the use of such words, and it is time that such analogies were dropped once and for all. India, it cannot be too often repeated, has achieved a higher civilisation in the past than any other country of the world, with the possible exception of Greece. For India to 'accept the situation' and become anglicised, as Mr. Whish appears to recommend, would be a disaster to the human race. Only Indians can restore and carry forward their own national ideals and traditions, and if, instead of attempting this, they blindly forfeit their own identity in a fatuous pursuit of Western methods, the whole world will be the poorer and India herself will be bankrupt indeed!

But apart from this obvious criticism there are two considerations which may well afford 'to give us pause' before accepting for a moment this anglicising ideal of Mr. Whish. First of all, it is hardly too much to say that the lesson to be learnt from the Roman Provinces is one of warning rather than imitation. The demoralization brought about among the higher Provincials by 'Romanizing' education has been recently pointed out in no sparing terms. A great English historian has just told us that this education produced a type of higher Provincial in the Roman Empire who was at once 'corrupt, insolent, servile and incapable.' The more sedulously this

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'Romanising' education was cultivated, the more Art, Poetry and Literature declined, and life sank to a low moral and intellectual level. It stimulated merely the feeblest exotic culture and destroyed the very springs of originality and genius. Is India to become anglicised with the prospect of such fruits?

Secondly, the theory of education itself has been largely revised during the last thirty or forty years and new principles have come clearly to light, owing both to experimental and evolutionary study. Education itself is becoming more and more regarded as a science, with fixed laws of its own which cannot be transgressed with impunity. It is now seen, as it was not understood in Macaulay's time, that true education must proceed from within and lay hold of every innate faculty and indigenous instinct. It must work with and through Nature and not destroy her handiwork. The wholesale transplantation of a foreign culture into an unsuitable soil, the cutting adrift of the tender human plant from its own natural environment,—such things are as antiquated and unscientific in the eyes of the modern educationalist as astrology and alchemy are in other spheres. The whole trend of modern thought is in the direction of education on indigenous lines.

Whatever may be decided therefore concerning Indian Education this theory of anglicising must be consigned to the limbo of outworn ideas, and advice must be sought on sounder and more modern lines than those laid down by the retired Indian Civilian.

In striking contrast to the advice given by Mr. Whish has been the recent address to educated Indians of Sind delivered at Karachi by Mr. H. N. Crouch, Additional Judicial Commissioner. It is a welcome sign of the more modern Indian Civilian's position, and does credit to the Service. With an enthusiasm that is altogether commendable, Mr. Crouch advocates the pursuit of Indian ideals in Literature, Music and Art. He points out the folly and fatuity of the anglicising process and condemns the make-shift for education which is now being given in our Colleges as altogether unsatisfying and inadequate. He says as follows—I italicise the special points of contrast with Mr. Whish :—

> Realize that you have to construct an entirely new scheme of national life; you have to devise a scheme for training, disciplining, strengthening and developing the characters of your sons and daughters, *suited to your climate, social conditions and race characteristics.* You have to lay the foundations and build up a *strong national character.* And in this task *you must not rely on the limitation of Western examples.* Even in the more advanced and refined departments of intellectual education *the need of modifying Western methods to suit Eastern conditions is apparent.* . . . Develop a solid belief in yourselves and in your own possessions; get rid of *this demoralising idea,* that progress necessarily means a close imitation of European customs and methods. . . . Your future poets must be nurtured on old Indian poetry, they must get their inspiration from sympathy with their own people. . . . A

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true poet, a "seer" in the full meaning of the word, would give you more real help, than all the politicians put together. If you ever find one, cherish him; but *for the sake of all you most value, see that you keep him a pakka Indian.*

Most of what Mr. Crouch propounds is admirable and wholly in accord with all that modern educational theory requires. How utterly different is the tone from Mr. Whish's advice about imitating 'Romanizing' Gaul! But the pity of it is that the writer does not carry his ideas to their legitimate issue. Having pleaded for a truly national art, literature and music and rejected with righteous indignation the pursuit of merely Western customs and methods, he stops short at the very name of 'politics,' implying that such a subject had better be left alone and the attention of students turned to other channels. One feels inclined to use the lines of Browning :—

> 'What, my soul? see thus far and no farther? When doors great and small
> Nine-and-ninety flew ope at our touch, should the hundredth appal?

As if young, throbbing, ardent aspirations could be shut up in compartments, and national thoughts and ideals be sedulously cultivated up to a certain point and then closured as soon as they came near to that fatal word 'political'! What would Mr. Crouch himself have thought if Government in his own College days had regulated the meetings he attended and the newspapers he read? What would he have said if the Oxford and Cambridge Unions had been prevented by Government order from publicly discussing subjects of national importance and from hearing political speeches, and had been compelled to confine their attention to music and poetry? What would have been his opinion of the University if his History Tutor had refused to discuss with him the events of his own times, because, forsooth, this would savour of the 'dissemination of political views?' It is surely illogical to encourage Indian students to become 'national' in literature, music and art, and then to discourage them if they become 'national' in politics!

Still further, to carry out to its conclusion Mr. Crouch's advice as to the cherishing of an Indian 'seer' and keeping him a pakka Indian,—let us face the facts. Two typical Indian 'seers' were Swami Dayananda and Swami Vivekananda. They had intense national enthusiasm combined with the gift of inspiring their own countrymen; yet both the movements they have initiated have inevitably drawn towards the sphere of politics or national reform. As surely as water finds its own level, so surely the national spirit, when called forth by a great and commanding Indian personality or 'seer,' will touch every sphere of life in turn, the political included. As Mr. Natarajan has so ably written in the *Indian Social Reformer* :—

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The religious, social and political aspects of the life of a community are parts of one whole ; they act and react upon one another ; they must progress together or not at all. To attempt to separate one of them from the rest only leads to a suffusion of blood in the isolated organ and to temporarily exaggerated activity. Unless the Government itself is largely nationalized, national culture must either be impossible, or possible only in conflict with the political order of things. The Government has no alternative but either by suitable expansion to become an organ of national life, or to remain a foreign body distracting and diverting the mind from the true objects of national evolution. How are the much needed improvements to be made in our educational system, how is it to be made more of a character-forming and less of a purely intellect stimulating agency, unless Government associates itself with the people to a larger extent ?

The improvements in education so greatly needed, of which Mr. Natarajan speaks, can never be accomplished by silence between teachers and taught on matters of vital moment. It can only be obtained by taking the educated classes, and especially the educational staff of our Colleges, into confidence and sympathy, by trusting them and gaining their trust, by allowing the fullest and freest opening for earnest discussion and consideration of the new problems which are confronting the Indian People. Life is flowing strongly in certain currents in the East ; to divorce education from life is the surest road to intellectual and moral bankruptcy.

I have dwelt at some length and with some warmth of feeling on this new restriction of our teaching, because I do not think its results are at all adequately realized. The great blot in the past on our educational system, the fault we did not seem able to cure, was its dullness and deadness. Every College, every Professor experienced this, and the cry was 'How can these dry bones live ?' We longed for some enthusiasm to come to our students which should kindle and inspire. The enthusiasm came ; the fire descended ; the new ideas were inspired. Our students began to think of higher things than testimonials for Government situations and cram-books for passing examinations. A new spirit of earnestness was visible on every side to sympathetic eyes ; but now the danger is apparent that we may fail to utilize these new forces through timidity concerning their political bearing. Yet nothing could be more lamentable than that they should remain outside the sphere of higher education, undirected and unguided. It is true that there are dangers on the other side, and that care and circumspection are needed, in the case of the young, in dealing with political questions ; but it is surely far better that students should work them out with their Professors, than that they should take up any and every opinion without argument or discussion.

I take, last of all, for criticism a recent educational pronouncement from an entirely different school. This time the writer is no Government Official or Retired Civilian but one of the youngest and most devoted of Indian Nationalists—Mr. Har Dayal. In a long series of articles which were published in a leading Panjab paper, he

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has advocated a complete reversal of educational method, a *volte face* of the most uncompromising description, including a substitution of Sanskrit for English as the language of education and an entire removal of every foreign influence. In his constructive scheme, religion, national history, ancient Indian literature, modern Indian politics are to be the very breath of the Indian students' life, the very atmosphere of their instruction. He pours scorn on the mere commercial idea of education as a means of making money or gaining Government preferment, and demands self-sacrifice and devotion to the motherland from every educated Indian. One can fully sympathise with him in this and admire his ideals. It would be but a poor spirit that could not sympathise with an idealist and we have one here. But when the writer goes on to limit his ideal to a purely Hindu India, from which everything Muhammadan or Christian must necessarily be excluded, a strong protest is necessary in the name of a higher ideal—the ideal of a united Nation. When the phrase 'Hindu' instead of 'Indian' nationality is deliberately used by the writer and he can spare no thought for any other section of the community except his own, his scheme stands self-condemned as a programme of National Education. The writer's true sentiments come out in an article published at the same time in the *Vedic Magazine*. With reference to Muhammadans he declares 'There are places in our country which have never been desecrated by the feet of the irreverent idol-breaker; there are nooks and corners where Islam has not left any abiding mark of its presence. Such spots are holy,—the virgin soil which has not been trod upon by the conqueror." Further on under the heading "The National Pride of the Hindus as shown by their Exclusiveness," he writes :—

> The great policy which helped Hindus in preserving their civilisation was one of exclusiveness. The Muhammadans were not allowed to meddle with our laws, our learning, our medical system, our social life, our judicial transactions. They were not admitted into our society; we did not allow them a position of social equality with ourselves though they were politically supreme... This policy of boycotting the foreigners' institutions preserved our own institutions... The wise men of those days knew how to save them for their children. Let us learn wisdom from our ancestors.

My comment on writing like this would be, that there are to-day in India 70,000,000 Muhammadans. Are all these to be boycotted and driven out of the country before anything 'national' can be accomplished and India can become 'virgin soil' once more? There are 50,000,000 pariahs, namasudras, etc., outside the pale of Hinduism,—what is to happen to these? Is the Brahman still to deny to these education, as was done in the days to which Mr. Har Dayal looks back so fondly? There are 10,000,000 Buddhists and 3,000,000 Christians besides the highly important and influential Parsi community—are all their ideals to find no place in a 'national' education? Is Indian

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patriotism to gain nothing from a Dadabhai Naoroji, a Badruddin Tyabji or a Kali Charan Banerji,—to mention only three names at random? Must Muhammadans learn Sanskrit instead of Arabic, and renounce Urdu as a vernacular in order to be national? Must everyone who is not a Hindu by religion be regarded as a foreigner, and India, the most hospitable and tolerant of lands in the past—the land of Asoka and Akbar,—become wholly intolerant and inhospitable in the present? To such extraordinary deductions would Mr. Har Dayal's premises lead, if 'Hindu' is to be substituted for 'Indian' before the word 'nationality.'

I have taken an extreme utterance because it is well sometimes to face an uncompromising position and see to what it leads. Although such absolute exclusiveness is rare, the practical ignoring of the Muhammadan question in working out the educational problem is by no means uncommon, and much to-day that is written under the name of 'national education' takes little or no account of any but the Hindu element. I should be the very last to question the right of Hindu civilisation, literature, language and culture to have a predominant place in the Indian Nation of the future. But that is quite a different thing from saying that these should have an exclusive place. The problem of problems is still to harmonize, unify, consolidate. It is for this reason that I hold strongly that in spite of all its acknowledged drawbacks, English still remains the most satisfactory—I would rather say the least unsatisfactory—medium for higher education. It is for this reason I would not condemn outright the secularising of education which has taken place. It is for this reason also that I would advocate the need of care and consideration in the introduction of political questions, where sentiments are so divided and a growing harmony may be so quickly broken.

"But then"—I can imagine an objector saying,—"you are really going back on your own words and agreeing with the present system, a system which you have yourself called 'a make-shift for education'!" I would reply that this is not my meaning or intention. It is true that I regard our present system as in many ways a 'make-shift' and in no way a complete system. It must be so, while contradictory elements in the community remain unassimilated and while fundamental differences remain unsettled. But even a 'make-shift' may be improved and ought to be improved as rapidly as possible with changing conditions, so that at last a complete and rounded system may be introduced. The practical problem of the present is not to demolish and destroy but to improve and reform. It is—what most practical problems resolve themselves into—a "question of less or more."

If asked to be more positive and explicit as to the reforms needed, I should reply briefly that English should continue, but the vernaculars should be brought forward far more than in the past; English Literature should be taught, but not to the neglect of the best Indian Literature; above all, every effort should be made during the College

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course to avoid anglicising in customs and ideals. For this the first necessary condition would be that teachers should love India and not despise things Indian.

Again a religious neutrality should continue in State Education, but where agreement exists in primary religious and moral ideas—and the area of agreement is far larger than is often supposed—every avenue should be employed for the inculcation of religious and moral teaching, without controversy or bias, as an integral part of College Education.

Once more political and national aspirations should be encouraged, but the end in view should be no sectional supremacy of one side of the community, but a truly Indian national life which should include all.

Last, but by no means least, the New Spirit, with all its hopes and aspirations, its longings and ideals, should be brought *inside* education and not be left outside to grow bitter and reactionary and irreconcileable.

I am fully aware that such reforms would leave very much to be desired, even if carried out to the full: but they would increase the advantages which have already been obtained during the last fifty years, and prepare the way for further and more drastic changes. Racial and religious bitternesses are dying down, consolidation and unification are being accomplished, steady progress and continuous endeavour without break or violent change are urgently needed. A gradual improvement of that which has been built up gives more promise of solid constructive achievement than a complete overthrow of what has been accomplished and a new start on different lines. *But improvement there must be!* If Government Education were to become merely stationary, unreformed and unreformable, taking no count of the new ideals that have come to birth, but rather neglecting them and despising them, I should be among the first to say 'cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?' Signs of late have been ominous, but there are also signs of encouragement. There is still hope that the anglicising spirit which has been the great drawback of the past will disappear and the true national spirit will find a welcome within the educational system which Government has so laboriously constructed. Very much now is in the hands of the Indians themselves—the Vice-Chancellors of three at least of the Universities are Indians—it will be in a great measure our own fault if those who are desirous of a more truly national education do not make their voices heard and the reasonableness of their demands recognized.

I hope in a second paper to go more into detail on the subject of practical educational reform, keeping always the national end in view.

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THE INDIAN STRUGGLE IN THE TRANSVAAL.

By Mr. L. W. Ritch, Secretary, South Africa British Indian Committee.

MOHANDAS Karamchand Gandhi, Hindu, theosophist, loyalist, and patriot, son of a late Prime Minister of Kathiawar, and, incidentally, of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, is for the second time in one year undergoing imprisonment in one of His Majesty's Transvaal gaols—this time with hard labour.

Future generations of Indians will do reverence to the memory of this white-souled son of India; future generations of Englishmen will know the hot blush of shame and the stink of humiliation at the remembrance of the folly of their fathers whenever, in the days that are to come, the story of the Transvaal Indian question shall be read or discussed.

The Twentieth Century has witnessed the advent of a school of shoddy Imperialism consisting mostly of Apostles of Colonial preference to whom it is an axiom that the Colonies can do no wrong. India, not being a Colony, albeit the elephant of the Imperial circus, is in the calculations of these gentlemen of comparative unimportance.

The Imperialist of this school is possessed of a passion for multiplying "white men's countries" and if, as in the case of South Africa, the land to which their attention is for the time being turned, happens to be already populated with a large and increasing majority of coloured aborigines, then so much the worse for the latter. Given natural conditions favourable to white settlement, the shibboleth of "the white men's country" is promptly adopted. If perchance this meant the establishment and maintenance of all that is best in Western civilisation—white ideals and the uplifting of the backward subject peoples to the realisation of these—it would have something at least to recommend it to those who are yet unconvinced that "might is right." But what one does find is that this doctrine of "the white men's country" connotes either the elimination of the coloured native, or his segregation in reserves that are of least value to the white settlers, or the studied discouragement and even repression of his natural impulse to rise in the human scale, and in some cases even, his deliberate degradation. As a helot he may be tolerated but his education must be carefully regulated so that he shall not be encouraged to indulge in any foolish aspirations to rise above the level of the hewer of wood and drawer of water for his white overlord. Thus seemingly does this stamp of Imperialist interpret the Gospel of the "white man's burden."

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The native policy of certain of our South African Colonies affords a striking example of the practical application of this brand of Imperialism, and its logical extension is further illustrated by the attitude and conduct of the Natal and the Transvaal Parliaments towards their respective domiciled British Indian population. Gandhi is in gaol because he is the Moses of his people in South Africa and a serious obstacle to their reduction to the proper level to which alone, according to Africander ethics, they, as coloured people, are properly entitled to aspire. This policy of reducing the keen-witted, industrious and comparatively highly evolved British Indian settler to the same helotage as that designed for the African aboriginal and his off-shoot, the so-called "coloured people," is excused on the score of the great danger, real or imaginary, that must result to white prestige if by reason of differential treatment, non-Europeans were to mount to positions of equality with or perchance of superiority to the dominant race. There is no doubt that the Africander would rebel against even the prospect of non-whites, however high their qualifications, being placed upon a footing of equality with him and his. How long it will be possible to artificially repress natural aptitude in deference to racial and colour prejudice is a question that time alone can solve. Africander prejudice is, however, but one of the foes that will have to be conquered if fair play is to be secured to British Indian settlers in South Africa. The other is trade jealousy.

It will be readily understood that such a combination as prejudice and the pocket constitutes a truly formidable enemy. Add to these, by way of reserves, political expediency which prompts the elimination of an element that threatens to complicate the existing colour question, and the battle that the British Indian in South Africa has to fight may to some extent be appreciated. As might be expected from such an enemy the cleanest of weapons and the fairest of methods have not always been employed. Attempts have been made to belittle the recent Indian agitation for the removal of existing grievances by speaking of them as "alleged grievances" and representing that they are merely fanciful or are being artificially invested with a quite unwarrantable gravity and importance. It is not difficult to understand the appearance of atavism in newly fledged British Ministers who but yesterday were the guiding lights of an Anglophobe and Negrophobe South African State, but it is a little disconcerting to find among these Apostles of Expediency representatives of the Crown such as Lord Selborne—not to speak of the self-styled Progressives who, under a former regime, found the British Indian grievances a useful enough whip with which to flog the dogs of War into action.

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There is little that is equivocal in the speech of Lord Selborne at Dumfries in 1899 :—

> Was it, or was it not, asked his Lordship, our duty to see that our dusky fellow subjects in the Transvaal where they had a perfect right to go, should be treated as the Queen, in our name, had promised they should be treated? If they agreed with him, and admitted that these were questions which we had to answer as trustees before our fellow-countrymen and before History, then they would agree with him, also, that the path of duty was to be ruled, not by sentiment, but by plain facts. . . . . We were trustees for our brothers all over the world. . . . . Trustees also for our fellow-subjects of different races and different colours. . . . . For all these, and the unborn children of these. Therefore the test we had to apply in an emergency like this, was the simple test of duty. Was it or was it not our duty to see that the rights and the future interests of those he had named should be maintdined? . . . . . Was the British Government going to make its name respected and to have the pledges given by it, faithfully observed? Was it going to see that the British subject wherever he went, all over the world, whether he were white or black, was to have the rights which his Queen had secured for him?

It is somewhat difficult to reconcile these admirable sentiments with the conduct of Lord Selborne, South Africa's High Commissioner, in 1907, in urging upon the Secretary of State for the Colonies the advisability of assenting to the humiliating Asiatic Registration Ordinance. And indeed, excepting upon the assumption that what is reprehensible in foreigners somehow becomes sanctified in ourselves, it is no less difficult to understand the tacit acquiescence on the part of so many honest and well-intentioned Englishmen of this re-imposition of disabilities upon British Indians in the new Transvaal Colony.

The nature and extent of these disabilities will perhaps be best gathered, and any doubts as to their reality be set at rest, by a study of the following table of comparisons between the position of the Transvaal British Indians before and since our annexation :—

Under the Boer Regime.	*Since British Annexation.*
Asiatics might freely enter the Republic and reside and trade. Only after 1885 was this qualified by the imposition of a £3 fee.	Only such Asiatics have been allowed to enter the new Colony as could prove pre-war residence. In 1903 nearly £17,000 was enforced in payment of the £3 fee.
"Registration" required by Law 3 of 1885 (amended in 1886) consisted merely of the payment of the above fee and the holding of a receipt therefor. Law 3 contained no penalty clause.	In 1903 Lord Milner persuaded the Asiatic communities to exchange their old documents of title for certificates containing identification particulars.
	In 1907 a Registration Law was passed making registration compulsory *under severe legal sanction.*
Asiatics were denied burgher rights.	Asiatics, including British Indians, are excluded from political and municipal privileges.
Asiatics might not own fixed property, save in Asiatic locations.	This disability is still maintained.
Asiatics were liable to removal to streets, wards and locations specially set apart for that purpose.	Asiatics including British Indians are still so liable. In 1903 their removal was ordered but could not be enforced and the draft Gold Law of this year contemplated their effectual segregation.

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Under the Boer Regime.	*Since British Annexation.*
Whereas the above disabilities were, in the main, not imposed for fear of British intervention.	They have been rigorously enforced and since the grant of Responsible Government, British Indians have found themselves deprived of their former Imperial protection.

It will be admitted that the coming of the Flag to Pretoria has meant but small gain to British Indians who had at least some small share in its arriving. Indeed theirs is the grimly humorous position of having cut a stick for their own belabouring. The half dozen years that have elapsed since the annexation have brought with them much painful disillusionment. The hopes they were encouraged to entertain of being placed upon a footing of equality with their white fellow-colonists, were rudely shattered by the Treaty of Vereeniging which was, and is, construed as excluding them in common with "natives" from sharing civic rights. Then the Republican Law 3 of 1885 that had evoked such forceful and effectual protest from the Imperial Government was retained on the Statute Book of the new Colony and administered as the Republic had never ventured to do. The next step towards emphasising the advantages of the Flag was the Registration proposal of Lord Milner adopted by the Asiatics as an act of grace in order to conciliate white feeling. The words of Lord Milner uttered at the time are interesting and in view of subsequent events important. His Lordship assured the Asiatics that Registration was in their own interests and a protectiou to them, and promised that :—

> Once on the Register their position was established, and that no further registration would be necessary nor a fresh permit required. That registration gives you a right to be here and a right to come and go.

There would seem to be little, if any, ambiguity about this promise and yet within three years an Ordinance was hurried through the Legislature of the Colony, this time without consulting the feelings or wishes of the people chiefly concerned, and compelling re-registration of the whole Asiatic community in circumstances and under conditions that can only be adequately described as insulting.

The story of the passive resistance, initiated at the beginning of last year during which hundreds of respectable and reputable British Indians backed up by the small but spirited free Chinese community cheerfully suffered imprisonment, has already been told. It is also known how at the beginning of the year the Transvaal Government climbed down from their high horse and decided to accept the offer of voluntary registration (that had all along been held out to them) and, in that way, calm the fears they professed to entertain that the Colony was being flooded by a vast influx of unauthorised Asiatic immigrants. It may bear re-telling how practically the whole of the resident Asiatic population, loyally came

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forward, established their titles to domicile and so dispelled the suspicions that had been so loudly voiced thus faithfully carrying out their share of the compact, and how, Mr. Smuts, finding that the cry of unlawful influx had proved to be baseless and registration of the Asiatic population an accomplished fact, broke the spirit of his understanding with Mr. Gandhi to repeal the offensive Law and thereby to remove the element of statutory compulsion against which the whole campaign had been directed.

It has been denied that Mr. Smuts ever knowingly contributed to such an understanding. The weight of evidence is all in favour of the Indian contention that he did. Indeed it is admitted that a repealing Act was actually drafted and was not carried farther only because it proposed to so amend the Law dealing with future Asiatic immigration as to totally exclude British Indians of even high educational attainments, to which of course Mr. Gandhi declined to be party.

The Indians are now accused of occupying an entirely different position to that originally taken up by them, and of making fresh and impossible demands. Nothing could be further removed from the truth. Indeed, the boot should, properly speaking, be upon the other foot. Their opposition continues to be, as it has been from the first, directed against and inspired by the differential and insulting character of the Registration Law. The fact that a subsequent law has been passed validating the voluntary registration previously referred to does not affect the central fact that the Registration Law proper is still on the Statute Book with all its expressed and implied insult, and a precedent for further disabling class legislation. Its retention has, moreover, a much farther reaching effect than that upon the resident Indian community. A subtly drawn section in the Immigrants' Restriction Act, finally passed some eight months after the Registration Law, interacts with the former in such a way as to entirely neutralise as far as Asiatics are concerned, their ostensible right to enter the Colony upon passing the educational and other tests which may be imposed upon them in common with other classes of would-be immigrants.

The Immigrants' Restriction Act defines a "prohibited immigrant" to mean and include any person desirous of entering the Transvaal who :—

1. Shall upon demand be unable through deficient education to pass an educational test in an European language.
2. Has not in his possession or at his disposal reasonable means of support.
3. Is morally undesirable, *e.g.*, procurers, etc.
4. The physically unfit, *e.g.*, lepers, etc.
5. Political undesirables.
6. Those who may reasonably be suspected of being a danger to the peace, order, and good government of the Colony.

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In addition to the above there appears a clause of which the following is the text :—

Any person who under any law in force at the date of his entering or attempting to enter this Colony would be liable if found therein to be removed from or to be ordered to leave the Colony whether on conviction of an offence against such law or for failure to comply with its provisions or otherwise ; Provided that such conviction be not the result of the commission by such person elsewhere than in this colony of an offence for which he has received a free pardon.

For downright Machievellian ingenuity this would surely be hard to beat. The Registration Law permits only pre-war residents to apply for registration certificates. Only holders of these certificates are entitled to be in the Colony. By the clause last quoted non-registered Asiatics become prohibited immigrants, and so by this circuitous course all further British Indian immigration is finally stopped.

It thus becomes doubly important that the Registration Act should be repealed. For if it be not, the effects will be not only the total exclusion of future British Indian immigrants *as such*, but also the isolation and ultimate destruction of the resident community that will thus be cut off from its kind and prevented from renewing inevitable wastage in the body corporate. The principle of restricted Asiatic immigration is conceded by the leaders of the Transvaal Indian community. They realise that in the present stage of the Colony's growth an unrestricted Asiatic influx would be unfair. But they insist upon a recognition of the principle that the door shall not be barred against one class of civilised British subjects specifically and so while they would be content that only half a dozen highly educated British Indians should be admissible in any one year they demand that these should be entitled to come as of right. This then is the concrete issue at present between them and the Transvaal Government. The principle involved is Imperial and of that importance, and it is for this principle that it touches India's dignity though not less the honor of England and Englishmen, that Mr. Gandhi and his brave self-sacrificing fellow-countrymen are to-day working as hard labour convicts on the public roads of the Transvaal. It is difficult to believe that white supremacy in South Africa needs to be purchased at the price of such monstrous injustice and oppression ; it is no less difficult to resist the conviction that it will never be secured along any such lines. Similarly loyal Imperialists who recognise and appreciate what is good in the Empire and the vast possibilities for helpfulness that it enfolds must deplore the failure to protect their Indian wards that has been so marked a feature of recent administrations.

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A STUDY OF INDIAN NATIONALISM.

By Mr. Sasi Bhushan Mukerji.

A CRY for *nationalism* is ringing in the air. Sad experience has made a considerable section of our countrymen wiser. It has now become evident to a very considerable section of our community that outlandish ideas and methods, hastily borrowed without due adaptation, cannot be assimilated and turned to the best account by a people who differ much from those whom they have copied. Hence the awakening and the cry. But unfortunately the word is not so widely understood as it is used. The present is too much an age of shibboleths. Even the educated section of the people get hold of a cry without taking the trouble to understand it properly and march forth to force it down the throat of the masses.

We see eye to eye with our nationalist brethren that the idea of nationality is essentially necessary to promote the social and political interests of the country. But what is *nationalism*? It is very difficult for a people already become denationalised to a very great extent to understand and appreciate the real meaning of the word. Most of us use the word—the cry in imitation of the political writers and speakers of Europe. It is all very easy to repeat parrotlike—"Nations by themselves are made," but it is by no means so easy to set a just value on the immortal words of the poet and direct our energies accordingly to promote the well-being of the nation to which we belong. The word nation has been variously used by English writers. This imparts a vagueness to the word. In order to get at the real import of the word, the radical meaning should not be lost sight of. The word "nation" comes from the latin word *nationem*, a political term implying some ethnological unity though not necessarily one and the same government. They speak of the German nation, the Irish nation, as being descended from the same stock and subject to the same government. The government may be foreign to the stock. In short, a nation is a great family, having some common traditions, sentiments, habits of thought and action. The sum total of these is the "national character." These national characteristics are the most prominent features of all the members of the community, jointly and severally considered, and as such they should not be ignored in introducing any measure of social or political reform. We have seen that a political or social institution borrowed from a totally alien people does not flourish in an uncongenial soil. It must either be adapted to suit the peculiar circumstances of the

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country and the special characteristics of the nation for which it is borrowed or it should be rejected as quite unsuited to it. The Celts and Saxons live in the same country under the same government. They receive the same education and similar training. Still in religious, social and political matters they retain their inherent difference. The Celts are mainly Catholics while the Saxons are Protestants. The Celts love unity of power while the Saxons have a passionate affection for the representative form of government. The Jew under every climate and in the midst of all sorts of adverse circumstances retains some of his national characteristics. A Negro is a Negro whether he resides in America or in the heart of the darkest Africa. The French in Canada, cut off from all intercourse with the parent people, have retained many of their national traits intact by which they may be known as Frenchmen. The Germans, residing in the remote States of America, do not change much from the people of the same stock living on the banks of the Elbe or the Danube. Even the influence of the same civilization cannot undo many of the national characteristics. The English and the French people bask in the sunshine of the same type of civilization. The trend of their thought is approximately the same. Still we find that the English political institutions have never flourished on the French soil. A constitutional monarchy on the lines of the British monarchy has proved a dead failure in France, and the French republican form of government is not looked upon with much favour in Great Britain. Since the great cataclysm of 1789, France has been thrice a monarchy, thrice an empire and thrice a republic. It must be admitted that the French are not less educated or less intelligent than the English. The bright, impulsive and the vivacious nature of the French people is mainly responsible for the repeated political changes. It appears that even now they have not been able to hit upon the system of government which exactly suits their national peculiarities. Had that been the case, there would not have been so many political murders and changes. The English people have worked out their political institutions on truly national lines and hence their government is being carried on smoothly. Since the dawn of English history, we find that the "Witenagemots" or the meetings of the wise men have been exercising an effective control over the British government. Whenever there was any serious attempt at curbing the popular power, there was revolution and bloodshed. The modern British Parliament is an improvement upon and adaptation of the old "Witnagemot" on strictly national lines to suit the present requirements of the nation.

A study of the different national characteristics of the diverse nations inhabiting the different parts of the globe convinces one

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that they are facts and not figments evolved from an imaginative brain. But the question naturally arises—How are these national characteristics formed? Can they not be altered or modified by human efforts? The question lands us on the much-vexed theories of evolution, natural selection, and struggle for existence. Without going through the intricacies of these technical subjects we may easily understand them by remembering that man belongs to the animal kingdom and, as an animal, he cannot *be* without *becoming*. The faculties of every animal depend on two causes; first, *heredity*, secondly, *adaptation*. Those evolved from heredity have been evolved from the type of human beings and become fixed by succession through a very very long series of ancestors. These characteristics are as fixed and immutable as a rock and any attempt at changing them by the effort of a single generation or two will prove as futile as the efforts of a black negro beauty to make himself as white as a fair maid of Perth. But those acquired during the process of adaptation to environments have evolved through the struggle to place the animal in harmony with the surrounding environments. Those acquired by education as well as the influence of religion may be classed under this head. If the efforts to place us in harmony with the outer nature extend over several generations, the characteristics evolved out of the struggle assume the fixity of the hereditary type provided the surrounding environment remains the same. They are necessary for the very existence of the being as well as the nation. But those acquired by education may be changed. For our present purpose it is sufficient to know that these changes take place under hard and fast biological laws. They cannot be brought about at the sweet will of any individual or nation. Modern science has proved conclusively that every organic body must adapt itself to the changing circumstances or it must die out. Nature has given it this adaptability to preserve it from extinction under adverse circumstances. But there is a limit to such adaptability. We have seen plants and animals manage to live under circumstances somewhat different from those which are most congenial to them, but some of their characteristics undergo considerable change in the process of adaptation. Thus they make the uncongenial environment congenial to them. The Sylhet orange is metamorphosed into a common lemon on the plains of Bengal and the mountain fir undergoes great change when brought down to a lower level. The African lion and the African elephant are somewhat different from their respective Indian types not only in form but in several other marked characteristics. But in spite of the divergences, the African lion is a lion and the African elephant is an elephant. There is much semblance in the midst of

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divergence. There is affinity in the midst of difference. If the change of environment is so great or rapid that the power of adaptation cannot keep pace with it, then the plant or animal must die. This is why we find that certain plants and animals cannot live in certain climates and we call such climates as totally uncongenial to them.

It is now clear that some of the national characteristics undergo a great change under the influence of changed environments and different system of education, while others remain fixed like the various typical features of the different types of human beings, or in other words, some of the national characteristics are immutable while others are mutable. It is often found that people descended from the same stock develop different national characteristics under the influence of different environments. The Germans and the English have mainly come down from the same stock, namely, the Teutonic branch of the human race. Yet under different circumstances they have developed some different characteristics. Both these branches of the Teutonic race are brave, industrious and hardworking. But the Germans are of a more metaphysical turn of mind than the English, while the English are more practical and calculating than the Germans. "Metaphysical German" and "matter-of-fact Englishman" have become proverbial. The difference in their characteristics is evidenced by the fact that the political, social, and even the religious institutions of the Germans are in many ways different from those of the English. In matters of education, intellectual acumen and bravery, the Germans are in no way inferior, if not superior, to the English people. Yet the German monarchy is practically very different from the English monarchy; the German *Reichstag* is considerably weaker than the British House of Commons. The German press is politically weak while the English press is justly called the fourth power of the State. In short, democratical ideas have not struck such deep roots into the hearts of the Germans as into the minds of the English. Even in social characteristics the English are different from their parent nation. The English are more morose and taciturn than the Germans. On the other hand, the people of the United States have mainly come from the British people; yet their political and social institutions are somewhat different from those of the parent people. These Americans have managed things in such a queer way, without due regard to the past, that their democracy is fast degenerating into a disorderly mobocracy and liberty is gradually coming down to the level of chaotic license. The English possess the instinct, knack and tact for colonization which both the Americans and the Germans sadly lack. The mismanagement of the German colonies in Africa by the Germans and the misgovernment of the Philippines by the Americans attest to their

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incapacity to colonization and government of an alien people in which the Englishmen excel. Theoretically, of all the forms of government, democracy stands to reason best but still several advanced and educated nations of Europe have not adopted it simply because it does not suit the popular instinct and popular requirements. Hence we think that we should not make a run for what is the "ideally best polity" but what is found by practical experience, conformable to the national instinct. A belief has unfortunately gained ground amongst certain classes of our countrymen that Japan has become a first class power by adopting *in toto* European institutions, manners and customs. Nothing can be further from the truth than this. The religions of the masses are still Shintoism and Buddhism. The same laxity of marriage laws among the common people prevails to-day as it prevailed centuries ago. Their domestic life remains much the same as it was before, even at this period of rapid transition. Count Okuma says that they have abolished caste system in their country. This we cannot understand. The caste system of Japan had never the sanction of their religion. Neither Buddhism nor Shintoism countenance any distinction between man and man. If there was any caste distinction in Japan, it was the distinction between class and class. Such distinction cannot be entirely got over. Even democratic America has not as yet been able to rid herself of such invidious distinction. A careful study of the Japanese in Japan will convince one that she has only adopted the military tactics of the West to suit her present requirements and reformed some of her institutions to suit the present exigencies. In matters political, the Japanese have only adopted the external semblance of the European monarchy. Their two Houses of Parliament wield no political power. The "Divine Rights" nay the Divinity of the Mikado is never questioned by any Japanese, high or low. Under the circumstances, it is foolish to say that Japan has become quite Europeanized.

In India, instances are not wanting to show how peoples descended from the same stock have developed different characteristics under different circumstances. The Brahmins of Bengal have come down from the same stock as the Brahmins of Upper India. Yet how different is a typical Bengali Brahmin from an up-country Brahmin. Not only in outward features but in social and religious matters also there have evolved some differences. So does a Madrasi Brahmin differ from a Marhatty Brahmin, and a Marhatty Brahmin differ from a Kashmiri Brahmin. But it is well-known that the Brahmins of all India are ethnologically of one and the same race, but they have developed some peculiar characteristics each of their own, under the influences of different natural, social and political environments. We cite the

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instances of the Brahmins because their *Gotra* and *Prabar* (descent and lineage, individual as well as clannish) show that they are descended from the same stock. In fact we believe that the Hindus of India are ethnologically the same people, though different surroundings have made some change both in features and characteristics.*

As people descended from the same stock develop some different characteristics under different sets of circumstances, so peoples descended from different stocks develop similar characteristics under the influence of the same environment. This helps much in blending together two or more nations who are ethnologically different from one another. Intermarriage is one of the most potent methods of blending peoples who are ethnologically different. But the question of intermarriage cannot be entertained in India where the caste rules, having a religious basis, are very rigid. Under the circumstances, the fusion of the various peoples in India into one homogeneous nation is not at all possible, and no efforts should be made in that direction. Even where religion is not a bar to intermarriage, it takes several centuries to weld two separate nations into one. The Magyars of Austro-Hungary are a people of Mongolian origin, who migrated to Hungary and Transylvania several centuries ago. They still maintain the separateness of their national existence. The Cossacks of Russia are still reckoned as a separate people although their Tartar blood has mixed profusely with the Slav blood. Hence any hasty attempt to build the heterogeneous peoples of India into one nation by intermarriage is sure to prove futile and useless.

But there are some oversanguine people who think that everything can be accomplished by human efforts. They say that man being the lord of creation can successfully turn the laws of Nature to his own advantage. But it seems that in this they are a little too oversanguine. Man has no doubt succeeded in turning some physical objects, and physical laws of Nature to his own account but that does not prove that he can do with Nature as he pleases and treat her like clay in the hands of the potter. There is a limit to his power of lording it over the creation. A careful study of facts will convince one that man is as much the lord as the creation of Nature. He is more helpless in the hands of Nature than even the brute creation. The chicken runs about and picks up food as soon as it escapes from the egg while

* The orthodox Hindus do not believe that the *sudras* were non-Aryans subjugated by the Hindus who were Aryans. A careful study of the ethnological structures of the higher and lower castes reveals no material differences between them. It is possible that some of the lower castes had very lax marriage laws, hence they found much opportunity to intermarry with the wild tribes inhabiting the mountain and jungle recesses. This is why some slight structural differences are found among certain peoples of lower castes.

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the human infant can do very little to preserve its very existence except to breathe and suck. The more an animal rises in the scale of creation, the more he becomes a helpless child in the hands of Nature. A small snail can repair the loss even of its head, the savage recovers from hurts which are sure to prove fatal to the civilized man who boasts of lording it over Nature. Births are easier and safer among the savages than among the civilized and most difficult among the most civilized. The civilized man becomes far more subject to minor ailments, which makes his life more miserable, than the savage. Hence it is wrong to say that man is the lord of creation.

Those who are eager to build up a homogeneous nation out of the heterogeneous masses of Indian peoples for political and economic purposes should not waste their energies by trying to do what it is extremely difficult to accomplish. Peoples ethnologically different may be combined into a community for political and economic purposes. The same political and economic conditions, when they are adverse and pressing, imparts a cohesive force to peoples who are ethnologically different from one another. The Swiss are a strange medley of people descended from different stocks, speaking different languages and even professing different religions. It is a well known fact that in Switzerland, 71 per cent. of the people speak German, 22 per cent. speak French and 5 per cent. Italian; 59 per cent. of them are Protestants and 41 per cent. are Catholics. That small country consists of 22 semi-independent States, each having its distinctive manners, customs, institutions and laws. The tyranny of Austria welded these heterogeneous people into one homogeneous political nation. Living in the same cold rugged regions, surrouuded by powerful nations, the Swiss have developed a community of patriotic sentiments which keep them firmly together in spite of the difference of language and religion. Politically considered, Austro-Hungary is one State. But it is a country of every variety of surface and scenery, inhabited by peoples of different races and nationalities who speak no less than twenty different languages. Political, economic and geographical considerations have brought together the different peoples of Austro-Hungary into one political community; but it is feared that they are not united into one whole by any *espirit de corps*. The Magyars who are still a dominant race are conscious of certain artificiality of the nation into which they have suffered themselves to be merged for political considerations. The leading West European and American States demonstrate that under certain circumstances peoples who are ethnologically different may blend themselves into one nation. The people of Great Britain are composed of more various elements than any other in Europe; the elements have been

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gradually compounded and more completely fused. But the fusion has not yet been so complete everywhere as to go beyond all recognition of the different elements.

We say all this in great length only to show that efforts should not be made for blending the various Indian races. All works of regeneration should be carried on on strictly national lines. In social and religious matters each community must work separately. The true national line should be made out by carefully studying the history of the nation. The present and the future must be the natural outcome of the past. Anything that runs counter to the past traditions of a nation should be discarded as such. Emerson says:—"Man is a noble endogenous plant, which grows like the palm from within outward. His own affairs though impossible to others, he can open with celerity and in sport. It is easy to sugar to be sweet and to nitre to be salt." What holds good for individual men, holds good for human societies. It is easy for the Hindu to be religious and God-fearing as it is easy for the Englishman to be adventurous and daring. Hence every nation which has a glorious past should make a careful study of what made their forefathers great and steer their course accordingly. The best way to emasculate a fallen nation is to make it forget its glorious past. This policy has been pursued by conquerors since the time of the Greeks who called all other nations, barbarians. The Musalman conquerors made it a point to destroy the authentic history of those nations which they conquered. The destruction of the famous Alexandrian library of antique literature by Caliph Omar in 640 is an apt illustration on this point. Several valuable libraries were destroyed by Musalman conquerors in Europe and India. European conquerors do not now take to such works of vandalism, but they try to underrate the glories of the fallen nations by specious arguments.

We think that many of our attempts at regeneration have proved unsuccessful because those who have hitherto come to fight our own battles, have been imbued with foreign ideas. The past history and literature of the country have been sealed books to almost all of them. Many of them have derived a garbled knowledge of our past as they have got it from Western scholars. Herein lies all our difficulties. Hence the necessity of national education.

We do not say that our work of regeneration and reformation should be so directed as to make our society run exactly on the beaten groove of the past. Human society is a living organism, it must adapt itself to the changing circumstances of the time. The social and political circumstances of the Vedic or the Pouranic age were quite different from our own and consequently what held good

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for the society then do not hold good now. All that we say is that in working out our own regeneration our peculiar national instincts should not be lost sight of. One of the principal characteristics of the Hindus is that they are inherently religious. Religion played the most important part at every stage of their national existence. The Musalmans are as much religious as are the Hindus. These facts should be considered in working out any scheme for our regeneration.

Belief in a common origin, community of religion and social customs, possession of a common language and literature, pride in common historic traditions, etc., contribute much to the internal cohesion of a strongly knit society. Our communities should be broad-based on them. For the safety and promotion of common political and economic interests, the different communities should be federally united—the federal units being the different communities and not territorial divisions. Religious and social works should be left in the hands of the respective communities. Political and economic subjects should be discussed by the representatives of the different communities. For the up-keep of such a confederacy of diverse communities, two things are essentially necessary;—first, mutual sympathy and secondly, knowledge of common want. We should first try our prentice hands on such small matters as the arbitration of village feuds, maintenance of village industries, village sanitation, national education, establishment of co-operative societies, village water-supply, conservation of food grains, etc. This is the way to learn the art of self-government; and this is the way to work on strictly national lines. Mere cry for nationalism signifies nothing but a mere emptiness of heart.

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THE PROPOSED PARSI ACADEMY.

By Mr. J. S. Commissariat, M. A.

WE, Parsis, are like Nature in this that we too abhor a vacuum; we hate it everywhere in general, but more particularly when it exists in the affairs of our community! A lull in our own social world makes us afraid lest our minds should rust away and the fluency of our speech impaired for want of due exercise. Not so long ago the grave question arose among us whether we should continue to allow our dead selves to be devoured by the unfeeling vultures, or making a change for the better, decide to be scientifically burnt by the gentle fire of up-to-date electricity. Last year we were discussing with all our might the momentous problem if we should throw open our doors to proselytes, and allow them, living, to desecrate our temples, and dead, our towers of silence. After long deliberations, open-air mass meetings, closed-door consultations, select committee reports, able editorials, epistolary commentaries, scholarly manifestoes, and a mass of equally entertaining but unsolicited oral opinions, which have since happily evaporated, we are to-day where we began, and find ourselves, thanks to an auspicious conjunction of the planets, none the worse for the anxiety we caused to the old, and the joy we gave to the young and the wicked.

But at this moment, it is not with questions of such minor importance that the Parsi mind is concerned! A dire disease, affecting the heart of the community, has been suddenly brought to light by our argus-eyed leaders, shrouding us the more in gloom and misanthropy, and leaving us trembling for the welfare of our boys, and our boys' boys who are to constitute the Parsis that are to be! With little morality and less religion, with our poverty rising and our physique sinking, with the Hindus elbowing us on the one hand and the Muhammedans rising into prominence on the other, these leaders of ours are beset with darkness and fear as to the future which is in store for the community. The rising generation of our young men has, moreover, frustrated all our hopes. Cast but a passing look at them, it is said and you will be struck by their emaciated bodies, by their anæmic features, by their pale, hungry, Cassius-like looks! Gaze at them a moment longer and the darker side of their character —their false pride, their laziness, their shamelessness, their fashion and Mammon worship—will be gradually revealed to you! Scrutinize them a little further and a little deeper, and you are sure to discover that the Parsi boy of to-day is wholly unsatisfactory:—he is wanting

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in faith, wanting in honesty and truth, wanting in public spirit and endurance, wanting in the Tennysonian ideals of self-knowledge, self-reverence and self-control, wanting in obedience and in respect for authority, wanting in good manners, yes, wholly wanting in those moral virtues and that moral goodness which go to ennoble a life. But this is not all! Physically and morally, our boys are admittedly deficient, but intellectually they are worse, for here their qualifications amount to an absolute zero. Their knowledge is superficial, they are addicted to cram, they are without originality, without the power to think for themselves, without the ability (especially in such of them as are Graduates) to write an ordinary letter, without firmness of mind, lax in their principles, loose in their reasoning. Mediocrity reigns supreme among our boys; they have no stuff in them; none of them has been ambitious enough to shine as a litterateur, or as a philosopher-thinker or as a scientist. None has ever attempted or attempted with success to enter his name in the annals of English Literature; nor is there any likelihood of such an event coming to pass in the near future!

While matters stand thus with the younger generation, and within the community darkness is gradually giving way to despair, from without we receive no encouragement whatever, since even the manhood of our race is in a similar plight and its condition is in no way better or more hopeful. Our fears, on the contrary, are only accentuated by the views of independent observers from the outside world. Mr. Eugene Sandow, for instance, is very doubtful about the future of our race if we continue to be what we are, and he anticipates our total extinction if we do not make earnest and successful efforts to rise in the physical scale. Mr. Rammurti, who was lately among us, and who has earned for himself a right to speak with authority on questions pertaining to Health and Bodily Economy, expressed a like opinion, conveyed to us his pity and his sympathy in our sorrow. In this department of culture, therefore, we ourselves (at least those of us who are unprejudiced) and outspoken outsiders are admittedly at one, and together we have unanimously passed the resolution that "the Parsi race has got effeminate, is getting effeminate, and will get so completely, unless and until, by regaining its former spirit an end is put on its downward career." As to the present state of our religion and the morality which is believed to result from it, Mrs. Annie Besant and Mr. George Arundale will bear out the statement that the less said the better. We have sunk so deep in the slough of disbelief, immorality and uncertainty, and we look so askance at anything even remotely connected with the precepts of our ancient religion, that it is lamentable to think what the future has in store for a faith which is our distin-

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guishing feature and which has been handed down to us with the blood of our forefathers. We have become tired of reciting our prayers, we have ceased to perform the ceremonies enjoined on us by time and custom, we do not follow the biddings of our priests whom we either disobey or hold in ridicule. We are no longer a God-fearing community, our sacred texts are little studied and we are undecided on the interpretation to be put on their contents, finally we are divided into parties and factions and in imminent danger of being destroyed! And now as a net result of all our indifference and neglect, those despicable boys of ours, as already stated, have become insolent to their parents and superiors, mannerless towards their equals and inferiors, proud, vainglorious, addicted to pleasures and luxury, light-minded, arrogant, without a good trait in their character, indeed without any character at all.

Verily, you will say the majority of us must then be monsters in human shape, if what is said of them be true! But they are what they are, and truth being stranger than fiction, you will perforce have to believe what others who know choose to tell you. It is however quite true that such defects would easily be overlooked in our young men, if they gave proofs of their mental superiority, their ability and culture, their capacity to become efficient and successful problem-solvers as they grow up. The lack of religion would not be so keenly felt if our graduates and under-graduates would cut a more successful figure, if they would only "get on" in any walk of life which they might select—whether in the professions, in trade, in business or in service. But this is exactly what they have not been able to do, nor showed any signs of doing when the time comes. "Failed awfully" is the motto written against so many of them, and so many have been irretrievably wrecked after embarking on life's career, that it is difficult to think with equanimity of the sort of education they have hitherto been receiving. Superficially trained, they have become not only haughty and supercilious, but proved their inability to hold their own in competition with their Hindu and Muhammedan rivals. Such a state of things is deplorable indeed at any time, but it is especially so at this juncture when all India is seething with fresh energy, escaped and escaping from its former restraints, when new thoughts and new ideals are stirring every heart, when progress is the watch-word, and originality and independent thinking are urgent desiderata in every department of activity. The Parsi has therefore come to the conclusion that at such a time when dark and heavy nimbuses are sailing over Indian skies, when no one knows what the morrow might bring, and self-government (on the colonial basis) is the goal of every patriotic Hindu in the land—it is most desirable for him to rise from

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his sloth and indifference, to put his house in order, and get himself ready for any struggles that he may be called upon to encounter.

Such then are the facts which have been confronting us, and such the dire deficiencies which have set us athinking. Our troubles indeed are not of to-day; they rose with the rising of the new century, and it is now nearly a decade since we began thinking and reflecting, doubting and meditating on the ways and means of healing the sores which have been distressing us. Some years back, a solution was offered in the establishment of a separate College for ourselves. A popular Parsi daily, with its usual alacrity (alacrity being ever an inseparable adjunct of the newspaper press), took up the question and discussed it in its columns, at length. Educationists were interviewed, men of mark were consulted, men of means were not neglected. Notwithstanding, many worthy people Peterkin-like, inquire to-day what good came of it all at length. But that is a thing which was ever impossible to tell. Suffice it to know that though the opinions differed, views were divided, ideals were contradictory, and no agreement was possible as to the means, still, there is no doubt but that it was a famous deliberative undertaking, and will be handed down to history as such. Our first national College therefore did not progress beyond the paper-stage and stuck fast there; but the evils which it was intended to rectify, were perverse, and instead of changing for the better (or at least remaining stationary) went on progressing geometrically. A fresh cry to stay their career arose in April last, and the first to sound the note of warning was our esteemed citizen, Mr. Bomanji D. Petit, at the prize-distribution of the Mullan Pheroze Madrassa, when he openly declared that the only salvation of the Parsis now lay in the foundation of a private College of their own. The suggestion was enthusiastically taken up by our papers, among whom the one already named and another weekly which distinguishes itself by bearing the name of the community, deserve to be mentioned. The phenomena usual in the discussions of purely Parsi questions repeated themselves. Letters from all hands poured in by the hundred—letters, grave and argumentative, light and jestful, encouraging and dissuading. Articles appeared by the score, leaders and leaderettes by the dozen. Appeals were made through the press, and even our popular Governor was asked by his help and advice to guide the whirlwind and direct the storm of Parsi public opinion. Mrs. Besant—the servant of all religions—in the course of an eloquent appeal declared her conviction that, unless we build a Parsi Central College, and thereby revive the smouldering embers of our ancient faith, Zoroastrianism is doomed to perish, and the Parsis shall cease to be. She ended her arguments

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with the following invocation: "Seize then, O followers of Zarathushtra, the golden opportunity, and may his Fire descend from Heaven upon your hearts." Inspiring words like these could not fail to stir our hearts—which, it would seem, have of late become peculiarly prone to be stirred and roused—and we have taken up the torch which she has offered us, determined not to drop it till it has lighted us to our goal. Mr. Jehangir Bomanji Petit in another appeal, expresses his dissatisfaction with the kind of education imparted in our existing institutions and its inefficiency, deplores the lack of religious and moral training, and dwells on the disappointments which our Universities have been to us by their failing to fulfil the highest expectations formed of them. He therefore exhorts his coreligionists to combine to bring about a system of education which will turn out young men nearer to the ideals formed of them, and which will "exhibit them to the world, comprehensive in acquirements, fertile in resources, rich in imagination, strong in reasoning, prudent and powerful above their fellows, in all the relations and in all the offices of life." Such an education will moreover succeed in evolving "men imbued with the highest idea of duty, of truth, of justice, of self-sacrifice and of honour —men who will come out of their Colleges, inspired with a desire to work for their country and their community." Again, the words of His Excellency Sir George Clarke, a man of few words and much work and a statesman of foresight, are equally encouraging. He believes that "if the lofty spirit which has inspired the prospectus can be translated into action, the Parsis will in time possess an institution of which they will have a right to be proud, and which will confer marked benefits upon their community and upon India." Blessed indeed are the lovers and friends of the Parsis who shall live to see that glorious day; but the next dearest blessing would evidently be to work to bring it about.

Of the many eminent men from among us who have been interviewed in this connection, we may mention first Mr. Behramji M. Malabari, whose name is familiar to all Indians. After stating that he was in complete sympathy with the present movement, he declared that the signs of degeneration in his community were quite evident to him, so much so that he would not wonder if the talk of our extinction should one day come true, supposing we did nothing in the meanwhile to remedy the existing state of things. Neglecting discipline and the formation of character in our schools, we have suffered, he said, a mental, moral, physical and an all-round deterioration, which could only have been averted by the establishment of a Central College some twenty years ago. Finally, Mr. Malabari urged the necessity of greater care in the matter of primary education, and

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in the selection of eminent men, European and Parsi, to constitute the staff, and recommended the erection of hostels for the boys to remove them from the ill-effects of too much home influence. Sir Dinshaw M. Petit, Bart, "struck by the courteous behaviour and dignified manners of the students of the Aligarh College," expressed himself in favour of a similar institution for the Parsis, which, he hoped, would exercise like effects in "forming the character and training the minds of our youths." But Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart., does not like the idea of a separate Parsi College which would, in his opinion, be a sheer waste of money; he, however, encourages the foundation of a school on the lines of Eton and Harrow, with an hostel attached to it, which would help to develop the character of the students. He wants to see greater importance attached to religious education as also to modern science in which Japan (from a tour to which country he had just returned) is so much ahead of us. The late Sir Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy doubted if funds would be forthcoming, but if they did he would be much pleased, because he for one clearly saw the necessity of another college for us, and believed in the benefits which it was sure to confer on us. Mr. G. A. Dalal and many others known and unknown, named and unnamed, have joined the party of reform, but it would be inflicting an unnecessary burden on the memory of my readers to make mention of them all. The dissentient voices forming the party of opposition, must now be considered. Among the foremost on this side is Mr. Justice D. D. Davar, who denies that the Parsi of to-day is in any way inferior to what he was a generation or more ago, gives instances of eminent Parsis of to-day, *e.g.*, Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji, Sir P. M. Mehta, Dr. Choksi and others, and ends by saying that the idea of a College for ourselves is merely a thing of sentiment, without any solid foundation to rest upon. Moreover, he argued, compulsory stay at hostels, apart from parents, brothers and sisters, would be inflicting a kind of torture on our children, and instead of forming their character would tempt them into evil ways. Mr. J. N. Unwala, who is an honorary professor at the Hindu College of Benares, does not believe in the necessity of a College for the Parsis who need no centralisation; but he is of opinion that a model hostel situated in a central locality would answer all the aims of the enthusiastic promoters of a college. The Principal of the Sir J. J. Benevolent Institute, admits that there are many gaps and defects in the kind of education which is given in our purely Parsee schools, chiefly due to want of funds. He advocates the development of existing institutions by supplying their deficiencies; but if the "sinews of war" are forthcoming for that purpose, he has no objection, rather he would welcome, the addition of another

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College. The Principal and the Secretary of the two other institutions which are meant exclusively for Parsi use, are also agreed as to the need of reform in our existing schools, especially in the choice of suitable curricula and in the methods of teaching ; but they are, on the other hand, of the opinion that these defects and many others can easily be remedied by helping and developing these same schools and orphanages by additional grants of money.

It may therefore be concluded that the majority of us are dissatisfied with the present system of education, and see the necessity of a new institution for ourselves, which would, besides remedying the deficiencies already noted, form a nucleus for bringing forth, encouraging and directing the ambitions and aspirations of the future scholars of our race. We are all at one as to the ideal boy we should like to possess ; the boy who is robust of constitution, developed in physique, who, brave and manly, would stand by his fellows in thick and thin; the boy of good behaviour, refined manners, amenable to discipline, respectful to his superiors, obedient to authority, self-reliant, spirited and pushing, moral in character, reverencing his religion, hating sin and vice; finally, the boy of solid learning, sound attainments, cultured in mind, refined in taste, devoted to his work and his duty. It is, however, easy to frame a lofty ideal such as this (especially so as it is not intended for us but for others), and to subscribe to its desirability. But as soon as we come to the next consideration, and inquire if the arrangements already in force are commensurate with our ideals, differences begin to arise, and when it comes to the question of the ways and means of rectifying the defects therein noticeable, our unanimity is still further breached. It is one thing for us in the present instance, to assent to the ideal above described, another to admit that a model educational institution would bring about its realisation, a third to acknowledge that grave lacunes exist in the education obtainable to-day both in respect of quantity and quality, and lastly, quite a distinct one, to come to a settlement about a new scheme and its "modus operandi." On none of these points, except the first, are our thoughts in harmony. There are some who say that a separate institute with its own boarding arrangements, where no admixture with the other communities is possible for our boys would frustrate the very aims with which it was erected, others who deem that the existing institutions are enough and more than enough for all our wants, others again who admitting the necessity of some changes, assert that all that is required at the present moment is to help financially and develop the already existing and well-equipped primary and secondary schools, on the lines of their European prototypes. But even among those who are most enthusias-

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tic for a new institution, and are most convinced that the educational system which obtains among us is inadequate for our times, differences of opinion are by no means less marked or less violent. Of the persons whose views we have already sketched, and of the many others who have supported this movement, some are merely for the establishment of Kindergarten and Primary Schools ("on the true Froebelian and Pestalozzian principles"); some for a model Primary and High School; others for a College only, beginning its course with Matriculates and ending it with Masters in Arts; and others still who are in favour of an Academy, which, comprising both School and College, is to be conducted by a residential staff of able professors, who have moreover taken the vow of celibacy. But these do not exhaust the list of suggestions which have hitherto been offered. An extensive Boarding Institute, common to all Schools and Colleges having Parsi boys, a School of Technology, a College of Science, a Parsi Educational League, a Madrassa which by its theological course would evolve a new and enlightened priesthood for us, and finally a Commercial Training College are some of the additional recommendations which have been urged by men whose educational attainments we do not profess to gainsay. There now only remain to be noticed a few very learned men who after profound thinking and enormous labours, have unanimously come to a most simple solution of this vexed question by announcing that this grand Parsi Academy in order to be made as worthy of its name as possible, ought to be co-extensive with the whole domain of knowledge (as ascertained and ascertainable), and that it ought to include in its functions, literary, scientific, moral and religious education, together with industrial, agricultural and commercial instruction, added to physical and gymnastic training. Such are the various conceptions of a scheme of education which is going to be the panacea for all our ills—including our growing poverty. However, it is a great consolation to know that less diversity and fertility prevail in the names that have been suggested of the Schools and Colleges after which our new institution is to be patterned and modelled, and in the special features selected for our guidance and imitation. Aligarh and Benares are the Colleges most frequently selected as models for our own. Eton and Harrow are the only names recommended for our guidanee in connection with our schools. Aligarh indeed seems to have got hold of the Parsi imagination, and to have stamped itself indelibly on his mind, so much so that we are invariably directed to this Muhammedan seminary as the fountain-head of all the inspiration which we need at this moment, and might possibly need in the future. The visit of successive Viceroys and the encomiums which they have been pleased to bestow

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on its management and its staff, the munificent donations of scores of Nawabs and Muhammedan Chiefs, and last but not least, the lift which the Amir's visit gave it in the public gaze have all, it would appear, conspired to cast round Aligarh a halo of glory, and to make it the cynosure of educational institutions in India. Benares, of course, owes its mention in this connection to the prominence into which it has risen by the efforts and under the guidance of Mrs. Annie Besant, the common priestess of us all. Eton and Harrow are names familiar to all schoolboys wherever English is taught, and they require no effort to be remembered for discreet use at convenient moments in after-life. But it would be interesting to learn (if some fabled fairy would only come and tell us) how many of those who invite us to follow in the wake of these institutions, have had any personal experience or made a personal examination of them, or even speak from knowledge gained from books, and how many, on the other hand, reproduce hearsay accounts or merely repeat names for the sake of the impressions they convey and the associational ideas which they give rise to. Of the one hundred and one schools and gymnasiums, colleges and universities, of the old and new worlds, which are open to us to choose our models from, our educationists have not selected one worthy of their mention. Not to mention the princely colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, which we assume can not but be in everybody's mind, our leaders have failed to point out a single institution of America or France or Germany—countries which lead the world in matters educational—as worth imitating. Instead, we are asked to look up to two Indian seminaries not yet hallowed by age or experience, and one of which can hardly count a decade of existence. We are asked to imitate what are themselves but imitations, to be guided by models which themselves make no claim to be such. And this advice is given to us in the interests of what we all want to make an ideal institute, with unique features of its own, with ideal professors bringing up ideal boys.

The demon of dissent pursues us even in the choice of a site for this cherished Academy of ours. Bombay itself; the suburbs of Bombay; the hill stations of this presidency—Poona, Satara, Lonarla, Panchgani, Deolali and others are by turns accepted and rejected. Even the more important point of the endowment we should start with is not yet settled. Ten lacs, twelve lacs, fifteen to twenty lacs, twenty-five lacs and half a crore in rupees are the estimates variously given by men who appear to have drawn upon their imagination as much as upon their knowledge and experience. But no figures have been given, no rough idea formed of the funds, or incomes, or benefactions or the current expenses

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of the larger colleges of Europe and America. Nor has any one thought it desirable to obtain the advice of an expert in this matter, to call and consult an educationist of standing in the West who could free us from the trammels of the past and the grooves which we have so long threaded. However, these objections might very well stand over till we get an answer to the vital question—where is the fund to come from? We anxiously look up to our Petits and our Tatas, to our Wadias and our Readymoneys; they in their turn look inquiringly at each other, and end by looking back on us, doubtingly. *We* hope, and *they* hope, and *all* of us hope, but the result is that the world moves on whilst we remain stationary. Our middle class will of course subscribe as it always has done; but its own quota will not suffice unless it be supplemented by the figureheads of our community. And this is precisely what they are unwilling to do, until their names are associated with the new institute, and stand a chance of being commemorated in that way. A delicate question like this is thus rendered still more so by this proviso of our millionaires, which to us, frankly, appears as impossible and inadmissible, as to them it can not but strike as important and essential. Nevertheless, it can not be forgotten that the needs of a college as ours is meant to be, are sure not to remain at a standstill. With the lapse of years, will rise ever fresh and unforeseen demands for its satisfactory management, and up-to-date improvement; and it would be fatal to our progress if the spring of charity should dry up in the middle of our career from mere personal or mundane considerations. In this respect indeed we can well imitate the example of Aligarh and Benares, and refrain from doing or allowing others to do an act for which we are sure to repent in the fulness of time.

Thus far, we have made and attempted to make only a general survey of the ground that has been already covered in the solution of this problem. We have done no more than arrange, analyse and summarise the various arguments and cross-arguments, the innumerable *pros* and *cons* that have hitherto made their appearance in public, in one way or another. In an educational enterprise like the one we have been examining, it tends to give a clearer grasp of the whole to look behind on the way we have traversed, to see if we have not strayed from the highroad to get entangled in the maze of bye-paths, and to examine if we have made any progress in drawing nearer to our ultimate goal. And criticism like the present, made up of independent observations by an outsider from his own point of view, may only help to clear our ideas and enable us to come to a correct decision. If, however, in the course of this résumé, any remarks have been made which might appear to be severe and unfair to the promoters of this

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undertaking, let them not be attributed to want of sympathy in their aspirations or to any desire to detract from the importance and undervalue the necessity of their efforts. Nor is it the aim of the present writer to belittle the attempts that are being made, privately and in the press, by the men of his community—the names of some of whom are as familiar in India and outside it as in this city—to bring about the realisation of an idea and a scheme which appeals to them. Indeed he has had opportunities enough to see that an academic institution, intended and reserved for a small community like his, whose student-portion could never exceed a certain limited number (and consequently never give rise to that bane of over-crowding which all colleges are liable to at any moment), and conducted on model lines, ever open to the improvements and reforms made in the Western world, finally managed in a really efficient manner by men of eminent worth, character, talents and genius—such an institution would not only minister to a necessity, would not only in itself be a possession which we could be proud of, but would supply that desideratum of *individual training* which is so essential a part of all true education, and which is so conspicuous by its absence at the present day. But the holding of such a belief need not blindfold us to the false arguments, the misstatements and the exaggerations which are but too evident in the controversy that is being raged round the central theme. The talk of physical deterioration, moral degradation and mental decay is all but overdone, and little good can be effected by the endless jeremiades of those who dilate on them in season and out of season, if, indeed, they do no positive injury to a just cause. In the same way depreciation of the graduate, though it may in some cases be founded on personal contact with and experience of a few poor specimens—the victims of a false and perverse system of studies, of their own incapacity to gauge their gifts or discover their aptitudes, and lastly, of the parents' inability or neglect to guide and direct—is yet quite a travesty of the truth when applied in general, and ought to be treated with that neglect which is deserved by its sweeping character. Again, the sanguine hopes of improving the character and the morality of our boys by merely keeping them apart from home in the quarters or hostels provided for them in school or college, are not hopes wholly founded on Western experience, and there are as many chances of forming a noble nature in them as there are risks of ruining it for good. Finally, in connection with the high, almost wild, hopes that are entertained in some places, as to the beneficial effects which are positively to accrue from the establishment of our new institute, we may recollect the words of Herbert Spencer which maintain that "the notion that an ideal humanity might be forthwith produced by a perfect system of education is not acceptable to such as have dispassionately studied human affairs." But these and other allied topics may be reserved for treatment in another article and on some future occasion, if the scheme of a Parsi Central College advances in the meanwhile from its present initial stage, and shows signs of emerging from the nebulous and intangible state in which it exists to-day. Till that time arrives we may serve by only standing and waiting.

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JOHN MORLEY IN POLITICS.

By Mr. Isaac N. Ford.

INDIAN readers may be fairly familiar with John Morley's work as a man of letters, yet may not know so much about his aptitude for public affairs and the influence exerted by a brilliant intellect and a singularly unselfish and unsullied character. If Englishmen themselves have an indistinct impression of the man, it is not from lack of appreciation, but from the defects of his own virtues. The tastes of a literary student, the habit of philosophic reflection, an instinctive shrinking from publicity, and a ruling passion for self-effacement have kept him in the background. "Popularity is a woman to be mastered rather than wooed," was Chateaubriand's maxim. This man has been too proud-spirited to court public favor and too self-sacrificing to command it. Highminded and disinterested, he has been content with exercising a decisive influence over party policies. If he has ever been deeply concerned in what might happen to him outside his library, he has impulsively waived his own claims for party service, and, as easily as Diogenes joked about the tub, has made sport of sacrificing his ambitions. With philosophic serenity and without affectation of superior virtue, he has valued character as the supreme trust in politics.

There are titles in the British peerage little better than old-age pensions. The veteran Radical has taken one. It was conferred when Mr. Asquith became Prime Minister, and was accepted because there were obvious reasons for retirement from the Commons. It was not merely because he felt unequal to late hours and constant attendance on the front bench, but mainly because he was Secretary for India during a period of inscrutable unrest, when official silence was indeed golden. While not enamoured of the privileges of the gilded chamber and the society of dukes, earls, and viscounts, he welcomed a retreat to a secluded refuge where he would not be cross-examined daily by inquisitive bores and meddlesome mischief-makers respecting what was going on in the changeful, mysterious Orient. Probably no personal sacrifice which he had made in his protracted public life was more repugnant to his feelings than that of becoming Viscount Morley, especially as Gladstone,

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his beloved leader, had sternly refused to take a peerage. It was a public duty, and he did not shirk it. He is a peer because India, honeycombed with sedition, needs a strong hand and a silent tongue, and because the Liberal party cannot dispense with the services of its most disinterested Cabinet Minister.

While he is in the House of Lords, he is not of it, and is conscious of being out of place. It is, indeed, pathetic to watch the new Viscount in the uncongenial environment. He creeps in stealthily, as though he were afraid of meeting the ghost of his former self. He seems ill at ease, except when his old friend the Lord Chancellor, whom he used to know as "Bob Reid," nods to him and calls him "John." It is only when Lord Curzon or Lord Cromer makes incisive comments upon Indian affairs that the old lion is aroused and full of fight. He shivers and looks around uneasily when he is referred to as the "Noble Viscount," whereas in the old days he used to smile complacently when a sturdy workingman of Newcastle or Montrose called him, affectionately, "Honest John." It is said that there is a hard glint in his eyes when any over-zealous subordinate in the India Office ventures to say "Your Lordship," and that his fingers toy with the ink-horn as Martin Luther's did when he fancied that Satan was in the background. He does not like his state, and is irritable when reminded of it. For this reason I shall avoid using his title in this article, and shall speak of him as John Morley, as he is known to friends in his own library.

From the gallery of the House of Lords one sees on the front Government bench the bent form, the high, finely modelled forehead, the shrunken features, and the pallid face of a scholar in politics. This is "Honest John Morley," a man of force, without commanding presence or natural dignity of pose. He is not a leader of men from having a magnetic gift of attracting sympathy and support, but an awkward, reticent philosopher, preoccupied with his critical faculties and gravely surveying the tendencies or vagaries of debate with a sense of detachment from every one around him. He listens to speeches with solemn mien and eager intentness—a habit acquired from Gladstone. Sometimes there is a whispered comment to Lord Crewe, or to some other Ministerial colleague, but ordinarily his face is steeled with an expression of weariness and disappointment.

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Others may enjoy the clash of controversy and the cleverness of tactical manœuvres. He is not interested in the by-play of Westminster, but cares only for principles and results. If his intellectual features are ever illumined with a transitory gleam of colour, it is from ironical reflection on the wastefulness of Parliamentary procedure and the insincerities of partisan politics.

When the veteran is on his feet—and now that he has passed seventy this does not often occur—he is neither eloquent nor impressive. When he is not stooping awkwardly to keep the run of his notes, he is swaying from side to side and flinging out his arms to emphasize points. There is no distinction of manner, and the voice is neither clear nor melodious. Possibly because he did not enter Parliament until his forty-sixth year, but more probably because he was a close thinker and a writer with fastidious taste, whose literary methods had been influenced by the noblest and most flexible English prose, he has never mastered the art of debate. Nor is he more effective on the platform before a general audience; for the broader style, which he deliberately adopts, is foreign to his habits of thought, and while he tries to let himself go, he is constantly making over his sentences and casting about for the right word. I once heard him quote Gladstone's dictum: "As for the words —well, the words come!" The words do not come easily to John Morley. He catches his breath and gropes for them while his auditors' hearts are in a flutter of expectation. There has been thorough preparation and the speech is saturated with thought, but the delivery is clogged with difficulties of expression. It is only when his voice vibrates with earnestness of conviction that he commands attention by an approach to oratorical power.

This unimpressive figure with the halting tongue is not a great personality to either eye or ear. A keen observer in the gallery is not readily convinced that he is one of the foremost men in English politics. Certainly he is not singled out as an object of pictorial satire. This is not, however, a decisive test of greatness, for English caricature is for the moment without conspicuous models. The cartoon-makers continue to depict political situations, with the Prime Minister, the leader of the Opposition, and their colleagues ludicrously posed; but it is

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dull sport, for they are commonplace figures. Effective caricature as practised by a master like Sir John Tenniel requires aggressive personalities like Beaconsfield, Gladstone, Bright, Salisbury, and Parnell, with the incomparable gift of appealing to men's imaginations and of arousing popular enthusiasm. At present there are fewer characters of historical importance. King Edward is one, but artists are too loyal and circumspect to take liberties with him. Mr. Chamberlain has been another; but in impaired health and enforced retirement he passes without observation. Caricature does not challenge political ghosts, and he is one, his short messages of allegiance to tariff reform having the sepulchral sound of "Swear!" from the perturbed spirit of Hamlet's father. Good subjects for satire are lacking. A broad stage is crowded with trimmers, practical politicians, and stock properties. "Honest John" is not one of them, but neither face nor figure lends itself to pictorial art, nor has he either the will or the dexterity needed for pushing himself to the centre of the stage.

Lord Morley's is not a personality that flaunts its virtues or affects a theatrical pose. He has, indeed, the simplicity of greatness. He does not magnify his own aptitude for politics nor his resources of influence. He has an open mind for everything except his own pre-eminence in public life. When he was editing newspapers and reviews, he insisted upon rewriting sentences in his own way and upon reproving contributors for reckless statements and partisanship; but he was also hospitable to new ideas and quick to discern rising talent and to encourage it. At Westminster he listens almost deferentially to younger men, and warmly praises them when they distinguish themselves. Old literary friends like George Meredith and James Bryce have a warm place in his heart; but he is not exclusive in his acquaintance, nor anything but broadly democratic in personal relations. John Burns, who has risen from "buttons" and factory boy to the Cabinet, is not less honoured than Mr. Birrell, a fellow book-lover, or titled associates like Lord Ripon and Lord Spencer. In his own library, where he is an uncrowned king, all constraint is lost and reminiscences of old times are dashed off with delightful informality and quaint humour. He has no enemies, and enjoys immunity from partisan criticism. Mr. Balfour treats

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him with respect and affection. Mr. Chamberlain disappointed him sorely in deserting Home Rule, and irritated him by abandonment of Cobdenism; but they remained friends. With the magnanimity of a noble mind, he has the tolerant habit of respecting men whose opinions he dislikes.

Heredity has had something to do with the development of John Morley's natural aptitude for politics, and the impress of three master minds even more. An independent and fearless thinker, he has become the watchful monitor of progressive democracy; yet critical qualities, which have been tempered by the literary labours of a lifetime, have never been relaxed. He has remained a vigilant censor of diplomacy of adventure, labour movements, and socialistic agitation. It may be a strain in the blood, for he was a surgeon's son, but he has never ceased to diagnose the symptoms of what is unsound in democratic causes, to apply probe, cautery, and drastic surgery to evils of administration, and to dissect what is reckless or immoral in foreign or colonial policies. It has been an inconvenient trait of a discerning mind, for it arrayed the Newcastle miners against him when he opposed the eight-hour agitation; it exposed him to ridicule when he denounced British aggression in the Sudan; and it made the stern moralist of the Boer War almost as unpopular as Bright had been during the Crimean campaign; but it has produced cumulative proof of sincerity of purpose and courage of conviction. Whether he advocates Home Rule for Ireland or disciplines Indian agitators with an iron will, he has reasoned out the case with searching of heart as though he were an analyst of public morals, or the custodian of the national conscience.

His keen reasoning processes and political activities were quickened by Mill; his human sympathies were broadened by Cobden; and his sense of moral responsibility was deepened by Gladstone. The influence of Mill's writings and treatment of political reforms and social questions was profound. He became a radical democrat because the great logician had been one, and he employed the same critical methods of analysis and investigation. Moving on as high a plane of action, he has shown less pride of intellect and been less austere and more companionable. Mill deliberately limited his society to a very few persons. He was convinced that contact with the world

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should be slight for intellectual men, because they were out of place where they could not find inspiration for thought and were likely to deteriorate if they talked below their level. His disciple has been indifferent to what is ordinarily known as society; he has lacked patience for dinner parties, and has kept out of the great houses in town or country; he never makes an ostentatious display of his intellectual gifts; and is not a clubman beyond being a member of the Athenæum, the refuge of men of letters. He has lacked personal objects in social as in political life; yet he is more accessible than Mill, and never out of touch with the world. Cobden's writings and example have tended to make him more human in his interests and more practical in public work.

To the driving impulse of high critical intellect has been added the regulating power of moral authority. This was Gladstone's gift to the friend whom he loved, and who could say this of him in unveiling the statue at Manchester: "Nobody in our time has shown a more resounding example of the great thing that a great man can make of a life." Loyalty to his leader was no small part of John Morley's religion. The biography was written with the reverent spirit of an evangel. In it he renewed his intimacy with a moral teacher who "had helped to keep the soul alive in England." When it was finished, there seemed little worthy of achievement. Parliament without Gladstone was a dull, ignoble assembly, where littleness of mind and frivolity of debate depressed him. While the habit of conscientious service has remained, the ardour has gone out of him. He is happier at Wimbledon among his books and dogs than at Westminster listening to the drone of debate or lounging among the gossips of the smoking-room. He labours strenuously at the India Office, and has mastered the complex details of business as few of his predecessors have done. Yet his heart is not there, but among the benignant ghosts of his library shelves, where there are no political manœuvres, no partisan vapourings, no faction intrigues, and where he finds the high level of thought and companionship which he has missed in public life since Gladstone left him.

His indifference to personal advantage helps to explain the great authority exercised by him. Public life can have little to offer him because he is in it from a sense of duty and not from

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any love of political strife, nor from any passion for making a brilliant reputation as a statesman. Without having either the ambition or the worldly sagacity required for successful leadership, he has the disinterested qualities of a statesmanlike adviser. This has been his chief function since he broke away from the editorship of the *Fortnightly Review* and from English and French biographical studies, and became conspicuous in Parliament. For twenty years he has been directing out of sight the policies of the Liberal party in relation to Nationalists and Labour factions; yet there has never been an intrigue against him, and his claims to the leadership have not been urged. He has not been even second in command, yet his influence over one front bench after another has been unrivalled.

Whether "Honest John" was the persuasive missionary to convince Gladstone that Irish Home Rule was necessary, or was himself a convert to the veteran's noble altruism, he was the trusted adviser during a period of storm and stress. It was the intimate friend who held up the weary statesman's hands when he was grieved by desertions and disheartened by opposition; and when strength failed him and he was forced to retire to Hawarden, it was to the loyal adviser that he turned to take up the unfinished work. Gladstone was loquacious with chance acquaintances and reticent with Cabinet associates, but he had no secrets from John Morley. The truth was not known until the biography was published. He intended to name Lord Spencer as his successor, if the Queen were to ask for his advice. There were no comments on this disclosure, but his purpose was clear. He wished to place his Irish Viceroy on guard over the Home Rule cause, with the Secretary for Ireland behind the Prime Minister, and expected them to work together at Westminster as harmoniously as they had done in Dublin. His purpose failed, since the Queen did not solicit his counsel, but herself sent for Lord Rosebery.

John Morley was Sir William Harcourt's loyal supporter in the Liberal leadership of the Commons, and was accepted as confidential mentor when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman formed a progressive Cabinet. He would have preferred the Treasury as his own post, and reluctantly took the India Office when Mr. Asquith was unwilling to stand aside. Yet he enjoyed

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the Prime Minister's confidence, and exerted a potent influence over the Administration. A silent figure at Westminster, he spoke decisively in Cabinet Council when the working millions had discovered how to bring their power to bear between the main political parties.

If he had been less high-minded he would have expected the Treasury when Mr. Asquith became Prime Minister, and would have resented the appointment of Mr. Lloyd George as Chancellor of the Exchequer. He thrust aside his ambition as a vagary of old age, adapted himself to the new conditions, accepted a title that was distasteful to him, and went on with his work in the India Office as a public trust requiring strenuous service and incessant vigilance. There he is to be found day after day, plodding through blue books and official correspondence as though he were writing another biography of Cobden or Gladstone, instead of mastering the details of the government of hundreds of millions of the King's subjects in a new Orient reawakened by the triumphs of Japan. Possibly there is an added sense of detachment from his colleagues ; he may work more mechanically and seem more absent-minded in talking with his friends ; he may condemn with finer cynicism the lack of earnestness in public life, and complain that democratic reforms are not thought out with thoroughness and practical intelligence. Yet he works on from force of habit and with serenity of mind, is loyal to his new leader, and has faith in democracy.

John Morley seems to have absorbed much of that conservatism which lay at the bottom of Gladstone's complex nature and imparted continuity to a constant evolution of opinion from reactionary Toryism to progressive Radicalism. While consistently democratic in principles, he has repeatedly shown courage and persistency in opposing demoralizing tendencies in the working world. Always an abstract reasoner like Mill and never an organizer or agitator like Cobden, he has not been a doctrinaire, nor in frenzied haste to reform the world by levelling processes. An earnest advocate of hearty co-operation between Liberalism and Labour for the promotion of the welfare of the masses, he has recoiled from visionary schemes of common ownership and crude Socialism tending to discredit advanced thinking, to paralyze the energies of practical reformers, and to demoralize communities. Never turning away affrighted from

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social reform, like timorous ecclesiastics from modernism, he has been a moderating force in restraining and directing the democratic movement in England. His reserves of character, his intellectual discernment, and his sobriety of judgment have armed him with resources of power.

This Radical Viscount now reflects much of Gladstone's optimism respecting human progress, even when great causes are deferred and social issues are in a tangle of ignorance and prejudice. He has lost faith neither in the saving virtue of self-government for Ireland, nor in the ultimate regeneration of the masses by deliberate processes of education and democratic reform. Mill became a pessimist after a life devoted to radical speculation, and left on record in the *Autobiography* his despairing conviction that no great improvements in the lot of mankind were possible without a general transformation of religion, morals, and modes of thought—new heavens and a new earth. His disciple is not equally hopeless. He has been impressed with a great man's faith in the moral order of the universe. While he may hesitate to call himself religious, except as Dr. Arnold contended that one who begins with believing in morals ends by believing in God, he has been inspired with Gladstone's idea of the world as a sublime theatre lighted by a ray from the divine Mind, where unselfish workers and conscientious thinkers are in "visible relations with the counsels of all time." If Mill was the saint of Rationalism, so John Morley is the prophet, if not the high priest, of Morality.—N. Y. O.

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INDIAN MUSSALMANS AND INDIAN POLITICS—I.

By an "Indian Mussalman."

IT seems passing strange that the Indian Mussalmans who were for centuries past and until recently the principal actors on the political stage should entirely fight shy of and turn a deaf ear to politics. What is it that has kept them back from participating in any national movements organised by other Indian communities? How comes it that they persevere in a policy of supreme indifference, profound isolation and, nay, sometimes even assume a hostile attitude towards the so-called Nationalists? How is it that while the congeries of communities, which may be conveniently grouped together under the aggregate name of Hindu, wage a political crusade against the bureaucracy, the Indian Muslim stands aside with folded arms and complacently watches the game, sometimes casting in his lot with the bureaucrats? We shall, in the course of this paper, try to diagnose aad determine the causes which have produced this political torpor, and reconcile, if possible, the seeming contrarieties of the Muslim temperament, of inert exclusiveness with ebullitions of loyalty, of political inactivity and lifelessness with a sectional political demonstration of his own and the formation of "Leagues."

With the decline and fall of the Moghul Empire and the consequent expansion and consolidation of British India, a profound change came over the country. A process of revolution and re-formation set in around its political and social groups. The community which was most vitally affected by the change, which was least prepared for it, and which was the last to accommodate itself to the changed environments, was the Muslim community. From rulers of the land and the recipients of the highest offices of trust and responsibility, they were reduced to the level of their Hindu fellow-countrymen and in an incredibly short time they sank lower still and became their inferiors. Yet the change did not come with a revolutionary suddenness and cyclonic rapidity. They were favoured for a long time to come and had the lion's share of State patronage and this "preferential" treatment must have contributed not a little to their subsequent inertness and made

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them oblivious of the mighty change that was slowly but steadily coming over them. Said the late Sir W. W. Hunter :—

During the first period of the Company's administration they still he an undue proportion of official posts. In the last century (18th) Mussalm Collectors gathered the Company's land-tax in Bengal, Mussalman *Foujd* and *Ghatwals* officered its police. A great Mussalman department, with head-quarters in the Nawab Nazim's Palace at Murshadabad, and a n work of Musalman officials over every district in Bengal administered t Criminal Law. Mussalman jailors kept ward over the prison population Northern India; Kazis or Mahomedan Doctors of Law presided in the ci and domestic courts. When the Company first attempted to adminis justice by means of trained English officers in its Bengal possessions, t Mahomedan Law Doctors still sat with them as their authoritative advis on points of law. The Code of Islam remained for many purposes the law the land, and the ministerial and subordinate officers of Government c tinued to be the almost hereditary property of the Musalmans.

The Muslims, with an air of superiority begotten of lo sovereignty, fondly cherished the hope that things would th last till eternity and hence were least prepared for the chang The versatile Hindus, on the other hand, who had been under t foreign yoke for so many centuries, readily accommodated the selves to the changed environments. For them, it was only change of rulers—from the Moghul to the British raj—and change of official language—from Persian to English. The were henceforward on parallel rungs in the official ladders an this gave them an immense advantage over their quondam overlords. When the Muslims saw that they were no longe specially favoured and *laissez faire* doctrine given free play, the were touched to the quick and like the chrysalis became "pe fectly lifeless and dead." They ruminated long over their falle glory and departed splendour before making a new move, an when they did make one it was in the wrong direction. This prolonged inertness left them far behind in the race of life Having once lost the *primacy*, they were thrust to the back ground and being a minority could never lift up their heads again. The tide had turned in favour of the Hindus.

State education put the finishing stroke to the waning in fluence of the Mahomedans. The *coup de grace* of 1854 com pleted the revolution. Sir W. W. Hunter says :—

Almost everywhere it was found that the Hindu population seized with avidity the opportunities afforded by State education for bettering themselves in life; while the Mahomedan community, excepting in certain localities, failed as a whole to do so..... The Hindus began to pour into every grade of

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official life..... It became apparent that Western instruction was producing not only a redistribution of employments but also an upheaval of races.

The Muslims brooding over the loss of political as well as social supremacy were "not in a mood to learn" a foreign language, a language which was "stigmatised as altogether irreligious." They continued to be in this listless stage for a time. While the Hindus were making rapid strides in English education, "bigoted mullas, whose brains had been heated by the accumulated fanaticism of ages, and to whom everything of the *Firangi* type was what a red rag is to a mad bull, employed the most potent and at the same time the most dangerous instrument of faith in the propagation of their ideas, and hurled from the Vaticans in which they had been seated by the blind reverence of ignorant mobs, anathemas of excommunications from the pale of Islam, against those who, mindful of the new spirit that had begun to move on the face of the waters, had attempted to inform or bring their co-religionists into touch with it."* These high-turbaned and long-robed gentry kept alive the flame of fanaticism in the breasts of the Faithful and wrought an incalculable amount of harm to the Mahomedan cause and progress by stemming the advancing tide of English education.

Meanwhile India was convulsed with the great Indian Mutiny. The smouldering fire of Muslim ire and the pent-up wrath of some Hindu royalties ignited by the torch of sacrilege, burst into a general conflagration in 1857. But the Mutiny was mainly a Muslim revolt. It was "the last desperate spring after the shadow of a lost Empire." Whatever far-reaching and more important consequences it may have had, it sounded the death-knell of Muslim prestige and power. The Mahomedans had, by their participation in the Mutiny, lost the ground which they were never able to recover afterwards. They forfeited for the time the confidence of their foreign rulers; and it is from this period that must be dated the loss of their numerical majority in the higher subordinate ranks of the civil and military services. Before the Mutiny they largely outnumbered the Hindus in all the best offices which could be held by a native in Northern India; after that period they fell to a minority, and although they were in no way responsible, as a body, for the misconducting of

* Mr. Shaik Barakat Ali on *The Origin of the Moslem Renaissance in India* (*Hindustan Review*, July, 1907).

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certain sections of their communities in 1857, yet in certain provinces they have naturally had some hard work to recover the ground which was cut from under them.

The Mutiny left such a legacy of suspicion that even as late as 1871 (the year in which *Our Indian Mussalmans* was written) Sir W. W. Hunter, a not unsympathetic writer, described them as "a source of chronic danger to the British power in India." His views were no doubt coloured, as his book was written at a time when there was the recrudescence of Wahabi fanaticism, which culminated in the assassination of the English Chief Justice of Bengal on the steps of his own court. The Wahabi incubus was then disturbing the not-to-be-easily-ruffled equanimity of Anglo-India. Sir William Hunter did not take a panoramic view of the Moslem sentiment in general, but saw Mahomedan India through the contracted vista of Wahabi attitude towards the Government. He was too near the seething times to take a true perspective of the Mahomedan situation. We can see in the coolness of distant time that the Wahabi movements of the seventies, as those of the early thirties, were but puerile attempts on the part of some puritan Muslims to throw off the Christian yoke under the plea of a *jihad*. They never appealed to the Muslims of India at large, an incontrovertible proof of which is afforded by the fact that a Wahabi was held up to ridicule by the rank and file of Mahomedans and a follower of Abdul Wahab signified "a term of abuse of even a deeper dye than an athiest or an unbeliever." Nevertheless the calumny of disloyalty and a disposition "to rebel against the Queen" hung over the whole community.

After these political and religio-political outbursts, a great depression ensued, with an educational regeneration followed by political hibernation. Mahomedan languidness and lifelessness reached their lowest ebb. Never was the outlook so gloomy, before or after. The Moslems of India were passing through a time of great stress. Spurned from above and elbowed out laterally, they were in a hopeless situation. They were "wallowing in the deepest depths of degradation and decay." Just at this time when the Islamic barge was flapping aimlessly and steadily drifting towards the rocks, a steersman came to the rescue in spite of the angry howls of the mulla crew and saved the vessel from wrecking. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan came in

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response to a divine law. With a prophetic vision, he saw even before 1857 that "the future of India lay with the British and not with the decrepit Moghul Empire." Living in close relationship with modern thought, he urged "the supreme necessity of learning the English language and of reaching through its medium those treasures of pure thought which lie hidden in the precious works of its writers." The reconciliation of East and West was the key-note of his policy. With this object in view he founded in 1875 a school at Aligarh which, in 1877, was raised to the status of a college—the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College. To quote the very words of Sir Syed, the objects of the foundation of the college were "*to reconcile Oriental learning with Western literature and Science, to make the Muslims of India worthy and useful subjects of the British Crown, to inspire in them that loyalty which springs not from servile submission to foreign rule, but from genuine appreciation of the blessings of good government.*"* Modelled on the public schools of England, this institution produced a regenerated Muslim India, retaining the best traditions of Islam and at the same time freely assimilating Western science and learning. Nor was religious instruction neglected. It was made "an integral part of the education" which is slowly closing the breach in Islam between Sunni and Shiah. Sir Syed's tone of education was so healthy and his influence over the Government so great that, under his guidance, the Muslims of India, who until then were under the cloud of suspicion, began to glow in the sun-shine of loyalty. From that time the loyalty of Islam in India has not wavered, in spite of pan-Islamic movements in other parts of the Mahomedan world.

While Sir Syed was thus consolidating and consummating his lifework, there appeared in 1885 on the Indian horizon the "alluring figure" of the Indian National Congress. The beginnings of India's first Parliament were laid; and with it Indian politics, if there are any at all, took their rise. "The Mahomedans whom Sir Syed's teaching had awakened to a consciousness of the situation around them, seemed minded to throw in their lot with their Bengali countrymen. Sir Syed, who had been the means of all this awakening among the Mahomedans, began to resolve

* From the address presented to Lord Lytton, 1877.

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in his mind the *pros* and *cons* of the situation and though dazzled in the beginning with the splendour of the Congress shows, soon began to preach to his co-religionists the gospel of aloofness from the Congress camp..... He at once dissociated himself pronouncedly from the Congress and then in a series of sermons pitched in Old Testament key, called upon the followers of Islam in India to leave once for all the path of the Congress and to revert to that of Education."*

Let us examine the circumstances which led Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to adopt such an apathetic and stoic attitude towards India's Parliament. He had, however, no quarrel with the Congress and its organisers, the Hindus. On the other hand, there is "internal evidence" to show that he did sympathise with the aims of the Congress and had unstinted praise for the Bengalis. Did he not pronounce the memorable words:—"the Muhomedans and Hindus are the two eyes of India—injure the one and you injure the other"? Did he not say:—"I assure you that the Bengalis are the only people in our country whom we can be proud of and it is only due to them that knowledge, liberty and patriotism have progressed in our country. I can truly say that they are the head and crown of all the communities of Hindustan.....In the word 'nation' I include both Hindus and Muhammadans, because that is the only meaning which I can attach to it." How is it then that the venerable Syed, imbued with such latitudinarian ideas and breadth of feeling, preach the "gospel of aloofness" to the Mahomedans? He thought that the time was most inopportune for the Moslems to join the Congress propaganda. The memories of the Mutiny still lingered in the bureaucratic mind. The Wahabee excesses were too fresh to be forgotten. At a time when the Muslims were being compensated for the lost ground and were being exonerated from the charge of a disposition "to rebel against the Queen," it was most injudicious for them to join a political movement which savoured of Government opposition, however mild and constitutional it may be. Moreover, Sir Syed knew the fanatical lengths to which the Mahomedan spirit might go when once they entered the arena of politics and as Mahomedan fanaticism was still unqualified and

* Mr. Shaik Barakat Ali on "*The Origin of the Moslem Renaissance in India.*" (*Hindustan Review*, July, 1907.)

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unallayed by education, he stayed them from entering the Congress lists. Whether this was a far-sighted or myopic policy those who witnessed the Surat Congress pandemonium or at least followed (in papers) the tumultuous proceedings which ended in a fracas and a fiasco, can best judge for themselves. When mild and mellow Brahmins, bridled by education cannot, now-a-days, restrain themselves in the heat of political warfare, what could have been expected of unbroken and unbridled Mahomedans of the eighties? Surely they would have wrecked the Congress, if they had joined it. Lovers and well-wishers of the Congress have therefore to thank, rather than blame, the late Sir Syed for keeping himself and his 'flock' aloof from it. Sir Syed further argued that political consciousness is "the inevitable outcome of a sound and healthy course of national education" and that if you take care of education, politics will take care of itself. So he continually harped upon education: he admonished his co-religionists not to enter the quicksands of politics: he advised them not to pursue the mirage of political salvation. He riveted his attention to the two crying and immediate wants of the Mahomedans—Education and Social Reform—which he made good by founding the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College and by starting the *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* (*The Mahomedan Social Reformer*), which was not unlike Addison's *Spectator* in general bearing, abounding in carping criticism enveloped in humour; in bold, crisp and original ideas clothed in an equally original style; and in fearlessly exposing the evils that had crept into society, the whole being rounded off with a weighty moral. As Sir Syed was often haunted with the idea that "the energy he had been instrumental in creating should dissipate itself in fighting the visionary battles of the Congress," he weaned the Muslims from the Congress and politics in general and like a fond parent—in the oriental sense he was a parent* also—he very soon (a year after the Congress was founded, *i. e.*, in 1886) appeased† them with the harmless Mahomedan Educational Congress

* Compare the Arabic saying:—
أبوك ثم ثم ودك ومن علمك ومن زوجك —

† Again compare the sanskrit Stanza from *Raghubansa*:—

जनी ताचा पनीताच ॥ येन विद्योपदिश्यते ॥
अन्नदाता भयत्राता ॥ पंचैते पितरस्मृता ॥

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toy‡ while his Hindu brethren were indulging in a political game.

While Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was actuated by the noblest of motives and most disinterested of aims in shunning the political field for the nonce—he did not pronounce the ban for all time—other causes helped to widen the breach between the Mahomedans and the Congress. Although Mahomedan opinion has veered a little since and a new political consciousness engendered in the breasts of the Indian Mahomedans—it is seeking an independent evolution for itself, although it were better by far that the new and smaller current should join the older and larger stream—the gulf once formed has remained and bids fair to remain, unless some sudden awakening turns the tide. There were, however, some sincere endeavours to close the breach. The late Mr. Justice Budruddin Tyabjee, the late Hon'ble Mr. Rahimtulla Mahomed Sayani, Shamsul-ulama Doctor Syed Ali Bilgrami and the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mohamed, men no less honoured by the Hindu Community than by their own, have, on important occasions,§ tried their level best to emphasise on their co-religionists the lesson that "it is our duty always to co-operate with the other Indians in every movement of a national character" and that "in so far as general political questions are concerned, *i. e.*, questions which affect the (Indian) Empire as a whole and all the communities together and not merely the Moslem community....., the Mussalmans and all other communities in India ought all to work together, hand in hand, and not separately or hostilely towards each other." Readers of the *Hindustan Review* need not be remind-

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Compare also Moru Punt's famous lines (Marathi) which have very much the same ring:—

॥ जो तुज विद्या सांगे ॥ जो रक्षी प्राण अन्नदेऊन ॥
॥ जो भय संकट वारी ॥ हे बापासमतिद्येनहतऊन ॥

‡ In 1890 the word "Conference" was substituted for "Congress," to show to the Mahomedan masses that it had no connection with the Indian National Congress.

§ Mr. Justice Budruddin Tyabjee in his presidential address at the Madras Congress of 1887 and the presidential address at the Mahomedan Educational Conference held at Bombay in 1903; the Hon'ble R. M. Sayani in his presidential address at the Calcutta Congress of 1891; Shamsul-ulma Doctor Syed Ali Bilgrami in his speech at the Ranade Memorial Meeting held at Secunderabad in March 1901; the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahomed in his address as Chairman of the Reception Committee at the Madras Congress of 1903,

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ed that the first two gentlemen, seceding from the inert ranks of Mahomedans—nevertheless true to their own cause—, actually presided over the deliberations of the Indian National Congress—a fact which must for ever gag the mouths of those who speak of the Congress as sectional and oligarchical. Yet these attempts to bridge the gulf failed. But to come to the causes which have maintained or even widened the breach.

From its very inception the Mahomedans viewed the Congress with suspicion. Even after the go-cart stage when they could stand up on their own legs, they did not feel themselves disposed to go out of the beaten track marked out by Sir Syed and take the free run of the political field. Sounding to its very depths the mind of the *sirkar*, they came to the conclusion that their salvation lay in not joining the Congress and adhering faithfully to Sir Syed's original policy of aloofness. Sectional selfishness, distrust, race-hatred, a desire to stand in the good graces of the Government and above all, an instinct of self-preservation kept the gulf wide between the Mahomedans and the Congresswallas. Even after they were educationally equipped to enter the Congress arena, sectional selfishness prompted the Muslims to stand aside. They did not like to join a movement which, they feared, would be prejudicial to their interests. They thought that in the Congress they would be swamped by the Hindus, who formed the majority of the population and that their voice would be drowned in the din of the Hindu harangues. The same distrust breeded the chimera that, in supporting the Hindus, they would be actually assisting them to pass resolutions against the interests of Mussalmans and misleading Government into believing that they were in favour of such resolutions. In a spirit of race-hatred, they insinuated that the Congress was not a representative Parliament—did it not lie in their power to make it more representative—and that its aims were not *honest* and *practical*. Some narrow, bigoted Mahomedans even raised the puerile objection that it is against their religion to join the Congress. The gulf between the Muslims and the Congresswallas was not so much owing to sectional selfishness or race-hatred as to a desire on the part of the "faithful" to be in the good graces of the Government. To curry favour with the Government, they joined the Anglo-Indian chorus in flouting at the Congress and in a similar vein

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indulged in the platitude that Western institutions are not adaptable to India. Constituting a minority they did not like to win the odium of the bureaucracy, although they might have been stung by qualms of conscience that they were ranging themselves against the Nationalists. The mundane instinct of self-preservation—to sum up the whole situation—prevailed over the sacred principle and divine obligation of Nationality. Try ever so hard they may to shield themselves under the plea that "unequal combinations are always disadvantageous to the weaker side" for their line of action in regard to the Congress, the Indian Muslims cannot be exonerated from the charge of apostacy from the cause of Indian nationalism. And yet these very Mahomedans who scrupulously but selfishly adhered to Oliver Goldsmith's golden precept, were not slow to enjoy the fruit of other men's labour. Is this not a case of the Giant and Dwarf fable reversed? The giant (Hindus) fights and the Dwarf (Mahomedans) rests in the shade and gets an equal share (of privileges) without moving his little finger.*

Such were briefly the causes which led to the political torpor of the Mahomedans. Such were the circumstances which led to the inauguration of a "school of Mahomedan opinion" which tabooed the Congress in particular and politics in general, or which was at best content to regard politics as the "mere manifestation of a sub-consciousness." It leavened Mahomedan opinion so much so that politics were regarded as a bogey, looked upon as a scarecrow and shunned as a bugbear. To the average Mahomedan, politics meant diplomacy and the word "political" had some sinister meaning, little short of villainy. A wire-puller was often called a political man. Politics were thus a "charmed circle" to Indian Mahomedans. They never appealed to their instincts. Even when elected as members of local boards, municipal corporations and legislative councils (Imperial and Provincial) which are the only representative bodies countenanced by the bureaucratic Government, they figured as dumb and mute members, moping in the council and saying "Amen" to the chairman's proposals (amendments, or rejections) or being led by the nose by dictatorial bureaucrats. In such assemblies

* This is borne out, to give the latest illustration, by the appointment of one Mahomedan and one Hindu member to the India Council.

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they were never known to have played the first fiddle and if there were any exceptions, they only went to prove the rule.

The long political hibernation with occasional loyalty outbursts which showed that the Muslim community was not altogether lifeless, lasted for a little more than 20 years.* Ever since the memorable 1st October, 1906, when Lord Minto received the Mahomedan Deputation at Simla, the Muslims of India have entered upon a new political career, the development of which is awaited with great interest not only by our co-religionists but by our Congress brethren. This departure from 20 years' political quietude since the start of the Indian National Congress, unprecedented as it is in the recent history of Indian Mahomedans, marks out a healthy growth in the conception and development of Mahomedan loyalty and opens up a new vista of hope in the struggle for Indian Nationalism. Hitherto the Indian Mahomedans laboured under a self-imposed chauvinistic loyalty which left them no room for free, independent—yet strictly constitutional—action. Now all this is changed. The laboured loyalty which arrested political germination and growth has given place to a healthy fealty which allows the Muslims wide latitude in matters political, provided they do not go beyond the bounds of constitutionalism and enter the borderland of sedition. What is then the cause of this pleasant political consciousness which has sent a new pulse beating through the Mahomedan heart? What is it that has galvanised the Moslem community to political action from a state of coma? What was the talisman that opened the "prison wall" of political apathy and what was the charm that broke the inner spell of political stupor? These questions we shall discuss in another paper.

* 1885—1906.

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AS AN INDIAN SEES AMERICA—IV:
The Seamy side of American Politics.

By Mr. Saint Nihal Singh.

THE year 1908 was a presidential campaign year in America and the atmosphere was charged with politics. For months the politicians were busy pleading, tricking people to vote in their favour. Stump speeches were the order of the day. Newspapers were filled with the news of the campaign and everything forcefully reminded one of the fact that the great American nation was about to elect one of its men to the highest position in the land.

Eight men had been named as candidates for the Presidentship of the United States. These men were Taft, Bryan, Debs, Watson, Chafin, Hisgen, Gillhaus and Turney. The parties who had named these candidates were respectively: Republican, Democratic, Socialist, Populist, Prohibitionist, Independence League, Socialist-Labour and United Christian. It was openly avowed that the last mentioned six parties had no chance to succeed, and that the fight practically resolved itself into a contest between the Republican and Democratic parties. "Bill" Taft or "Bill" Bryan would occupy the seat of the President of the United States. On which "Bill" fickle fate would smile, none could foretell.

The present President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, may be termed a strenuous man: he certainly is far from dignified. He is a partisan of partisans—far from being a true representative of the entire nation. He did not go on the stump to make speeches in favour of Honorable William H. Taft, his party's candidate, who until recently was his Secretary of War. But it was openly acknowledged by Mr. Roosevelt that he brought about the nomination of Mr. Taft; nor did the President seek to hide the efforts he was making to elect Mr. Taft as his successor. Mr. Roosevelt has a peculiar style of writing, forceful and muck-raking, and he outdid himself in anathemising the prominent men of the Democratic party. The President did not seek to avoid "washing dirty linen" in the open. He levelled hot, fiery shafts at the opponents of his

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favourite candidate and was hotly assailed in return. Being a typical American, the President, I fancy, did not care at all about "dirty-linen-washing" and "mud-slinging." He was after results. All he cared for was to make Mr. Taft succeed him, as he declared that Mr. Taft would follow in his footsteps and carry out the policies he had initiated. A newspaperman with humour declared that Mr. Taft was corpulent because of Mr. Roosevelt being a part and parcel of his anatomy. As soon as Mr. Taft would get into the White House, he would unburden himself of Mr. Roosevelt, and Mr. Roosevelt would continue to be the President of the United States. It is for this primary reason that the present head of the United States did all in his power to help elect Mr. Taft. Vanity is human. It is but natural that Mr. Roosevelt should exhibit the vanity to install himself as dictator of the nation.

Some time ago the President's son-in-law delivered a speech in which he was reported to have said that Mr. Roosevelt desires to rule the people of the United States for eight years more by means of Mr. Taft, acting as his proxy; that after Mr. Taft has been President of the United States for two terms, he will be succeeded by Mr. Roosevelt, who will continue in office for two or three terms. An ardent admirer of Mr. Roosevelt followed the President's son-in-law and expressed the hope that the son-in-law would step into his father-in-law's shoes and dominate the nation for eight or twelve years. The press in the United States, during times of Presidential campaigns, is subsidized and dilutes and tinctures news, so it is impossible to state how far this report of Congressman Nicholas Longworth's speech was true; but it significantly points to the direction in which the wind is blowing. It shows how far the people of the United States are democratized and republicanized—how far they have left behind them the ideas of dynastic rulers and dictators.

President Roosevelt was not in a class by himself, so far as "mud-slinging" was concerned. Others did the same thing. For months exposures were in the air. The Republicans "showed up"—to use an Americanism—the Democrats; the Democrats returned the compliment and painted the Republicans in their "true colours." Many of the accusations were old, though not necessarily defunct or passé.

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One of these old scores on which the Republicans have been hectored during the present campaign is that all people in public employ have been taxed five per cent. of their salaries, which sum has been thrown into the campaign fund to be utilized for perpetuating the reign of the Republicans in this land and electing a nominee of the party for President of the United States and Governor of the various States. The Republicans vehemently denied these reports; but denial in cases of this kind, does not clear the accused of the charge brought against them. This much the writer can state from his own personal observation: that the Republican Governor of Illinois promised in his platform four years ago that if he was elected Governor of Illinois he would pass a bill making it impossible for the Governor to levy a campaign tax. The man in charge of the affairs of the State of Illinois at that time was a Republican, whom the Republican candidate wanted to succeed. If the system of graft did not prevail in the Republican administration, the Republican candidate could not have promised to remove it, nor could he pat himself on the back for having succeeded in casting it aside during his present term.

The Republicans, in their accusations against the Democrats, on every possible occasion "waved the bloody shirt"—that is to say, they taunted the Democrats with the fact that the States which seceded from the Union at the time of the War of the Rebellion, were Democratic States; that while the great Abraham Lincoln, a Republican President, was trying to hold the Union together, the Democratic rebels were firing on the United States Flag on battlefields throughout the Southern States; and that the Democrats are just as great traitors to the United States Government to-day as they were in 1861 and 1865.

It was an American who invented the word "graft." The term has become a common one now, and is used wherever the English language is employed. But, it was befitting that an American should have invented this word; for there is no country on the face of the globe which stood more in need of a word of this kind to express the rottenness of political life. We are apt to score the Indian public servants as corrupt; but, compared with the "graft" prevalent in the United States, the corrupt officials of India stand out as angels of light.

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America is completely honey-combed with "graft" and corruption. The hydra-headed trusts and combines and money-kings hold the politicians at their mercy; and the money-loving and power-crazy politicians, in their turn, hold the people at their mercy.

This point needs elucidation. But nothing is easier than this elucidation, especially at a time when exposures have been made by the bushel. The Treasurer of the Democratic Campaign Committee, who is also the Governor of the State of Oklahoma, was accused by the Honourable William Randolph Hearst, the famous American journalist and statesman, of being in the pay of the Oil Trust; and was forced to resign his position as Treasurer of the Democratic party. Likewise, Mr. Hearst has brought to light correspondence of the Oil Trust with leading men of the Republican party, which throw an uncanny light on the life and doings of the high functionaries of this country. Mr. Hearst's shafts have struck on all sides, and one party is as badly hurt as the other. The letters which he has made public are interesting in the extreme and a few of them are reproduced here to show what they are like:

26 Broadway, September 5, 1900. Hon. William A. Stone, Harrisburg, Pa. My Dear Governor—will you permit me to say that if it seems consistent for you to appoint John Henderson of Meadville, Pa., to the vacancy on the Supreme bench caused by the death of Judge Green it will be a matter of intense personal satisfaction to me? I am sure I need not occupy your time with any argument as to Judge Henderson's fitness, either as to character or legal qualifications. With high regard, I am very truly yours, JOHN D. ARCHBOLD.

26 Broadway, December 5, 1902. My Dear Governor—I am sure you will pardon any seeming presumption on my part in writing you on a subject in which, both personally and on behalf of my company, I am greatly interested. It is to urge the appointment, if at all consistent, of Judge Morrison of McKean to the Supreme Court bench, *vice* Mitchell, deceased.

Judge Morrison's character for ability and integrity needs no words at my hands, but aside from these great considerations, his familiarity with all that pertains to the great industries of oil and gas in the important relation they bear to the interests of the Western part of the State makes him especially desirable as a member of the court from that section.

Hoping that it may prove possible for you to favourably consider Judge Morrison's appointment, I am, with very high regard, sincerely yours, JOHN D. ARCHBOLD.

Hon. William A Stone, Harrisburg, Pa.

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26 Broadway, May 9, 1901. My Dear General—I enclose copy of a measure pending, I am not sure whether in the House or Senate, being an act to amend an existing statute, as stated. For reasons which seem to us potent, we would greatly like to have this proposed amendment killed. Wont you kindly tell me about it and advise me what you think the chances are ? Very truly yours, JOHN D. ARCHBOLD.

To the Hon. John P. Elkin, Attorney General, Harrisburg, Pa.

(Telegram.)

March 15, 1900. Hon. John P. Elkin, Indian, Pa.: Telegram received. Will do as requested. JOHN D. ARCHBOLD.

26 Broadway, March 15, 1900. Hon. John P. Elkin, Indiana, Pa.: (Personal) My Dear General- In accordance with your telegraphic request of to-day I beg to inclose you certificate of deposit to your favor for $5,000 in fulfilment of our understanding. Very truly yours, JOHN D. ARCHBOLD.

26 Broadway, February 5, 1900. My Dear General—In accordance with the request in your telegram of to-day, I now beg to inclose you certificate of deposit for $10,000, kind acknowledgment of which will oblige, yours very truly, JOHN D. ARCHBOLD.

To the Hon. John P. Elkin, Attorney General.

Comment on these letters from the Manager of the Standard Oil Company to the Governor and Attorney General of a great State, is unnecessary. Suffice it to say, that in every instance the request of the Trust magnate was acceded to. On their very face they show the influence wielded by a great corporation on public servants who hold the destiny of the American people in their hands. These letters reveal the fact that a trust in America desired a certain person appointed to a post to safeguard its interests or to kill a bill introduced in the State or Federal legislature which would unfavorably react on the Trust. The corporation pays a price to the public servant who has it in his power to grant the favor asked and succeeds in getting what it wishes. It is a case of straight bribery, an instance of corruption that is not surpassed elsewhere in the world.

A glaring example of the stealing of a State occurred in Colorado four years ago. There can be no doubt, from the history of what happened at that time, that a gigantic conspiracy existed, and was successful in its operation, to control the State Legislature, the Governor's office and the Supreme Court, with regard to the vote of the people. The whole conspiracy was engineered with the collusion and collaboration of the then existing Supreme Court. Previous to the election in 1904, the Supreme

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Court of Colorado appointed what were termed "watchers" at the polls in certain precincts in the City of Denver, and issued a blanket injunction against the lawful election officials, for the alleged purpose of securing a fair election. This act was declared by those learned in the law to be without precedent in the history of American Jurisprudence, without legislative or constitutional authority, and in the face of specific legal provision for the conduct of elections.

As soon as the election was over, certain Democratic election officers and other persons were charged with a violation of this anti-election injunction, in a purely contempt proceeding, and were convicted and punished. The Supreme Court also, in this quasi-criminal proceeding, arbitrarily ordered that certain precincts should not be canvassed and directed the canvass of the ballots in certain other precincts. This, in effect, declared elected three State Senators and eleven Representatives, together with the entire Republican ticket, when the returns from the entire city and county showed that the entire Democratic ticket had been elected by majorities ranging from two to five thousand votes.

In spite of all this illegal manipulation, the Democrats had a majority of two in the Senate. It was necessary to wipe out this majority. The State canvassing Board, a body with purely ministerial powers, upon affidavits alone, threw out the votes in certain precincts in the counties of Boulder and Las Animas and issued certificates of election to Republican senatorial candidates in the face of majorities of from three hundred and fifty to six hundred against them. This revolutionary action of the canvassing board was sustained by the Supreme Court, and thus a Republican Senatorial majority was manufactured through judicial act and sanction. A Republican Governor submitted appointments for Supreme Court Judges to this Senate, and secured their confirmation, in the face of a provision in the constitutional amendment increasing the membership of the Court providing that the Court so constituted should come into existence on April first, three months later.

By means of those monstrous acts, a Democratic majority of five in the Senate was converted into a minority, a Supreme Court was packed, and the way was provided for unseating a Democratic Governor who had been elected by more than ten

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thousand majority. All this was done in order that the utilities corporations of Colorado might have complete control of the State, and mulct from the people millions of dollars which rightfully should go into the public treasury. It is cheaper, in America, for the corporations to buy public officials than to pay their just dues to the State. It is only necessary to buy the men at the top. They whip the smaller fry into line. The Democrats of Colorado are not a whit better than the Republicans. A member of the Democratic organization of the City of Denver, speaking to a decent citizen of the city, said recently: "What rights have the people got as against Boss Evans and the crowd he represents, when fellows like me that they employ is good for 500 votes in precinct after precinct, when fellows like you are only good for one vote? What show have you got?"

Speaking of the 1904 election in Denver, one of the best-known political henchmen of William G. Evans, the President of the Denver Tramway Company, which owns and controls the entire city railway system of the city of Denver, comprising in all 156 miles, and political Boss of Colorado, declared to Judge Lindsey: "Judge, it was really a shame when it gets as raw as that was. Why, one night during that election, when I carried $20,000 down to the Democratic Club, I sat there around a table with the county chairman and a leading member of the executive committee (a convicted grafter) with a bottle of whiskey between us while we dickered in all seriousness as to how much we should pay per majority per precinct."

(To be continued.)

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THE STUDY OF HISTORY*.

By Mr. Geo. J. Dann.

As a boy I remember the interest with which I read a series of histories of England, Rome and Greece, by the author of those English classics, the *Deserted Villages* and the *Vicar of Wakefield :* Oliver Goldsmith. Now-a-days these histories have been displaced by others of a more scientific character, the limpid, lucid, musical style of Goldsmith not being deemed worthy of consideration in view of his method of translating from the old Roman and Grecian historians who knew not the distinction between history and legend. This leads me to speak of my first point, *viz., The Sources of History.*

No historian can afford to neglect the old stories, legends, and myths of the people. Not long ago it was the custom to dismiss all these tales of old times as creations of a too-prolific imagination or as personifications of natural forces like sun and sky, dawn and storm or as the outgrowth of fanciful and false derivations of words. But the spell of literary wizards like MaxMûller has passed away and the criticisms of sceptical philosophers are giving place to a method more scientific because more in accordance with all classes of facts, and investigators into folklore and myth like Andrew Lang, E. B. Tylor, J. G. Frazer and Sir Alfred Lyall are teaching men to look for the basis of fact underlying legend and myth.

Not only do legends and folklore, carefully considered, supply the historian with material but the pickaxe and the spade of the explorer are yielding rich spoil to the student of byegone ages. The strange sculptures and paintings of Egypt, with their lines of conventional signs, have, thanks to the Rosetta Stone with its triple inscriptions in Hieroglyphic, Demotic and Greek (like monumental Devanagari, cursive Kaithi and English, all on one slab) and the genuins of Champallion, who by inductive processes applied to the characters divined their secret, yielded to us their meaning. The arrow-headed inscriptions of Darius Hystaspes at Behistone, again

[*The substance of a lecture delivered before the Behar Young Men's Institute, 26th November, 1908.]

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in three languages, have been copied by Rawlinson, and have been deciphered by Grotifend and others; the Asoka edicts, read by James Prinsep, like similar inscriptions in other parts of the world, give us materials of history graven in the rocks.

All over India landgrants written on plates of copper, in various cities and countries, ancient charters, treaties and agreements; codes of laws or un-coded customary law handed by tradition; all these things, with ancient coinages help us to verify our conclusions and to picture the life of men as they lived and loved and fought, rejoiced or suffered, in ages long ago.

Again, the natural features of various countries help us to solve many problems connected with their histories. The Himalayas, those hoary sentinels which, for ages, have guarded the fertile plains of India from savage foes; the streams born amid their glaciers and bearing on their bosoms the fertilizing soil which has made Northern India what it is; the sands of the Desert, at once a bulwark against invasion and a climatic factor; and the mighty sea, the highway of nations, all these have helped to shape the destines of nations. England with her wall of silver sea, her need of sea-power; Central Asia with its barren steppes driving her children from their inhospitable home to seek more fertile fields abroad, all these to the thinking man are objects worthy of study, a study, too, which is full of profit. Darwin has taught us to speak of that struggle for existence which has influenced the movements of tribes and nations of men, no less than of plants and animals.

We have *picturesque histories full of interest and amusement* like those of the grand old story-tellers, Livy and Herodotus. Couple with these the epic poem and the historical novel, all of which have great value for amusement and for instruction. Reading a book like Scott's Quentin Durward, one is drawn on to look up references, to consult more serious histories, to philosophize over various ethical points suggested by the book; but of one thing we may be sure, the wily Louis XI, the passionate Charles the Bold, will live in the picture-galleries of the mind while memory holds her seat. And the literary value of reading history written by such great stylists as Gibbon, Froude, Caesar or Carlyle is incalculable.

Again, we have Didactic histories. Many such books have been airily and summarily condemned as partisan treatises

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But why cry out against Macaulay and Alison, against Tacitus and Livy, against Froude and Lecky, when we know how even the onesided view of a character or policy leads men to criticise and examine it in the light of the evidence. As in a legal process, each counsel or advocate presents the case for his client in the best and most convincing manner possible to him, so the counsel for the other side presents his case. Then comes the impartial view of a clear-minded Judge, who sums up the arguments, tests the issues by the law, and as the result presents an intelligent and reasoned judgment which settles the case. So the controversies of rival historians are of the utmost value in eliciting the truth on which the conduct of subsequent ages is to be based. To this class belong the "vindicatory" histories like Carlyle's *Cromwell* and *Frederick the Great*.

There are philosophical histories too, like Grote's *Greece* written by a strong utilitarian, Carlyle's *French Revolution*—whose governing idea is that lies and shams have their Divine Nemesis and are bound to perish—and histories of sociology, commerce and arts, dealing with the one essential fact—the development of the life of the people.

The first of the Lessons of History is *enlightened patriotism*. The study of history may dissipate any false glamour which tradition may have cast over the personalities and life stories of our ancestors, but at the same time it tends to set their virtues and their glorious achievements in a clear light. We learn to imitate their virtues, to copy their successes, to prize the noble traits in their characters, to avoid their errors. We learn how they have erred, erred because they were human and shared the faults of a humanity common to ourselves no less than to them. Instead of pharisaically condemning their errors, we learn how much there is to excuse and we think how easily we too in their less favourable circumstances might have made even greater mistakes. In this connection I am bound to express some surprise at the pessimistic description of the history of India and the optimistic view of the history of England to which a Beharee public man* seems to have been doomed as a schoolboy. If Mr. Parmeshwar Lal had extended his studies of history a little further, he would have found that the English historian tells of Hastings, Bannockburn and Fontenoy, as well as of Waterloo and Agnicourt, of the follies and mistakes of kings and nobles

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and people, of the cruel wars of the Roses and of the Stuart times. He will also find in the pages of Colonel Todd and of other British historians such stories as that of Chitor and Bijapur, stories which make our pulses beat higher and our hearts swell with pride that we belong to the same human species as those brave heroes and heroines of old, or we read of the filial piety of Ram Chandra, the wifely devotion of Sita, and the noble careers of such sages as Sakyamuni and Tulsi Das with the tenderest sympathy. Ashamed of your ancestors? Never! If they did not always do the right thing, at least remember that they mostly did the best they know, and do you their sons see to it that you honour them by avoiding their false steps, mending your own ways.

Akin to the foregoing is the lesson of *wise regulation of conduct.*

(1). *Union is strength, disunion is ruin.* Think of how Prithiviraj lost his kingdom and how the invaded, so cruelly called in to crush him, in turn crushed the treacherous king of Kanauj.

(2). *Slavery is one of the foulest curses that history records.* It destroyed the Grecian Republics. Men fought for liberty who enslaved their fellow-men, and while the free exterminated one another their slaves were unable and unfitted to step in and supply their places. The Roman Empire was based on the same sandy foundation and perished. In our life-time we have seen the bloody Nemesis of slavery in the American Civil War. No state in which man exploits his brother man can prosper and endure.

(3). *The folly of mere wars of conquest*, too, is exemplified in the cases of Alexander, of Timur Lung, and of Napoleon.

(4). Finally—*the silent and resistless force of truth and justice.* The old saying "the just shall live" is the great lesson of history. The dominant ideas which rule the world are not "those which found upon the holy text of pike and gun," but the teachings of saints and sages and prophets. Not the warrior or the intriguer but Moses, Mohammad and Buddha, and Confucius, are those are they who though dead yet speak, to say nothing of the Lord Jesus Himself. No! history, proclaims trumpet-tongued the dictum of the wise king of Jerusalem "Memory of the just is blessed; but the name of the wicked shall rot."

* See the able presidential address at the Third Beharee Students' Conference by Mr. Parmeshwar Lal, Bar.-at-Law, printed in the "Kayastha World" section of the present number.—[Ed., *H. R.*]

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TO BHARAT: A POEM.*

By LALITA GUPTA.

Oh wondrous charmer of the mighty Earth!
Oh fair reflector of her glorious sun,
Oh thou that gave this weakling heart its birth,
Oh motherland and fatherland in one!
The dark blue wavelets wash thy sacred feet,
The zephyrs quiver through thy robe of green;
Thy azure skies are stirred in greeting sweet
By snowy peaks—Himalaya's crown of sheen!
The earliest dawn that infant East e'er knew
First threw its radiance on thy glorious sky,
And psalms of heaven, fresh as morning dew
First in thy forests rose exulting high!
'Twas in thy wooded realms in days of yore
Were first revealed the teachings of the sage
And handed down these gems of holy lore
Still glorify the treasures of the age!
Oh motherland art blessed as Goddess fair
Throughout the length of many a distant shore
For showering on each foreign realm a share
Of that bright harvest from a bounteous store.
The Ganges and the Jumna's mingling flow
Are rivulets of thy compassion's streams:
And nectar rare is thy pure milk, we know;
Oh motherland, oh parent of our dreams!

* From the Bengali song by Mr. Rabindra Nath Tagore.

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THE BOOK OF THE MONTH: MR. BINYON'S PAINTING IN THE FAR EAST.*

By Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D. Sc. (London).

MR. LAURENCE BINYON, of the Print Room at the British Museum, belongs to that select circle of European connoisseurs for whom the bounds of art have not been set for all time by the achievements of the classic and the modern West, and whose appreciation of Eastern art is not confined to the popular colour prints of late Japanese schools. As an interpreter of the ideas and the ideals of Chinese and Japanese art, he stands almost alone amongst Western writers. Those who heard the series of lectures on Chinese and Japanese art given by him last spring, had been eagerly awaiting the publication of the present volume.

Himself a writer of beautiful prose, Mr. Binyon uses his command of language, and his own long and sympathetic study of Far Eastern painting, to interpret its meaning and ideals. The book sketches in its 261 pages of large print, the whole course of development of painting in China and Japan, so far as available knowledge goes in the West. But more valuable than these facts and technical details are the relation of the whole to the problems of life and art in present and in future for both East and West; and we welcome the book even more as a contribution to a true understanding of the aims of art, than as a history of Chinese and Japanese painting.

The Western world of to-day still maintains the attitude towards Eastern art, which characterised its attitude towards its own mediæval art, in pre-Gothic-revival days. It is easy to scorn what we do not understand, or know but little of. Slowly a knowledge of the East is being made accessible, and with each addition to this knowledge the influence of Eastern upon Western thought increases. This influence will ultimately be far greater than is now even suspected. The interpretation of Eastern art, however, has come later than that of literature; and the understanding of Eastern music has yet to come. The

* "*Painting in the Far East*: an Introduction to the History of Pictorial Art in Asia, especially in China and Japan:" by Laurence Binyon. *Edward Arnold, London, 1908, £1. 1. 0. net.*

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art of the Western world has been so influenced by analytical science, and in its aim of the accurate representation of visible natural effects has so developed an Impressionism of its own, that the quite different Impressionism of the East proves hard to accept and yet skill and science in a work of art are intrinsically valueless, except as a means of expression, of conveyance of emotion or idea. This we forget when we seek first for accuracy and second only for imagination and intensity of vision. So strong is the Western tendency to naturalism, that art has been divided into two parts—'Fine art,' consisting of imitative painting and sculpture, and 'Decorative art,' including all painting not directly imitative of nature, and all applied ornament. No such false division has been ever made in the East. There all art is one.

The true distinction of art is not into Realistic and Decorative, but into Objective and Subjective. At once the latter distinction sums up for us the difference between the art ideals of the modern West and of the East. The distinction is also practically the distinction between science and art. Objective art is only removed from science by the element of subjectivity inseparable from any art. Much that Mr. Binyon writes is an able exposition of the basic ideas belonging to all oriental art, and to ancient art outside post-Pheideian Hellas, and we shall quote from him in this sense, often disregarding the implied limitation of his writing to the art of China and Japan. An introductory chapter compares the art of East and West. It has been said that colour is characteristic of Eastern, and form of Western art. Mr. Binyon shows the superificiality* of this statement, and analyses more effectually the differences.

A Chinese critic of the sixth century, who was also an artist, published a theory of æsthetic principles which became a classic and received universal acceptance, expressing, as it did, the deeply rooted instincts of the race. In this theory it is Rhythm that holds the paramount place; not, be it observed, imitation of Nature, or fidelity to Nature, which the general instinct of the Western races makes the root-concern of art. In this theory every work of art is thought of as an incarnation of the genius of rhythm, manifesting the living spirit of things with a clearer beauty and intenser power than the gross impediments of complex matter allow to be transmitted

* Incidentally he quotes the modern spread of the use of aniline dyes in the East as evidence that the Eastern colour sense is at least no better than the mediæval Western colour sense.

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to our senses in the visible world around us. A picture is conceived as a sort of apparition from a more real world of essential life.

Every one knows the story of the grapes of Zeuxis which appeared so like real grapes that birds came to pick at their tempting clusters. The Chinese have parallel fables about famous masterpieces, but how different an order of ideas they attest! A great artist painted a dragon upon a temple wall, and as he put the final touch to it, the dragon, too instinct with life, soared crashing through the roof and left an empty space. The inner and informing spirit, not the outward semblance, is for all painters of the Asian tradition the object of art, the aim with which they wrestle.

It must not be forgotten that the oriental artist has almost always, at least with exception of particular periods, worked for a far more cultivated public than that of modern Europe. There has been continually in the East

a harmony between painter and spectator, which alas! no painter can count on with us. The spell of science has corrupted us. We do not ask, before a work of art, "what does this do for me? What does it mean for me as an experience?" but we judge it as a finished, objective achievement, ask whether its anatomy and perspective are correct, attach a moral value to the amount of labour obviously put into it, exercise our intelligence over details—anything rather than let our minds be wisely passive to receive what a true work of art will never give out to those who demand that, without preparation or effort on their part, it shall say all it has to say at once. Masterpieces are fine distinguishers of persons; they will yield all they have to some, while to others, they are mute.

I select from other pages sentences in which the analysis of the art of the East and of the West is continued:—

Throughout the course of Asian painting the idea that art is the imitation of nature is unknown or known only as a despised and fugitive heresy.

This is indeed the A B C of oriental art.

The method of presentation (of landscape in the Sung period) was what we now call impressionism. But we must distinguish between the impressionism of the East and the impressionism of Europe. In Europe the theory at least of impressionism is based on scientific fact. Our eyes, it is argued, are not capable of seeing any given scene with all its detail at once; they are focussed on a single point of light; and in order to render the whole field of vision in equally elaborate detail, as it is rendered in the Pre-Raphælite pictures, the eye must travel from one point to another. It was characteristic of nineteenth-century Europe to appeal to the authority of science rather than to the artistic principle of unity. No such appeal was in the minds of the Chinese painters. Their method was the natural outcome of the conception of landscape as a means of expression for the artist's mood or emotion. Nothing matters but what concerns our own minds. In

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ourselves is the true reality. In the life of things the artist sought to illuminate and to realise his own soul.

This idealism in Oriental art we should trace to Indian thought and influence.

Take almost any (Japanese colour) print, search out the meanings implied in its subject and accessories, and you will find yourself tracking, by intricate association and allusion, some habit of thought consecrated by a thousand-year-old poem, or be brought back to contemplate the deed of a mediæval hero, or the saying of an Indian saint, or the precept of a Chinese sage. You cannot detach one of these prints from the life that produced it; some tender filament or clinging root binds it to a nation's living heart.

Is it not here that our art of to-day fails in Europe? Our art tends more and more to be detached from the common life, to be dissociated from things of use, to become an affair of museums and exhibitions. This is all part of a wide tendency. The Japanese do not seem to understand an ideal till they have put in into practice. We in the West seem, on the contrary, to think an ideal practised is no longer an ideal; it is regarded as too good for daily use and in danger of profanation. Is it not so with our religious ideals? Just in the same spirit we hang on walls porcelain plates that are thought too beautiful to eat from, though made for no other purpose. We fill a museum with fine works from diverse countries, and place it in the midst of streets that desolate eye and heart, without an effort to make them part of the beauty we desire. Art is not an end in itself, but a means to beauty in life. This we forget.

I have been told that a certain Japanese artist, who was staying in London, entered one of our chief art schools. On one occasion the subject of Joan of Arc was set as a theme for competition among the students. What was his amazement to discover that, in attempting such a subject, all that was thought requisite was to pose a model and paint her in armour. To him it seemed that no one could embody in a picture even the least profound conception of a soul incomparable in loftiness and simplicity without weeks of solitary thought, without a strenuous inner preparation, if not with prayer and fasting. We know what is applauded as the 'conscientious' treatment of such a subject. The painter studies the period, finds a suit of armour of the right date (which usually turns out to be a little wrong) journeys to Domremy or Rouen to make careful studies for his scene, perhaps chooses a peasant girl of the Maid's own district for his model; and what energy is left from these labours and the work of elaborating his design he devotes to his conception of an heroic soul. A genius of exceptional intensity may, indeed, build on such foundations to magnificent effect, but only one in ten thousand. It was not by such means that Giotto, that Rembrandt, went to the heart of the Gospel stories. And for most the process means absolute defeat. The spirit sets out to conquer matter, and by matter it is conquered. Yet only in the victory of the spirit can art prevail.

The Oriental painter who desires to portray the image of a figure standing in the history of his own lands with such a radiance as Joan of Arc seeks not in outward relics of the past, but in his own heart.

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The image of his painting will be perhaps the actual work of a few minutes, but he will not put brush to paper till his mind is saturated with his vision, till the intense emotion it is charged with can be contained no longer. Slight to appearance may be the result; but what a man puts into his work is there, and will be felt by all capable of the feeling that possessed himself, though from the profane it keeps its secret.

This is true and serious analysis of the deeper meaning of oriental art, and applies as much or more to Indian as to Japanese art. But as Mr. Binyon himself says, if art ails in the modern West, it is because life itself is ailing. The West, moreover, cannot save its art by any imitation of an Eastern convention. Far less can the East preserve its art by rejecting with ignorant complacency its own achievements, and imitating the unimaginative art of modern Europe. Both must learn; it may be by centuries of sad experience, that life and art are not to be wisely sundered, and that great art is never born of a disordered and unlovely life. "If we look back over the whole course of that great Asian tradition of painting which we have been following through the centuries, the art impresses us as a whole by its cohesion, solidarity, order, and harmony." And if we do not find this order and harmony in modern art, is not this a warning that something is wrong with life itself, that a facile satisfaction with the present, an easy acceptance of all change as 'progress' may not be the best preparation for the ideal life towards which humanity would fain advance. When we look at the Empires of the East, and reflect upon the centuries during which they have produced this ordered and harmonious art, we are at least convinced that those centuries have not been such centuries of chaos and oppression as some would have us fancy; and when we regard the uncertainty and restlessness of modern art, may we not wonder whether materialism and commercial war are not more fatal to the ideal life than any wars or despotisms of the past? Mr. Binyon is not misled by the favourite archæological pre-occupation which regards late classic art as the real source of the inspiration and the formula of later Asiatic art. The archæologists have seen everywhere in later Asiatic art the survivals of classic forms and feeling. It is satisfactory that in the study of oriental art, as art, which is now beginning, we find the artists and connoisseurs attach far less importance to the Gandhara school of Indian art than has hitherto been usual. Until now the prominence given to this work in India, and

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only quite modern work in Japan, has prevented the serious study of Indian and Chinese art from being carried on in any manner of significance to artists. Of Greek influence in Asian art, Mr. Binyon speaks thus clearly and we think rightly—"in Gandhara, as farther east in Khotan, the art of Greece makes its power felt. We know how immense that power has been as a living influence through centuries of European art, and we may be tempted to ascribe to it a governing influence in Asia: *Yet in truth these traces that we have noticed mark the ebb of a receding tide.*"

Mr. Binyon, like Mr. Okakura, finds the centre of gravity of Asiatic art in a pre-Buddhist China.

Though some writers have presumed that Buddhism in this long journey northward and eastward created art as it went, and found in China but rudimentary beginnings which its inspiration at once transformed, I believe, on the contrary, that Chinese art was fully developed before Buddhism brought its new store of motive and imagery....Asia in the first centuries of our era we have found to be not sharply divided into self-contained empires, but a continent in which communication was so free that not only commodities of trade, but the animating ideals of religion, could bring about a fertilising contact between its different races. To assume that the cradle and origin of Asiatic art belonged to any one country of the continent in particular would be a vain supposition, and unprofitable starting point for enquiry. We must rather assume that there was, in painting at all events, a common Asiatic style, an art of line; and our aim should be to enquire which of the races of Asia developed this style to finest use and power.

At this point Mr. Binyon is handicapped by a limited knowledge of Indian art, and has evidently relied on current misconceptions, for he continues:

It would be natural in lack of evidence, to suppose that India, which gave to Asia the kindling ideals and imagery of Buddhism, was the land to which we should turn for the noblest creations of art. Yet we are confronted at once by the fact that in creative art India is comparatively poor.

But the remains of Indian *painting* are few; and we are quite ready to admit the existence of an independent Chinese tradition, to which India herself may have owed much. Of a fourth century (pre-Buddhist) Chinese painting in the British Museum, Mr. Binyon remarks that there is in it "no trace whatever of any impress from Indian or Græco-Indian art."

Græco-Indian influence can of course be traced in the Buddhist painting of China and Japan.

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But the Greek element can easily be exaggerated...The great original art tradition of Europe has its home in Greece; the great original art tradition of Asia has its home in China.

Criticisms of Indian art as compared with Chinese or Western art, form the least satisfactory part of an otherwise illuminating work.

Mr. Binyon dislikes "those symbolic figures of deities with many heads, or eyes, or arms, which are not genuinely pictorial or plastic conceptions, but literal translations of the verbal imagery of which Indian literature is profuse." He points out that "we miss in the religious art of Asia those consecrations of humanity which form the centre of the religious art of Europe." We greatly doubt whether this could be substantiated; but it is true that the centre of gravity of Western religious art lies with the Incarnation and with saints, and of Eastern art with manifestations of divinity not necessarily human in form. But those who think of the worship of the mother, of the Divine love of Krishna and Radha, of the Dancing Lord (Siva as nataraja), of Saraswati, of Parvati and Uma will find in Indian religious imagery consecrations of humanity; and in Hanuman and Ganesa, consecrations of human oneness with the animal world.

We cannot agree that Indian symbolism "mars...much of Buddhist painting in China and Japan." In writing of Indian art, we feel that Mr. Binyon shows a lack of acquaintance and comprehension equal to that of many less distinguished writers.

We may here note incidentally that the statement that Asokan pillars "are found standing to-day in Ceylon" is entirely incorrect. It is not even the case that any such pillars were ever erected in Ceylon.

The references to religion and religious art are perhaps the least satisfying parts of the book. Mr. Binyon, indeed, writes sympathetically of several beautiful religious paintings, but only illustrates two or three, thus giving an undue prominence to landscape. The influence of Buddhism he hardly fully understands "The ideas of Buddhism saturate the art of China and Japan. To the Buddhist this world is transitory, vile and miserable; the flesh is a burden, desire an evil, personality a prison." This whole sentence is charged with implications drawn from Western thought. No Buddhist ever used such phrases. That

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the world *is* transitory is sufficiently obvious. Vile is a term which the Christian uses in comparing this world with a heaven and it can not be used in the same sense here. Miserable is only correct if it means that men on this planet are acquainted with grief—as is obviously the case; but the planet itself is not miserable. That the flesh is a burden is nowhere stated in Buddhist writings. That desire is an evil is *contrary* to all early Buddhist teaching.* That personality is a prison is not a Buddhist idea. Birth in a human body is always spoken of as a great advantage. Nor is it accurate to contrast contemplation with action, because there can be no activity more intense than that of right meditation. But it is true that the real world of the East is a world of thought, and the phenomenal world in every sense, dependent on this more real thing within. And towards *this* attitude the modern world, even the world of science must inevitably return.

Mr. Binyon is at his best in treating of tradition in Eastern art and contrasting its significance with the modern mania for 'originality':—

> One of the most striking things in Eastern art is the difficulty of tracking any one pictorial conception to its first origin and creator. Especially is this the case with religious art. We see for the first time what impresses us as a profound and original conception, and we say to ourselves: The mind from which this came was surely a great inventive spirit. And then we find that this work, so fresh and so immediately ispired as it seems to be, repeats with only the personal variation of the artist's style or temper an older painting by another master; and that again one yet more ancient; and so back into the mist of time. The truth is, these conceptions seem to be images that have been born out of the imagination of a race rather than moulded by any individual mind.

Traditional art has thus a spiritual kinship with ballad and epic. Just as in the Homeric poems, so in great traditional art, "we are brought face to face with something in a sense greater and more august than individual genius."

"I suspect that the mistake which we are apt to make," continues Gilbert Murray,† is to apply a merely external test to something that depends on the most intimate workings of a man's imagination. The thing that is of importance in a poem, is not mere novelty, nor yet personal knowledge or experience, but simply the intensity of imagination with which the

* Rhys Davids' *Early Buddhism*, p. 59. I am indebted to Professor Rhys Davids for some of the above criticisms.

† In *The Rise of the Greek Epic*.

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poet has realised his subject... We who are accustomed to modern literature always associate this sort of imaginative intensity with something personal. We connect it with an artist's individuality or with originality in the sense of newness. It seems as though under modern conditions, an artist usually did not feel or imagine intensely unless he was producing some work which was definitely his own and not another's work which must bear his personal name and be marked by his personal experience or character... But...artistic feeling in this matter has not always been the same. Artists have not always wished to stamp their work with their personal characteristics or even their personal name. Artists have sometimes been, as it were, Protestant and Iconoclast, unable to worship without asserting themselves against the established ritual of their religion; sometimes, in happier circumstances, they have accepted and loved the ritual as part of the religion, and wrought out their own new works of poetry, not as protests, not as personal outbursts, but as glad and nameless offerings, made in prescribed form to enhance the glory of the spirit whom they served. With some modification this seems to have been the case in Greece, in Canaan, in Scandinavia, during the periods when the great traditional books were growing up. Each successive poet did not assert himself against the tradition, but gave himself up to the tradition, and added to its greatness and beauty all that was in him.

The intensity of imagination which makes the Iliad alive is not, it seems to me, the imagination of any one man. It means not that one man of genius created a wonder and passed away. It means that generation after generation of poets, trained in the same schools and a more or less continuous and similar life, steeped themselves to the lips in the spirit of this great poetry. They lived in the Epic saga and by it and for it. Great as it was, for many centuries they continued to build it up yet greater. ...How strange and significant a thing, after all, is that which we speak of as either 'the Epic style' or 'the Epic language.' It seems more than a style, it cannot quite be treated as an organic spoken language. For many hundreds of years this wonderful mode of speech was kept alive to serve nothing but the needs of poetry ...It was understood by audiences who never heard it spoken except when they listened to poetry. And not a man among them had any knowledge of the laws of language; they had only a sense of style.

Here, if we read 'plastic art' for 'poetry,' 'convention' for 'language', and 'science' for the 'laws of language,' we have a perfect description of the working of great traditions in a national art such as that of India or China. And this is clearly stated in the book now before us :—

Many are the advantages of an artist bred to such traditions. It is a great gain for him that his subject belongs to his race, and therefore to mankind. It partakes of the universal; it has been sifted by the choice of many generations; it has struck root in the imagination of a people; and so at once he is set in touch with the mind of his public, and can play upon a hundred associations and indefinable emotions. Again, he has to work within certain

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limits, and an artist is helped by limitations. For while they free him from the burdensome necessity of choosing among the vast and bewildering spectacle of the world, they concentrate his powers. The very fact that others, great and famous masters, have approached the same theme and handled it in their own way, inspires him with emulations, moves him with the necessity and the desire to make the subject his own—in a word, tests his originality far more severely, and, if he is successful, disengages it far more effectively than if he had set out on a road of his own with the deliberate quest of novelty. Thus successfully refined upon, fed and refreshed continually by new life, the depth of a subject is proved, and the varying new conceptions it evokes are like the flowers upon an ancient tree...

This infinite linking of associations, these hundred sympathies, give to Chinese landscape a cohesion, a solidarity, a human interest which prove an animating power and remove it far from triviality and shallowness. Contrast the tendency in Europe which drives painters to Holland and Spain, to Hungary or Morocco, in search of something new in local colour to stimulate the jaded interest of a mostly indifferent public. The great subjects of all art and poetry are commonplaces, Life, Love, Death; these come to all of us, but to each one with a special revelation. It is by the new and original treatment —original, because profoundly felt—of matter that is fundamentally familiar, that great art comes into being.

Space forbids more extended quotation. We conclude by saying that, as a study of Asian art, we strongly recommend this book to all whose concern is with the past, present or future, of Indian art in particular, or of any art at all.

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VIEWS AND REVIEWS.

The New Spirit in India.*

By Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D. Sc.

THIS is certainly the best book written by an Englishman, that has yet appeared, dealing with the political aspects of the National movement in India. Needless to remark, the political aspects do not exhaust the possibilities of a movement which has as its foundation a renaissance of the ideals of Indian civilization as a whole, and which announces a progressive self-realisation of Indian nationality as well in religion, in art, in literature and life, as in politics. But the political side of the movement has hitherto attracted almost exclusive attention in India, and it was full time that an authoritative and unprejudiced account of the real state of affairs should have been written for England by an Englishman, if only to counteract the vapourings of Mr. Rees at home and of the advocates of coercion and tyranny in India.

Mr. Nevinson's book covers the period 1898—1908. In the Introduction, he reviews the salient events of that time, with the help of pertinent and well-chosen extracts from contemporaneous speeches and writings. Essential facts about such matters as the deportations of 1907 the Rawal Pindi riots, disturbances in East Bengal, and other such events, are clearly and fairly stated without comment.

In Chapter 1, Mr. Nevinson describes his visit to Poona, and to Mr. Gokhale, a 'Servant of India.' 'Serene, modest, definite in aim and in knowledge' is Mr. Nevinson's estimate of Mr. Gokhale.

The next chapter deals with the Plague. Its connection with rats is explained in some detail. The author states: "It is rather peculiar that the Brahmans offer least resistance to the disease, and this the Sister-in-charge attributed to the strictness of their vegetarianism for ages past." We believe, on the contrary, that the hygeinic regulations of a Brahman's life are a strong safeguard against disease, and the reference to vegetarianism is quite beside the mark. It merely illustrates the general ignorance of European medical workers in the East, in matters

* By H. W. Nevinson, London, Harper and Brothers, 1908. 10-6 net.

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of diet. We have no faith in inoculation; for in all nostrums of this kind—vaccination, inoculation of whatever kind—temporary blood poisoning is concerned. It appears that the Government offers 6*d*. a head as a bribe to all who are willing to be inoculated. We think, however, that the admittedly strong Indian instinct against inoculation is fundamentally sound and should be respected. In hygiene as in government, the way to lead is through the imagination; but we do not suppose any of those who offer sixpences for inoculation patients have ever thought it worth while to study the sanctions for hygiene that are bound up with so many Indian religious and caste ideas. Take, for example, consumption. Endeavours are made to prevent spitting in England, in railways, etc., by placards announcing the amount of the fine to be imposed on offenders. The Indian way would have been to suggest that the offence was religious, —and would be suffered for in a subsequent life. This would have led on the less educated, to the position of the more educated, that such action would be 'bad form,' out of harmony with the universe, and the like. Perhaps one way is not better than the other. But one way is the Indian way, the other is not, and those who would improve hygiene in India will not progress far on purely materialistic and unimaginative or even unpoetical lines.

Chapter III deals with Mr. Tilak 'the Extremist,' illustrating his teachings by quotation from his own writings.

"I recognized in him," says Mr. Nevinson, "the personal attraction that Extremists always have—the freedom from hesitation and half-measures, the delight in conflict, the reckless disregard of self. When to this attraction his own people could add his personal and intimate acquaintance with all classes among them down to the poorest villagers, and his steady maintenance of all that they held most dear in religious belief and customary observance, I could not wonder at his influence among them."

Elsewhere Mr. Nevinson thus defines the Extremist policy:

It is useless to trouble about any reforms that these intruding foreigners will give us. Let them go their way with their Advisory Councils, their Notables, their extended Legislative Councils, and other deceits. They have never paid the smallest attention to our real demands. In Mill's words, they keep us as a warren or preserve for their own use, a place to make money in, a human farm to be worked for their own profit. It is for us to pursue our own course, disregarding their presence. Beyond paying their taxes, we need have little concern with them. If they imprison us, we will go to gaol silently; if they deport us without trial, we will endure without protest; if they execute us, we know that our souls will be at once re-incarnated to continue the struggle. But we will not value their Government either by sharing in it or denouncing it. In religion, in education, in industries and common life, we will follow our own national lines just as though no foreigners were pretending to rule us. If enough of us combine, we shall embarrass

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their position; perhaps we shall make it untenable as well as ridiculous. But whether it is untenable or not we do not greatly care, till a common Indian nationality has the strength to take freedom into its own hands.

In such a programme there can be no place for violence.

It could hardly be expected that Mr. Nevinson would openly advocate this policy, much as it evidently commands his sympathy. The other way, which he regards as probably the way of wisdom, is to "still endeavour to act in harmony with us for the common good, acquiescing in our own presence as on the whole tending to justice and advancement, acknowledging the material advantages we have brought, but at the same time persistently pressing for extensions of liberty, taking every opportunity that offers, and never hesitating to grasp at any chance of progress because it falls short of the perfect ideal."

On his part, the measures which Mr. Nevinson thinks should be taken immediately by England, include "a modification of the Partition of Bengal...the appointment of at least one Indian on each of the Executive Councils...an enlargement of the Viceroy's and other Legislative Councils by genuinely elected members up to the number of half the Council...a gradual extension of primary education;" also admission of qualified Indians to higher posts, reform of the police, suppression of *begar*, and the stopping of the opening of letters in the post with a view to discovering sedition.

So far as measures are concerned, all of these seem of less immediate importance, than two which he does not suggest—the restoration of the village democracies, with control of forests and waste lands, and responsibility, and the placing of the *entire* control of education in Indian hands.

Mr. Nevinson admits, however, that measures by themselves are insufficient. "What is wanted is the difficult thing our fathers called 'a change of heart'...a change that would prevent the ladies and gentlemen whom we send out from degenerating into 'bounders' where Indians are concerned."

What a contrast with the East! "It is an education in behaviour," says Mr. Nevinson, "to pass from a Scottish or American crowd to the streets of an Indian city. The obligations of high caste—such things, I mean, as cleanliness in food and life, intellectual alertness, and disregard of wealth—are as valuable as any obligation laid on Europeans by noblesse."

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A chapter is devoted to 'Jute or Rice'? "It is a question whether jute and the export of rice have benefited any one except the merchants and middlemen."

The Partition is dealt with at length. The grievance has been described as sentimental. It is more than likely that it will ultimately be 'sentiment' more than any material considerations that will set India free! The ignoring of sentiment is England's peculiar weakness.

The objection to the Partition, says Mr. Nevinson, "is the same kind of sentiment as would set Scotland ablaze with indignation if an English Prime Minister drew a jagged line from Thurso to Dumries, and announced that in future Scotland would consist of two separate provinces, with one government in Edinburgh and the other in Glasgow, and no connection between them. A Scotsman's chief objection might be described as 'sentimental' by people of Sir Harvey Adamson's turn of mind, but I think 'unrest' would be hardly the word for what would follow. Yet that is exactly what England has allowed to be done in Bengal."

Of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, Mr. Nevinson says, "his real function in life is as an orator, and his eminence has been won by an extraordinary power of speaking.....Except for Mr. Gladstone, I have heard no speakers use the grand and rhetorical style of English with more assurance and success." Other Bengali leaders are described. Of Arabindo Ghose, he says: "Nationalism to him was far more than a political object or a means of material improvement. To him it was surrounded by a mist of glory, the halo that mediæval saints beheld gleaming round the head of martyrs. Grave with intensity, careless of fate or opinion, and one of the most silent men I have known, he was of the stuff that dreamers are made of, but dreamers who will act their dream, indifferent to the means."

Particularly commendable is Mr. Nevinson's habit of applying to Englishmen the standards by which Indians are judged. He quotes from Anglo-Indian papers, language more violent and provocative than has appeared in the vernacular journals, in none of which, he says, he had found "more deliberate attempts to stir up race hatred and incite to violences than in Anglo-Indian papers which suffer nothing,"—while Indian editors are fined and imprisoned. The extracts quoted illustrate not merely

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the blood-thirstiness, but also the vulgarity of the worst type of Anglo-Indian mind, and it is well that they should have been placed on record in easily accessible form.

The Surat Congress, Famine, the Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj, Education (and the Hardwar Gurukula), weaving in mills and in villages, and many other subjects are briefly touched on, and explained in a manner extremely useful to the English reader, who should gather from the book a remarkably vivid picture of Indian life, considering the fact that the real essence of the book is entirely political.

Of mill life, Mr. Nevinson writes: "As far as mere money-value goes,...the Bombay mill-hand would seem to be about five times better off than the village labourers of the United Provinces." But "the hours in a Bombay mill are spent in monotonous labour, among hideous noise, and in a fluffy atmosphere, where there are no fans to decrease the dust, the heat, or the smell. All round the factories workmen's dwelling...have sprung up, usually in galleries of single rooms along the first floor, above a row of open shops...The whole family lives in one room, in which, as a rule, there is no window but the door. Villages, of course, retained the usual advantages of country life—fresh air, purer food, and greater bodily freedom and variety in labour...all necessary architecture, even in mud hovels, is beautiful, and so are all implements for human use, but I never saw any attempt at decoration or conscious beauty. It would be absurd to call the Indian peasants ignorant, for they understand their own business quite as well as we understand ours, and in their own knowledge they have little to learn.

With regard to the question of labour in mills—at present the manufacturers, as might be expected, and also certain short-sighted Swadeshists desire an increase of production in Indian industries, at whatever cost of reckless exploitation of the worker's forces. But the exploitation of the physique and life of the Indian people for a temporary trade advantage is a mistaken policy; and Indians must demand and obtain a regulation of the conditions of labour on this account, quite apart from the fact that English manufacturers may be acting from motives of a quite different character.

Mr. Nevinson concludes as follows:—

But the present crisis is too acute to allow of waiting for a change of heart. Upon our immediate action will depend the terms upon which

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we must maintain our position in India: whether we are to hold the new spirit fairly on our side, and to co-operate with it for the progress of the country in enlightenment and self-government; or whether we are to have our rule confronted by impenetrable resentment, and our best efforts thwarted by indifference or suspicion....whatever course our action may now take, the new spirit has already breathed a fresh life into large classes of the Indian peoples, and it will continue to afford a high motive for self-devotion, and for the moral character and love of freedom in which the Indian character has hitherto been lacking. For India herself the present unrest holds out a promise of the highest possibilities, no matter how much she may suffer in realising them.

But for us the brief interval left for decision is momentous. On our decision it will depend whether, in contempt of the freedom we have with such obstinate labour secured for ourselves, we shall sink, step by step, from suppression into persecution, and from persecution into atrocities that now we should shudder at; or whether we shall display strength enough to welcome the spirit of freedom and nationality which we have done so much to create, and strength enough to advance with it hand-in-hand for the furtherance of India's welfare as a self-respecting country, and so to redeem our reputation for the love of a freedom which others may enjoy, as we enjoy it.

A number of well chosen kodak pictures of average quality will make the book attractive to English readers. The frontispiece—a statue of a Sanyasi, by S. M. Mhattre—is not however well chosen as an example of Indian national art. This photographically realistic reproduction of a not particularly prepossessing Sadhu, does not truly represent either Indian art or Indian religion The true centre of the national movement in art is at present in Calcutta.

Perhaps the most significant criticism of Mr. Nevinson's book has been that of Mr. Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, in a letter to the *Nation*. India, he points out, has changed far more than Englishmen have realised. The new spirit, of which Mr. Nevinson's book is so admirable an exposition, is the most striking and outstanding feature of Indian life at the present day. All honour to those that have prepared the way, and not least of these to Mr. Nevinson.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Gavam Ayana—the Vedic Era, by R. Shamasastry, B. A., The Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore, 1908. Re. 1.

Philosophy of the Vedanta, by P. N. Sen, The Oriental Publishing House, Calcutta, Rs. 3.

Speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, published by G. A. Nateson & Co., Madras, Rs. 3.

The Story of the Raja and Appaji, by T. M. Sundaram Aiyar, G. A. Nateson & Co., Madras, 1908. As. 4.

From the East and From the West, by T. C. Lewis, M.A., T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1908.

The Development of Metaphysics in Persia, by Shaikh Mohammad Iqbal, M. A., Ph. D., Luzac & Co., London, 1908. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

The First Easter Dawn, by C. T. Gorham, Watts & Co., London 1908. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

The International Geography, by Seventy Authors, Edited by H. R. Mill, MacMillan & Co., London, 1907. 15*s.* net.

Comparative Studies, by K. Rama Varma Raja, Messrs. Higginbotham & Co., Madras, 1908. As. 8.

The Ideals of Ind, by A. Govindacharya, Narain Printing Works, Mysore, as. 12.

Modern England. 2 Vols. by A. W. Benn, Watts & Co., London.

Gavam Ayana, the Vedic Era, is an exposition of what the writer calls 'a forgotten sacrificial calendar of the Vedic poets'; and contains also an account of the origin of the Yugas. This is a somewhat "revolutionary" book; if the author's thesis is correct, all the later astronomical works of the Hindus and all the puranic legends of the "Yugas" extending over millions of years, &c., &c., will have to be shelved away as mere figments. The chief points that the writer wishes to make are—(1) having found out the insufficiency of the lunar year to measure the duration of the seasons and the necessity of adjusting the lunar to the sidereal year, the peculiar contrivance that the Vedic poet had recourse to, to keep an account of the lapse of days or years, was the number of syllables of the verses which they composed, cycle after cycle; (2) the word '*go*' (*cow*) in the expression '*gavam ayana*,' which denotes the day for certain seasonal sacrifices, stands for the 'intercalary day which, being the product of four quarters of four consecutive solar years, was added to every fourth year making it consist of 366 days:' (3) the '*gavam ayana*' is a period made up of the intercalary days; and the sacrifices enumerated as constituting it are periodic or epoch-making sacrifices performed at different intervals of time; (4) the word 'yuga' stands sometimes for *one* year, and sometimes for the period of *four* years; and the idea of a 'yuga' being the name of 43,20,000 years is an innovation of the later astronomers. In the appendix, the author has tried to fix, in accordance with the above, the dates of Rama as 1645 B.C.; of

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Yudhisthira's death as 1260 B. C. The book deserves thorough study at the hands of the student of Indian antiquities and Vedic Literature.

Philosophy of the Vedanta is a well-written book; and should serve the purposes of the student who seeks for an introduction to the portals of Indian Philosophy. The Introduction provides a brief survey of the whole field of Indian Philosophy; and is an attempt at showing the place that the Vedanta occupies in the whole scheme. The account that the author gives of each of the principal systems, is necessarily brief; but nevertheless clear, and suffices to indicate roughly the path taken by the evolution of philosophic thought in India. His study of the Vedanta the writer bases mainly upon the Panchadashi; he treats of—*Brahman and the World*, the *Falsity of the World*, the *Individual souls and their relation to the Absolute Spirit*, the *ultimate unity of Brahman with the Jivas*; and the last chapter is devoted to the answering of objections. The specially noteworthy features of the book are —(1) the comparison in places of the 'orthodox' or Advaita Vedanta with the '*Neo-Vedanta*' of the Vishistadvaita; and (2) the study of Indian Philosophy in the light of, and in comparison with, the philosophy of Europe, specially of Germany. In a second edition—which the book deserves to have before long—we would expect the author to work out in greater detail the 'harmony' among the several philosophical systems of India; as the apparent 'diversity' among them is a stumbling block to the philosophical *Hindu* who would gladly believe in the truth of every 'orthodox' system, and is yet appalled by the glaring contradictions that beset his path at every step.

Mr. Gokhale needs no introduction to the educated community in India, and the well-known and enterprising Madras publishing firm of Messrs. G. A. Nateson & Co. deserves to be congratulated for the distinct service they have rendered in bringing together in a single volume of over a thousand pages the speeches and pronouncements of this selfless Indian patriot. The book contains four parts and an appendix. The first part includes Mr. Gokhale's speeches in the Supreme and the Bombay Legislative Councils; the second, all his Congress speeches; the third, speeches in appreciation of Hume, Naoroji, Ranade, Mehta and Bonnerjee; the fourth, miscellaneous speeches delivered in England and India. The appendix contains the full text of his evidence before the Welby Commission. It is sufficient to say that these speeches cover the full range, extending as they do over the period of a quarter of a century, of Indian political problems of to-day. They deserve to be largely read and we are confident that the book

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will have the wide circulation it ought to have. One valuab feature of this volume of speeches is the excellent introduc tion of 42 pages containing a study and appreciation of Gop Krishna Gokhale. Public life in India, as Mr. Gokhale himself sai when bidding farewell to the Fergusson College, has few reward but many trials, and it must be said to the credit of Mr. Gokhal that he has emerged unscathed through these trials.

> Brought up in a school of severe self-examination, he is always on the guard against the insidious influences of the partisan spirit, and will not allow his love of his fellow-countrymen to be affected by irrelevant distinctions. Chaste in thought, word and deed, a master of lucid exposition, a speaker who inspires without inflaming, a citizen who is not afraid of strife but loves amity, a worker who can obey as well as command, a soldier of progress with invincible faith in his cause,—Mr. Gokhale is indeed a perfect Servant of India.

The passage quoted above sums up in brief the peculiar traits of Mr. Gokhale's character, and no better ideal can be placed before our educated young men for imitation to-day, and parents and guardians cannot do better than place a volume of *Gokhale's Speeches* in the hands of their wards. We cannot think of a better New Year's Present.

Mr. T. M. Sundaram Aiyar has in *The story of the Raya and Appaji* brought together 16 amusing and instructive stories, witty and humourous. The effort made in the direction of saving the folklore and popular tales of the country is a laudable one and deserves encouragement. We trust the example of Madras will be followed in other provinces also.

From the East and From the West is a collection of poems taken from various sources, such as the *Gulistan* of Sadi, the *Diwan* of Hafiz, Gœthe, Heine, and also some of the author's own composition. *From the East*, the first part of the poems, is dedicated to friends at home and the author says in his Dedication—

> So now 'tis mine I make it yours.
> In this my part begins and ends,
> That, lighting on these orient stores,
> I choose a gift for you, my friends!

The author has lived in the East—he was the late Director of Public Instruction in the United Provinces—and certainly a better gift than the "wisdom of the East" could not have been made to friends at home. The selections have been culled from the writings of Sadi and Hafiz

> Whose thought, where eastern sunlight pours,
> Right regally still holds the throne.

And some of them are quite beautiful indeed. The rendering of them in English verse is quite good, and although much of the

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charm of the original is lost in the translation, it is through no fault of the author.

The Foreward in the second part of the poems, *From the West*, has the following stanzas from which the author's purpose becomes perfectly clear. Says he—

Thoughts set to words long years ago
Roll round the world their music still
In tune with human weal or woe ;
—And mine I make them, as I will.

But I must speak them in my speech,
When in my heart I hear them cry.
Enough if so the echoes reach
Some one who will not let them die.

On the whole the collection is a good one and a pleasant half-hour may be spent with them to advantage.

The Development of Metaphysics in Persia, by Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal, is a contribution to the history of Muslim philosophy. We must congratulate the young writer on the evidence he has given in this little book of about 200 pages of patient industry and research, which we trust will soon be crowned by still brighter success. The field of Sheikh Iqbal's researches was new and it reflects great credit to him to be able to condense in the brief space in which he has done, a connected account, in a clear, lucid style, such an enormous range of speculation, of a highly speculative people like the Persians. Limitations of space have made the account somewhat sketchy, but so far as we have been able to judge, it is entirely trustworthy. One really noticeable feature of the work is the European method of criticism which has been employed in arriving at conclusions. It would be very much better if this method of criticism were employed by our learned Pandits and Mullahs. Judging from the first fruits of the author's labours and the success which he has achieved in tracing the logical continuity of Persian thought—from Zoroaster to modern Babism—we may say with confidence that he has prepared a firm groundwork on which to rest a more complete history of Persian Metaphysics, and this we hope the author will soon do.

The First Eastern Dawn is an inquiry into the evidence for the resurrection of Jesus. The author proceeds to examine the evidence there is for the Resurrection from the point of view of modern Rationalism and comes to the conclusion that there is not sufficient evidence for believing that "Christ did truly rise again from death, and take again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven." On the other hand, as we are asked to believe in the Resurrection on the far from explicit

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statements of men who were totally incompetent judges, an not one of whom even claims to be an eye-witness, the conclusio is forced upon our minds that the resurrection of Jesus as *physical* event never happened. The essence of the resurrectio of Christ is that His Spirit should have really triumphed ove death, and not that his body should have risen from the grave As to the causes which have led to this belief the writer says:

> The trouble with Christians is that they do not understand the Bible..... they treat as literally accurate the numerous passages in which facts ar unconsciously distorted by figurative modes of expression. They tak symbol for reality, poetry for fact, legend and allegory for history, dream and visions for divine communications; they personify abstractions, an generally, apply inappropriate methods to fluctuating and imaginativ traditions.

The book will interest those who are concerned with the sub ject which undoubtedly has assumed some prominence of late.

The International Geography by Seventy Authors is a truly valuable work, the chief merit of the book lying in the fact that each section of the work has been written by a specialist or recognised authority of high standing. Limitations of size have placed some restrictions on the authors and the Chief Editor, but it can be said without fear of contradiction that the book gives a fairly good, readable and sufficiently exhaustive (for the purposes of the general reader) account of the land and people of all coun tries. *Geography* has been defined as *the exact and organised knowledge of the distribution of phenomena on the surface of the Earth, culminating in the explanation of the interaction of Man with his terrestrial environment*, and throughout the work the structure of the region and its action on the race and the reactio of the race on the region has been well kept in the forefront The study of Geography has thus been made very interesting an we can safely recommend that the book be placed in the hands of every teacher of Geography and History in our Schools and Colleges. What enhances the value of the work is the large number of illustrations, nearly 500, which it contains, and the bibliography it gives of standard works to which more curious readers may refer for more detailed information.

Mr. K. Rama Varma Raja in his *Comparative Studies* which he dedicates to "his children, dear" as a token of his earnest soli citude for their welfare, tries to show, by pointing out similarities and evidences of contact between the two peoples in early times that Babylonian legends made their way into India. It is not possible for us to accept all Mr. Rama Varma's conclusions and conjectures, but his researches are certainly in an unique direction and an investigation of the subject deserves the attention of

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Sanskrit scholars. Mr. Rama Varma has certainly done good work in drawing attention to this particular field of literary activity and he deserves to be congratulated on the effort he has made.

Mr. Govindacharya's *Ideals of Ind* is a spirited defence of the caste system in India and an emphatic appeal to preserve the traditions of the caste system intact. Caste restrictions are, according to him, the best safeguards for character, and as a good strong character is essential for the regeneration of any people the caste-system must be maintained at all costs. Mr. Govindacharya's little brochure should be carefully studied and pondered over by the radical party in India who consider that the caste system is at the root of all the existing evil in the country.

Modern England is, as the author himself states in the preface, "a record of opinion and action, as distinguished from a record of events" and "deals specially with those elements of history which are determined by mental causes, by human feelings, human reason and human will, rather than by those unconscious agencies which the great historians of antiquity were wont to group together under the names of fortune or fate." The book has been published by the Rationalist Press Association of London, and treats of the history of England during the Nineteenth Century from the Radical and Rationalist point of view. The plan is certainly original but the book itself fails to rise above the commonplace. The author has failed to rise to the height of his own conception and the two volumes consist for the most part of a string of monotonous platitudes.

But though the book itself is dull and commonplace, the period of which it treats is one of the most interesting in English History. The History of England during the earlier half of the Nineteenth Century, if it is read and interpreted intelligently, can be a source of much instruction and profit to our countrymen at the present juncture. It will show them that repression which is being tried in India to-day is not a new thing in the history of England; the same experiment was tried before in the British isles. It should not be a matter of surprise to us if the descendants of those who passed the Six Acts for suppressing the liberty of agitation in England and Coercion Act after Coercion Act in order to destroy Irish nationality, should be crying for "martial law and no d—d nonsense" in India. What is regrettable is that even the more sober and intelligent among them should be unable to see that these measures failed to achieve their object both in England and Ireland and that they will likewise fail in India. The British Parliament was reformed in spite of the Six Acts; the Government of India will be reformed in spite of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy and the Calcutta anarchists.

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CRITICISMS AND DISCUSSIONS.

N. B.—The contributions under this heading refer to matters previously treated in the *Hindustan Review*. Criticism of any article will, as a rule, be limited to a single issue. The discussion ends with a reply from the original writer.—ED.

(*a*)—"Kalidasa's Ideal of Kingship."

By Mr. P. P. Gomes.

THE learned, lengthy and impressive article on "Kalidasa's Ideal of Kingship" by Mr. C. T. Naidu, M. R., A. S., published in your issue of November 1908, requires no criticism but a careful perusal of it by our Rulers and those in authority. The ideal of Kalidasa, Rama and others, quoted by Mr. Naidu, deserves a careful study and imitation. It says that the Rulers must always seek the welfare of the subjects, and secure their good-will. This is no easy task; but our Rulers and Authorities must always be solicitous to attain this object. The article says that the former Kings had their own spies to acquaint themselves of the people's opinion regarding the Government. Such spies are more necessary now-a-days, since the Government has learnt of people's sufferings in various ways, *viz.*, plagues, famines and revolutionary tendencies, which tendencies have lately been detected by the Bombay Government. The Government of Sir George Clarke published a Resolution in the Educational Department on 8th October, 1908, for the proper government of School and College students. This proof is enough to form an opinion that there exist among the lower classes revolutionary tendencies. To suppress such tendencies, a firmer village government is necessary, in accordance with Lord Curzon's Police Commission's recommendations. The *Times of India* of 1st January, 1908, quoted from Native papers an article headed "Laxity of Government," and the said paper in June suggested Police Reforms. In the villages people suffer much from hawkers, of which mention was made by Sir Denzil Ibbetson. Then the foreigners, like the Marwaris from Native States, the Goanese from Goa, and other foreign subjects require a stricter supervision in their movements, for which a levy of "Passport Tax" on foreign subjects would enable the Government to increase its Police force, and on better pay, if the Government are anxious to secure efficiency

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of the Police Force. Our Military and Police are under-paid, is a well-known fact. It is also insufficient numerically. What the Rulers should secure is safety of life, property and honour according to the article on "Kingship" in your Review.

(b)—Our Last issue.

The *Empire* thus writes of our last issue:—

The *Hindustan Review* of December keeps up its reputation as being one of the best monthlies printed in India and its contents are fully worth reading. It thoroughly maintains the Congress principles the promulgation of which is its *raison d'etre*. It contains an article by Mr. Abbas Tyabji, the Judge of the High Court of Baroda on "Indian Mussalmans and the Indian National Congress," which is just what is to be expected from one of his views. Next comes a review by an Indian Nationalist of Lord Cromer's *Modern Egypt*, Viscount Miller's *England in Egypt*, Sir Auckland Colvln's *The Making of Modern Egypt*, Mr. Edward Dy's *The Egypt of the Future*, and letters from an Egyptian to an English Politician on the affairs of Egypt, which is another clever article articulating Congress principles. Another article is "Parsees and the National Politics of India" by Dr. S. N. Bahadurji, from which it would appear as if the Parsees as a body had gone over to the Congress but we fear the wish is father to the thought and the majority of that shrewd community are still holding back.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* has the following observations:—

The *Hindustan Review* for December contains contributions by a number of writers who are more or less well known in India. Mr. James L. Barton has a useful paper on "The New Era in Turkey," Mr. Saint Nihal Singh continues his piquant impressions of yellow journalism in the United States, Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe contributes an appreciative review of Mr. Nevinson's "New Spirit in India;" there are several articles on Indian Nationalism, all of abounding interest, and the character sketches include a study of Mr. Syed Ali Imam, the president-elect of the All-India Muslim League. Particular attention may be drawn to a very remarkable essay, reprinted in this number, from the pen of Mr. Hardayal and entitled "Public Life and Private Morals." The writer justly points out the great importance of private morals in connection with public life, and says that the man whose private life is not noble and pure cannot exert any influence for good on others. Altogether, the December number of the *Hindustan Review* is a highly interesting one.

The *Capital* has the following observations:—

The Mahomedan view of the new democratic spirit which is stirring the Islamic world is powerfully and interestingly presented in the December number of *The Hindustan Review*, which, by the way, presents more than the usual number of attractions, and that is not saying much. The first three articles, occupying no less than eighteen pages, discuss the position of the Mussalmans in India, Egypt, and Turkey, and later on we have a biographical

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sketch of Mr. Syed Ali Imam, the President-Elect of the All-India Mosle League. The devotion of so much space and sympathy to a phase of a questi which might at first blush appear beyond his province, proves the broa mindedness and generous tolerance of the Hindu editor, and will do much enhance the high prestige already ensured by his really substantial journa An article which should have a special interest for Calcutta readers is Mr. S K. Ratcliffe's review of Mr. Nevinson's "Vision of India." It is the estimate by one clever man, of another clever man's work, and therefore a tribute and a appreciation. I congratulate Mr. Sachidananda Sinha on the budget of goo things he has supplied for his readers during the coming Christmas holiday when politics will be so much in the air.

The *Indian Social Reformer* has the following observations:—

The leading monthlies in India have, most of them, each a distinctiv character of its own. The *Hindustan Review* stands for a robust and consisten nationalism on modern lines and under British guidance, with a strong emphasis on social development as the basis of political progress. Among articles in recent issues of the *Hindustan*, two of the most remarkable are Mr Mujibur Rahman's paper on "Indian Unity" in the November number and Mr Abbas S. Tyabji's on "Indian Mussulmans and the Indian National Congress" in the December number. Both the writers are ardent nationalists who long to see Hindus and Mussalmans realising that they are Indians first and religious sectaries afterwards. Mr. Mujibur Rahman appeals to the Hindus, especially of Bengal, to show more consideration than they do at present in social intercourse with their Mahomedan brethren. His plea is so earnest, sober and sincere that we are sure it must arrest the attention of all thoughtful readers. He makes it clear that much harm is done by inconsiderateness in small matters where it should be easy—and more pleasant—to be considerate. Merely making a shibboleth of Hindu-Mahomedan unity on public platforms is of no use. We must each one of us try to carry the principle into the recesses our inner life and habituate ourselves, by every means, to think and dream of each other as one in patriotism and one in service to the motherland. Mr. Abbas Tyabji's article is the counterpart of Mr. Mujibur Rahman's paper. Mr. Tyabji appeals to his fellow-Mussalmans, in impressive terms, to overlook minor differences and to co-operate with their Hindu brethren in working for national advancement. Mr. Tyabji writes with great feeling. Now that the Extremists are out of the Congress, he sees no reason why the Mahomedans as a body should not heartily join the movement.

It will interest their numerous customers and patrons to learn that Messrs. Ganda Singh Uberoi & Co., of Sialkot City, have been awarded a Silver Medal at the Franco-British Exhibition, London, 1908, for the excellence of their sporting goods. This raises the number of their medals awarded at the International Exhibitions to four.

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THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I.—"*I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse -I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard.*" (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Liberator*).

MOTTO II.—"Minds may doubt and hearts may fail, when called to face new modes of thought or points of view ; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange." (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation*).

A Kayastha Religious Leader.

THE Kayastha community may will be proud of the fact that it has again, after an interval of a few years, given to the important religious sect of the Radha Swamis its spritual and religious leader. The Radha Swami sect is an important one in Northern India by reason of the adhesion to it of several men of light and learning and those interested in the theories and practices of the followers of this growing sect of Hindus may refer to the account given by Mr. R. Burn, c. s., in his very instructive *Report on the Census of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1901*, or to an excellent *resume* of the same by the Rev. Dr. Griswold of the Forman Christan College, Lahore, in a recent number of the well known missionary quarterly, published in London, called *The East and the West*. The sect was founded about half a century back by Munshi Shiv Dayal Saheb, a Khatri gentleman by caste, who was regarded by his followers as the *Sant Sat Guru* and popularly known as the Swamiji Saheb. After his death, he was succeeded by a well known Kayastha gentleman, the late Rai Bahadur Saligram of Agra, who was the first Indian to occupy the important position of a Provincial Post-Master-General. By reason of his high position, great ability and unblemished character, Rai Saligram managed to secure for the new cult the allegiance and support of many leading men in Upper India and it was during the latter years of his life that the Radha Swami cult became popular with certain sections of the educated Hindu community. The Rai Bahadur died about 10 years ago without nominating any successor. But sometime after his death, the choice of the votaries of the faith fell on the late Pandit Bramha Shanker Misra, M. A., of the Accoun-

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tant General's Office, Allahabad. The Pandit Saheb died las year, after worthily maintaining for nearly a decade his positio as leader of the new faith. But he also died without nominat ing a successor. For nearly a year the sect founded by Munsh Shiv Dayal was without a recognised leader and speculation wa rife for sometime past as to the gentleman on whom the choice for leadership was likely to fall. We are glad to learn that some weeks back this crucial question was solved by the acknowledg ment by the vast bulk of the members of the Radha Swami cu of Babu Kamta Prasad Sinha, LL.B., Vakil, High Court, as the spiritual leader, or, in the parlance of the sect, as the *Sant Sa Guru*. Babu Kamta Prasad, who is about 37 years old, practi es at Ghazipur in these Provinces and is one of the recognise leaders of the Ghazipore bar. He is the youngest son Rai Kulwant Prasad Saheb, who was for a long series of yea a member of the Judicial branch of the Provincial Civil Servic in the Province of Agra. He retired as Subordinate Judge man years back and is still enjoying a green old age at his villag home in the district of Shahabad, in the Province of Behar Babu Kamta Prasad is a gentleman of considerable intelligence and is endowed with many of the gifts requisite to the leadershi of a great sect like that of the Radha Swamis. Ever since he started his practice some ten years back, he has devoted a consi derable portion of his time to the propagation of the Radha Swami creed, in which he has been a staunch believer since h was initiated into it by the late Rai Saligram nearly twenty years ago. We have no doubt that under the guidance of so competent a leader the Radha Swami sect will play an important part in moulding the character of the Hindu religion in the future. Babu Kamta Prasad is a nephew and a particular friend of Mr. Sachchidnanda Sinha, so that the editor of the *Hindustan Review* may also be said now to live in an "odour of sanctity."

Mr. Parmeshwar Lall's Presidential Address.

We print below the text of Mr. Parmeshwar Lall's presidential address at the last Behar Students Conference, which we noticed in our last issue. We have no doubt that it will repay perusal. We have omitted the first and the last paragraphs which dealt with more or less personal matters :—

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The significance of a Conference like ours is very great indeed. It is unique of its kind. I believe nowhere in all India have we an institution that could be compared to ours. Congress, Conferences and assemblies of various description are the order of the day. This is one of the lessons we have learnt in our country from the democratic West. But so far all the assemblies that we hear of are of full grown responsible business men—none of men so young—none of men, the bulk of whom have not yet crossed the threshold of life, none of men who are yet in training. And yet the result has been marvellous—marvellous not merely in what the Conference has itself achieved but more marvellous in the life it has infused all around. Your young enthusiasm has been infectious. You have galvanized into life the dormant political sense of our older men. To your infections is due the Behar Provincial Conference of last April. To you is due the Behar Industrial Association that has just now started its career of benificence. It was at the conventions of the Theosophical Society that Indians from all parts of the Motherland met for the first time without any distinctions of caste, creed or colour. The T. S. justly claims to be the precursor of the great Indian National Congress. You certainly have paved the way for the Behar Provincial Conference and its offshoots.

The New Life that is coming over us after the torpor of ages is exhibiting signs of its vitality everywhere. Some of these symptoms are crude and unformed and decidedly unpleasant, some are of questionable value while others are good without alloy. To this last category belongs the Conference. That this yearning for a larger and nobler life should first come among young men and students is no matter of surprise. It has ever been thus in the records of mankind.

You are young—necessarily enthusiastic—the literature alike of England and India are open to you. Many of you are deeply read in them—what wonder if the desire for the company of congenial spirits should rise among you? What wonder if you meet to discuss how to attain the Nobler and Larger Life for which you are so anxious.

What the Conference can do.

It is in pursuance of this desire for a Larger and Nobler life that we have met. Let us consider what we can do. A draft of certain resolutions to be laid before us has been circulated among us by our kind friends of the Reception Committee, whose cordial hospitality we so much appreciate and are grateful for. I do not wish to anticipate any of the discussion that will arise in connection with these resolutions. I would only indicate what are the limits of a Conference like ours—what are the things we can do and those that we cannot. What things can be achieved by the Conference itself and what by the Conference in co-operation with other body or bodies.

The objects of the Conference as laid down by the founders of the movement were in general to ameliorate the condition of the students of Behar, to supplement so far as we can the education imparted by the schools and colleges—understanding by the word education the culture alike of the body, the emotions and the intellect. The colleges and the schools impart merely learning, our object is Culture.

In this matter of Culture, it is unnecessary to state that although it is possible to divide the subject into three great divisions—Physical, Emotional and Intellectual—the division is not logical and the subjects overlap each

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other and a development of each is necessary for the development of the others.

Now as a general rule our schools and colleges in Behar neglect or carry out in a very imperfect manner the claims of Physical culture. It is a subject we can take up and hope to achieve satisfactorily ourselves. In this matter as in many others we can safely take a lesson from our neighbours in Bengal. Schools in Bengal are just as badly off in this respect as our own schools. Associations for Physical culture are springing up everywhere in that province and it was with no little gratification that on my return to Bengal after an absence of nearly four years I noticed the physique of the Bengalee students improved greatly from what it at one time used to be. We in Behar would do wisely if we were to follow the lead of Bengal in this matter. How a robust health and a general strength of limb changes the aspect of every object in the intellectual and the emotional world is a truism on which I need not dilate. The late Swami Vivekananda used to say the Bhagwat Gita would be better understood if its reader was not a chronic sufferer from dyspepsia.

Physical culture has been very sadly neglected in our province for the last two generations. Our elder men had the traditions of "kushti", "Akharha" "Lakri" and other things of that kind among them when they were young. But even with them it was more a tradition of the past than a living reality in their own lives. The generation that succeeded them had lost even the tradition. Cricket and football had begun to come into vogue, but even till now these Western games have not obtained any firm footing among us. It would be no small object gained, if as a result of our deliberations, we are able to revive some kind of physical culture whether English or Indian, and make these things as popular among us as the B.A. degree of the Calcutta University. I am told winners of the boat race and the cricket championship are more highly regarded in England than the Senior Wrangler or those who take high degrees in their University examinations.

Physical culture is a thing we can obtain without any one's aid or co-operation. So also can we obtain for ourselves by our own efforts the culture of the emotions. Religion plays a large part in the development of emotional culture of the higher kind. The religious revival of which we see signs everywhere among us can very well be utilised for this purpose. But the greatest ethical idea that has come to us of late as a result of the New life that is coming over the country is the idea of "Geographical Nationality." This idea has come to us from the West. It was impossible in the Past. As that keen observer of mankind and ripe scholar, learned alike in the learning of the West and the East, Pramatho Nath Mitter observes "the educated young Hindu is mortified at finding that in the ancient literature of his country in its sublime philosophy, in its grand religion, the virtue of patriotism was never recognised. His European education has so wrapped the clearness of his mental vision that he cannot understand that to a people who believed in an unbroken continuity of conscious existence through eternity, to a people to whom such a belief was not a theory, but a thing which was tangible and very substantial, the grand Egoism which Europe admires under the name of Patriotism was an impossibility." But though Patriotism has come to us as a result of that White Disaster which threatened at one time to envelope the whole of Asia, it is a virtue eminently useful at the present moment of our national existence for the cultivation of the higher emotional faculties. Even

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religion seems to dwarf before it. Religion, we argue, after all pertains merely to the salvation of our individual souls. Patriotism is something higher. Patriotism loses sight of the individual, would even sacrifice the individual for the betterment of that large community of individuals that we call a Nation. This is neither the time nor the place to discuss whether religion seeks merely the salvation of the individual or through the salvation of the individual the greatest good of the greatest number. If is enough for us that the depressed condition of our country strongly appeals to us in the guise of Patriotism. Patriotism is undoubtedly an emotion of the highest order and a steady and enlightened cultivation of it cannot but be conducive of great good to our community and to our people.

The methods of cultivating the virtue of patriotism are diverse and change with circumstances and place. How this great virtue may best be cultivated, may, perhaps come out as the result of your deliberations.

Cultivation of the emotions and the development of our physique, we can carry on almost independently and without the aid of any one else. But in the matter of intellectual development we are very much dependent upon what the University provides for us. The changes introduced in the curriculum have just come into force this year. The heated controversy that waged so fiercely over the question of University reform must be fresh in the minds of most of us. We are powerless at the present moment, nor would the authorities be wise in effecting further change. But, after all to use a homely adage, 'the test of the pudding is in the eating of it.' Let us wait and see how Lord Curzon's gift to the country actually works out whether as a curse or as a blessing. It is our duty as a Conference of students to watch this measure with utmost keenness and note where it fails and where it succeeds. At some future Conference when we have more knowledge on the subject, we shall perhaps be in a better position to point out to our people the result of it.

Intellectual culture of all kinds of culture is certainly the most important. Everything else depends upon it, and in so grave a matter, it would be a question of the highest difficulty to formulate opinions without a thorough study of the subject. I cannot lay claim even to a perfunctory knowledge of it, but it is said that at times a lay man can see things which an expert does not notice. It is only on such basis that I venture to formulate certain criticisms on the system of intellectual training in vogue among us. Intellectual training in our country in the past was based upon the culture of the memory. Of late the tendency has been to develop more and more the faculty of understanding. No one will for a minute doubt that of the two, the faculty of understanding is by far the better for educational purposes. But if the process of educating the understanding is started at an early stage of the educational process, grave dangers follow, the imagination is starved and in the course of time we get a class of young people to whom Milton is trash and Shakespear but an early and crude process in the evolution of mankind. Such wise young people might be great scientists so far as science is mere mechanical arrangement, but all the higher processes even of Science itself will be to them an impossibility. The process employed by our University is very much this process. In their hatred of cram, they would starve memory itself, and it is not unoften that one comes across young men who have read Milton and Shakespeare and Byron and can give us detailed criticisms of the various characters in the works of these great authors but when asked to recite some of the brilliant passages they criticise with such consummate skill,

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they tell us that they did not cram those passages. I am too old-fashioned to think that poetry is read to any purpose if one is not able to recall to memory what his understanding bids him to admire. Our country at one time produced men who knew the Mahabharatta and the Ramayan by heart. Among old-fashioned Mohammadans we yet come across the Hafiz—the memory man who knows to a word the great book of Allah and who glories in being able to recite the Qoran in the sacred month of Ramzan, chapter by chapter, without the aid of a book. How strange it must appear to men of this stamp to come across the new type scholar who, though he greatly admires, is yet unable to reproduce Lord Byron's famous Ode to Greece, or Shakespeare's famous passage beginning "to be or not to be that is the question." This type of intellectual culture, I do not advocate. Mere Memory may be inferior to Understanding, but Understanding alone is not the solution of the question. Another defect, that I make bold to point out in the method of intellectual culture in vogue among us, pertains to the teaching of History in our Schools. History, in every country in which it is taught to the young, is the great instrument for infusing patriotic thoughts, and stirring up the noblest passions that the human breast can entertain by a recital of the great deeds of Heroism and Sacrifice and Wisdom and Valour achieved by the great men of old. Now how is History taught among us? The vilest deed of treachery and cowardice and crime that Indians have been capable of in the past are emblazoned in large characters while all that is exalted is to be found in the foreigner. I was taught the History of India and of England when I was a child and even now I remember the shudder of repugnance that used to come over me as I read a history of my own people. In reading the History of England, my infant wonder used to be as to how it was that England was always in the right in every war she undertook and how extraordinary a breed of men the English must have been, that in all their numerous wars, they were always successful. These feelings gave me an aversion for the history of our own people and bred a contempt in me for them which it took long years of patient study afterwards to overcome. It was long after I had passed the golden days of my boyhood that I realised that in reading the history of my country written by foreigners, or those who came under their sway, I should do well to remember the line of Sadi (the pen is held by enemy.) ولیکن قلم درکف دشمن است

I fear the teaching of Indian History has not improved much since I began its study. Even the books written by Indians themselves and used by the University are such as to be no medium for the cultivation of patriotism. Plato, in his Republic, sanctioned the lie that told the philosopher that he was made of gold. Have the wise men who regulate the teaching of History among us forgotten the force and the truth of his noble maxim? If so, History had better not be taught to us at all.

Politics and Students.

History is the record largely of the politics of the past. It is but a natural transition that one should come from the politics of the past to the politics of the present. The question, what part, if any, students should take in the current politics of to-day has been a burning question among us for some time. Ever since the Risley circular forbade schoolboys and their masters mixing in what the Government were pleased to regard as politics unfavourable to themselves, this question has been trotting forth in various guises and various shapes, and it would be well if to the consideration of this question,

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we come with a mind unbiased by any fear or favour that may come to us from various quarters of the political sky. We must try to remove from our minds all shams that tend to delude us and keep us from seeing the naked truth.

Student is a very large word, and it covers a very large and multifarious section of our people. A boy just beginning the rudiments of the Vernacular is a student. The accomplished Master of Arts preparing to write his Thesis for the Tagore Lectures or the Roychand Premchand scholarship is a student as well. The various grades between these two extremes also come within the denotation of the word student. No common maxim can be invented to cover the entire denotation. For the very young boy beginning his first struggle with the alphabet or learning his multiplication tables, politics of any practical kind is of course an impossibility. But even he is not too young to be taught to love his country. In England, the first lessons in patriotism are often impressed upon the tender mind of the infant at this stage. Patriotism has been good for England, it has been good for every country that we know of. It must necessarily be good for us also. But an understanding of the concrete facts of current politics is an impossibility in the majority of cases while we are yet very young. But later on, when we are older, and begin to understand the drift and trend of these things, things alter very much. We may not yet then be able to participate in the controversies of passion and intellect that make up politics. But we may learn to understand the meaning of the game and the inward bearings of it by watching those who are in the midst of it. If at this early stage of our mental evolution we are so fortunate as to obtain a sympathetic guide, the gain is indeed immense. But the perfectionist theory that Mr. Arundale set forth with such consummate ability in a recent issue of the *Hindustan Review* like all such theories, would be very good if it could work, but unluckily where can we find the men to work it? Mr. Arundale's ideal teacher would be an unbiased man who espoused no particular cause and to whom politics appealed merely as an intellectual game. Where shall we find the man in all this great country who understanding politics does not himself belong to any party? And who with such elevation of mind would yet be willing to undertake the humble and ill-paid work of a teacher of youth. Time was when men of the highest calibre undertook this lowly function. Such are said to have been the Rishis of old. But where shall one find a Rishi in this age of commercial competition when the highest political wisdom is said to be buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest?

If Politics mean the cult of the bomb, if politics mean recourse to violence, if politics mean the populerization of the assassination of innocent individuals, if things of this nature mean politics, I would with all the strength I can command not only ask students to keep away from them, but I would ask everyone else too to keep away. Things of this kind can only hinder our progress. This is not the kind of politics that our Indian public men are concerned with. The school of politics that has acquired such firm hold on the Indian mind is of another character altogether. Its methods are constitutional. Its procedure is peaceful and orderly progress. To tell our young men not to interest themselves in politics of this nature because they are not yet fully prepared to understand and value the great complexities and intricacies that are found to be in even the simplest political questions is to ask them to refrain from indulging some of the most powerful instincts in human nature. Are not questions of theology and morals as difficult to grasp?

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Is not theism or atheism, or pantheism even more complicated than t question of whether Mr. Tilak or Dr. Rash Behary Ghose should be chosen t President of the Congress? And if we tempt our young men to study the logy, if we tempt them to study the vast science of sociology, if we rewa them if they show proficiency in the ethereal science of astronomy, what the name of all that is holy, is to keep them from studying and taking p in the question of whether Mr. Sinha or Babu Gajadhar Prasad should rep sent Behar in the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor? Over t grave subject, let us free our minds of all cant. Let us see facts for oursel Let us not be hectored at by bureaucrats or cajoled by seeming sympathise We hear of vile demagogues who "debauch the mind of the young" and shudder at the thought. We are a religious people and yet missionar of various creeds and complexions travesty our religion at street corn and try to pervert our youth. Writers of books run down our nation and people, some times a Viceroy of India joins this howling pack and yet w these things are done we hear no mention of demagogues or "the debauch of the mind of the young"! But political ascendency is a wonderful thing.

اگر شہ روز را گوید شب است ایں * بہ باید گفت اینک ماہ و پروین

If the King says the day is night,

We ought to say "there is the moon and there are stars."

In this matter, I am in deadly earnest. These same gentlemen who wou not have our young men take part in a demonstration to honour a Gokhal or a Naoroji would invite our young men to come in their hundreds to sho honour to a Lieutenant-Governor. They would be shocked at the Ban Mataram song but be gratified with a "God save the King." Yet the one refe to the Country and the other to the King. They would ask students to join a meeting to thank the Government for its good acts and yet not let the partake in a meeting that censures some of its bad acts. Consistency is a virtue which they seem to prize. They would even ask us to adopt measur to put down heterodox political opinions. This to them is not politics. The remind me of an old lady, I once knew in London. She was the Secretary an Association that called itself by the high-sounding name of Indian Nation Association. Indian politics, however, was taboed in the Association. criticism of Government measures was allowed, but if one felt inclined enlarge on the many benefits conferred on benighted India by wise a generous statesmen of the type of Lord Curzon, the National Indian Associ tion provided him the best of platforms.

A Kayastha Donor.

Babu Ishwari Prasad, a *rais* of the district, has agreed t build a house for the proposed new Englis School at Gorakhpur at a cost of Rs. 12,000. Last year, he erected a room for Free Hindu Boarders in th local Jubilee High School at a cost of Rs. 1,500 and also fo the cost of the construction of a room for a similar purpos in the Kayastha Pathshala at Allahabad.

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The *Pioneer* publishes the following :—

Founder's Day at the Kayastha Pathshala.

The birthday anniversary of the late Munshi Kali Prasada Kulbhaskar, founder of the Kayastha Pathshala, was celebrated in the premises of the institution, with much eclat and enthusiasm this year. The sports and games went on for five days. The memorial meeting which was held on the 3rd of December, the founder's birthday, under the chairmanship of Munshi Gobind Prasada, M. A., Vakil, High Court, *ex*-president of the Kayastha Pathshala, was largely attended. Those who took part in it showed that they admired and keenly appreciated the great gift of the donor and his earnest desire to benefit not only the Kayasthas but all Hindus of the respectable classes. The grounds and the buildings were tastefully decorated and beautifully lighted. Unlike last year the occasion was not taken up by the distribution of prizes and the reading of reports. The whole time was devoted exclusively to the study and glorification of the noble life of the founder. The programme opened with music and recitation in Sanskrit and in Hindi and Urdu by the students composed by themselves for the occasion. Mr. Mahesh Charan Sinha, B. A., M. Sc., was the principal speaker of the evening. He described with great vividness the self-sacrificing life of the founder, Munshi Kali Prasada Kulbhaskar, and exhorted the students to act up to the lesson of self-sacrifice taught by the life of the founder, who gave up the whole of his life's earnings for the institution. He was followed in an eloquent speech by Munshi Haribans Sahay, M. A., LL.B., Vakil, High Court. Acknowledgments are due to Babu Dhanesh Prasada, M.A., Principal, Kayastha Pathshala, and his staff for the strenuous efforts made by them to carry out successfully the entire programme of the anniversary.

Old and New Boys' Gathering.

Under the auspices of the Founder's Day a new feature was a gathering of the old and new students of the Kayastha Pathshala on the 4th of December, under the guidance and chairmanship of Munshi Gokul Prasada, M. A., LL.B., President, Kayastha Pathshala. The new students did all they could to entertain the old students by music and recitation.

The gathering was also entertained by some nice, instructive and skilful magical feats performed by a first year student of the institution. Babu Kismat Rai, B. A., and Mr. M. C. Sinha, B. A., M. Sc. (old boys) took this opportunity of urging upon the students, old and new alike, to work for the betterment of their *alma mater*. Thereupon Munshi Gulzari Lal, B. A., LL.B., Vice-president, Kayastha Pathshala, proposed and Principal Dhanesh Prasada, M.A., seconded that an Old and New Boys' Association be established with the following aims :—

1. To create and foster feelings of brotherly love and affection among the old and new boys of the Kayastha Pathshala and to create a healthy *esprit de corps* among the alumni.

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2. To foster feelings of sympathy towards the Kayastha Pathshala and encourage the old and new boys to help their *alma mater* in every possible way they can.

3. To conduct themselves wherever they may be and in whatever position of life in a way worthy of the name of the Institution.

The following gentlemen were appointed office-bearers for the current year :—

1. President ... Principal Dhanesh Prasada, M. A.
2. Vice-presidents ... 1. Mr. M. C. Sinha, B. A., M. Sc. 2. Professor Vishnu Sahay, B. A.
3. General Secretary ... Professor Janaki Prasada Prosotomji, B. A.
4. Secretary,—Old boys ... Babu Kismat Rai, B. A.
5. Secretary,—New boys ... Akhauri Bhola Nath.

And seven members of the Executive Committee.

The Secretary, Old Boys, will keep a directory of all the old students of the institution, who will do good to communicate with him at the Law Hostel, Allahabad.

Founder's Day at Lucknow.

A very crowded meeting was held in the Reid Christian College, Lucknow, to celebrate the anniversary of Munshi Kali Prasada Kulbhaskar with Rev. C. L. Bare as the president. It is in the fitness of things that a memorial meeting should be held at Lucknow, the place which the illustrious Munshi Saheb had made his home. The Kayastha Institute, Ashrafabad, deserves to be congratulated on the interesting programme they gave on the occasion and the young men who made it a success deserve every encouragement. That the status of the Pathshala should be raised higher was the unanimous desire of the Lucknow audience and that the authorities should purchase adjoining building and site, to extend the Pathshala premises seemed to be the desire of all those that assembled to celebrate the birthday of M. Kali Prasada of Allahabad.

Sir J. Hewett at the Kayastha Pathshala.

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, accompanied by Major Gordon, the Private Secretary and Mr. Brownrigg, the Commissioner of Allahabad, paid a visit to the Kayastha Pathshala on the morning of Monday, the 14th December. He went round the College and School buildings and the Boarding House and seemed much pleased with what he saw. We hope good and useful result will accrue from His Honour's interest in the institution.

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Mr. SARADA CHARAN MITRA : A Sketch.

"When we appeared before you with a good case we were certain to win and equally if we appeared with a bad case we were bound to lose." This is the highest compliment that can be paid to a judicial officer and that was the compliment that was paid by the Advocate-General of Bengal on the occasion of the retirement of Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra from the Calcutta High Court Bench.

MR. SARADA CHARAN MITRA was born on the 19th December 1848 in a small but at that time, a populous village, Panisehola, in the district of Hugli in Bengal. The village which for centuries was one of the centres of Bengal Kayasthas contained a large number of well-to-do men of position, intelligence and wealth. The Boses and Mitras might be especially noted, as the former contained men like the late millionaire banian Tarini Charan Bose, and the latter men like the late Kissory Chand Mitra and Peary Chand Mitra who was the author of many well-known Bengali books. Young Mitra's father was himself a high caste Kulin. The members of the family were all fairly successful in life and one of Mr. Sarada Charan's cousins is a retired District Judge and another a retired Subordinate Judge and four others are practising lawyers. Mr. Mitra's father was a banian and trader in Calcutta.

Sarada Charan's early surroundings made a great impression on him and he always retained a love for poetry, music, mythology and agriculture. Mythology gave birth to a taste for antiquity and history. Even now he is very fond of country life and his recreation lies in the pursuit of floriculture, horticulture and agriculture. During the busiest periods of his life in town, he would escape to his village residence on Saturdays and Sundays and devote himself to his favourite pursuits.

At the usual age of five, young Sarada Charan was placed under a village Guru. This pedagogue was a martinet and Sarada Charan was very often chastised for his naughtiness, notwithstanding that he was very intelligent, and was, even then, of studious habits. In the course of a few weeks, he learned the Bengali alphabet and could at once read books in Bengali.

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His mother died when he was only six. She was bare thirty years old. She died leaving two sons and a daught and Sarada Charan was placed in charge of his paternal gran mother and aunt. He was of delicate health from birth ar the death of his mother told upon his constitution. He ha to be taken off his studies for some months. But before th end of two years from the time he began to read ar write, he finished the *pathshala* course of reading, writing a elementary arithmetic and was then removed to a vernacul school at Sibpur near Howrah where his father usually resid for attending to his business in Calcutta. There he studied f a few months but before he could make any substantial progres his elder brother died of cholera. The state of his health agai required his removal to his village shortly after the Sepoy Mutin broke out. For a year and a half he was kept out of school. H however, made a good use of his time in the village. He car fully read the then extant Bengali books and managed to learn little English with the assistance of other boys of his age wh were reading English in an Anglo-Vernacular school in a adjoining village. He learned during this period much of cultiva tion and gardening and employed a part of his time almost ever day in a miniature garden where he raised potatoes of which h has always been fond. He planted at this time with his siste a mangoe garden which is still bearing fruit. In Augus 1858, he was taken to Calcutta, was placed in charge of an unc and was enrolled in the Hare School, then called the Colootol Branch School. The school was then one of the best i Bengal and Mr. Peary Charan Sarkar was the Headmaste and young Sarada Charan soon succeeded in making his mar He always stood first in his class and in December 18 appeared from this school for the Entrance Examination of t Calcutta University. But in the meantime his father had die in the year 1862 and he became an orphan. His father's cousi who was one of the executors under his father's will took car of him but the bereavement had its effect on his weak health At the early age of fourteen, he was attacked with chroni dyspepsia, from which he has always suffered more or less. H health broke down, but not his mental energy. He succeede in standing first in the Entrance Examination of the Calcutt University with extraordinarily high marks. He was offere

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a scholarship by Government for completing his education in England but his relations did not allow him to leave India. In January 1866, he was admitted to the Presidency College. In 1867 he stood first in the First Examination in Arts with the Duff Scholarship in Mathematics. In January, 1870, he passed the B. A. Examination, standing first in order of merit and in the following month he appeared for Honours in English in which he stood third and got the M. A. degree. Such quick passing of examinations was unprecedented and at the following Convocation of the Calcutta University he got both the B. A. and M. A. diplomas and he also got the Ishan Scholarship. In the following year he passed the Premchand Roychand Studentship examination, his subjects being English, Sanskrit and History. He was the first and perhaps the only student of the Calcutta University who won the Studentship prize within five academical years of passing the Matriculation examination. He was at once appointed a lecturer of English in the Presidency College, then a high honour for a young man of twenty-one. He discharged his duties as a lecturer very satisfactorily and was loved by his pupils, some of whom were almost of his own age, but he had to leave service after a year to enable him to appear for the B. L. examination, his aim having been to practise as a lawyer. Unfortunately he was not so successful in his law examination as he had been at the Degree and Honours' examinations in Arts.

In the limited leisure that he had during the interval of passing University examinations, he had conceived an ardent admiration for Vaishnava poetry and specially the poems of Vidyapati, the far-famed poet of Mithila, many of whose songs have been absorbed into the Vaishnava poetry of Bengal. When studying law, he wrote an article on the Philology of the Bengali language and it was published in (Shumbhoo Chunder) Mukherjee's Magazine. At this time, he was editing the songs of Vidyapati. His health had also suffered about this time from an attack of erysipelas which had endangered his life, and from malarious fever, which at this period was violently raging in the districts of Hugli, Nadia and Burdwan. He passed the B. L. examination in 1873 but only in the second class. It appears that not until he had been long in the profession that he acquired a taste for law. Themis is a jealous mistress and will not allow

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her votaries to worship any other goddess. This is true as regards many: Sarada Charan's life is an instance. He abandoned literature and philology a few years later and devoted himself entirely to law until recently when he has had more leisure than an advocate's profession allows.

Having taken the degree in law in 1873 he was enrolled as a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court on the 22nd March of that year. But he was still pursuing literature and Vidyapati made its appearance in the first and some of the succeeding numbers of the *Prachin Kavya Sangraha* edited jointly by him and Babu Akshaya Chandra Sarkar, M. A., B. L. He was also busy in writing articles on other literary topics and his critical article in Bengali on Bharat Chandra Roy written in answer to an article on the same poet was very much appreciated. He was practically the editor of the *Howrah Hitkari* newspaper, which was published from Howrah where he had passed some of his earlier years and where he had a large number of friends and relatives. Somewhat later on he edited the *Kayastha Karika* (the genealogy of the Kayasthas). It was about this time that he was elected a Municipal Commissioner of Calcutta and he acted as such from 1878 to 1880. He did not stand for election afterwards.

In 1884 he was nominated a member of the Central Text-Book Committee of Bengal and he did much useful work in it until it was abolished in the year 1900. He was again nominated a member of the Committee three years ago and is still one of its most useful members. In 1885, he was nominated a member of the Senate of the Calcutta University. He sat as a member of both the Faculties of Arts and Law for several years and was a representative of the latter Faculty in the Syndicate in 1898, 1899 and 1900. He was elected President of the Faculty of Law and also its representative in the Syndicate in the years 1901 and 1904. In 1895 he was elected Tagore Law Lecturer and delivered a series of lectures on the Land Law of Bengal. On the reconstitution of the Senate under the Universities' Act he was again nominated a Fellow and represented the Faculty of Law in the Syndicate.

In the meantime Mr. Mitra was fast rising in the profession of law. He grasped facts with great ease and placed them before the Judges in a few appropriate words. His

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analysis of facts was admired by the profession and the Judges, and the ease with which he could deal with complicated cases of alluvial lands which are numerous in deltaic Bengal placed him in the front rank of the legal practitioners in the Calcutta High Court. His able arguments on facts frequently elicited praise from the Bar as well as the Bench. In February 1902 Sir Gooroodas Banerjee was nominated a member of the Universities Commission, and Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra was offered an officiating appointment on the Bench of the Calcutta High Court. He accepted it and took his seat as a Judge on the 18th February 1902. He immediately made his mark as a Judge of great ability, commonsense and quickness. Continuously he officiated for Sir Gooroodas Banerjee, Sir H. Thoby Prinsep and Mr. Justice Sale until the 4th September 1902. In the following year he was again appointed to act as a Judge for Mr. Justice Hill and he officiated from the 17th March 1903 to 3rd September 1903. Before he took his seat permanently as a Judge, he was deputed by the Government to Gaya with Mahamahopadhyaya Pundit Haraprasad Sastri to report on the Budh-Gaya dispute which was then agitating the Buddhists, the Mahabodhi temple having been in the possession of a Hindu Mohant. His report was stated by the then Lieutenant-Governor to be a "monument of learning, industry and ability, and above all, impartiality."

In February 1904 he was permanently appointed a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, and was confirmed by His Majesty the King-Emperor on the 29th April of that year. He retired under the sixty years' rule from the Bench on the 18th December last. Throughout his career as a Judge he was remarkable for quickness, legal knowledge, mastery of facts and independence. He has won the applause of the whole country for his capacity and uprightness as a Judge.

During the period from 1902 to 1908, Mr. Mitra was not only occupied in the conscientious discharge of the arduous duties of his high office and pronouncing judgments of great legal as well as literary merit which should rank as leading cases, but was also engaged in literary work and in social reform. He has been the President of the *Bangiya Sahitya Parisad* for four years and that of the *Sahitya Sabha* for the same term. He has taken an active interest in female education

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and his labours as Honorary Secretary of the Bethune Colle were incessant, and as a member of the proposed Trai ing College for Women Teachers he had to do a good d of work. During this period he contributed numerous artic to Bengali journals. His article on Omichand (Amir Cha which appeared in the first number of the *Sahitya Sanhita* w the result of laborious research and gave a death-blow to t idea which was the foundation of Macaulay's invectives agai Indians and especially Bengalis. His articles on the travels *Chaitanya* in Orissa were of great literary merit as well those on the reminiscences of some of the great luminaries literature in Bengal with many of whom he had been persona intimate. His articles on the development of the Bengal sch of Hindu Law published in the *Law Quarterly* in Engla some time ago are of great literary and juristical merit. It m be added here that he is bringing out entirely at his o expense the latest and completest edition of Vidyapati's poen edited by Mr. N. Gupta. But the work to which he fond devoted himself during this period of his life is the attempt at t unification of the Indian scripts. His first article on the subje appeared in the *Hindustan Review* and it was followed up numerous articles in Bengali. He is the Secretary of the *Ekl Vistar Parisad* and is the moving spirit in the movement whi may at some time create a revolution in the dialects of Ind and lead to its literary unification.

In social matters, he was the first to break the unreasonab social differences between the several sections of the communi by having his second son married in a different sect. He h been deprecating by speeches and writings the evil practice extorting money in marriage and has set a brilliant exam to his castemen by his self-abnegation in this respect.

Mr. Mitra retires from the Bench of the Calcutta Hi Court in the full possession of physical and intellectual powe "I have not chalked out my future career in life," he said reply to the address which the vakils and counsel of t Calcutta High Court presented to him. "Much will depe on circumstances, as human actions generally are; but I assure you that as I retire in the full vigour of body and mi I shall do all I can for the economic, social and moral progr of my countrymen." A brilliant career, a strenuous life a a splendid achievement: this will be the verdict of his countr men on Mr. Mitra's life and life-work.

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TOPICS OF THE DAY.

The Congress—The Industrial, Social and Temperance Conferences—The Muslim League—The Reform Proposals—The Deportations and Repressive Legislation.

I.

THE Indian National Congress was once again successfully held at the end of December, and its highly useful career, which was rudely interrupted at Surat, has been resumed to the satisfaction of all right-thinking and sober-minded Indians. When one remembers for what all the Congress stood in the scheme of India's national regeneration—what hold it acquired on the public mind—what place it filled in the people's imagination—what vistas of a glorious future for this ancient land it opened to the vision of him who can think, it would be easy to understand the hurricane of popular fury and indignation that swept over Mr. Tilak's head immediately after the Surat *debacle*. It is at once a matter for thankfulness and for sorrow that the various attempts that have been made to bring back the lost sheep to the fold did not meet with success. So long as these were not prepared to accept the constitution adopted by the Convention Committee at Allahabad, so long as they hesitated to declare that the summit of their political ambition was self-government for India within the British Empire, so long as they retained a secret partiality for methods of agitation not altogether lawful and constitutional, so long was it right that they were kept, and kept themselves aloof from the National Congress and no well-meant attempt at bringing them in deserved to succeed. If they had joined the Congress with a mental reservation in accepting its objects and methods, the usefulness of the institution was certain to be impaired and the seeds would have been sown of future trouble such as occurred at Surat. As it was, the assembly that met at Madras was composed of convinced constitutionalists and it was accordingly possible for the proceedings to be conducted with harmony and good-fellowship among all. At the same time, we say the failure of the attempts at reconciliation was regrettable, as it plainly showed the existence among us still, of men who were not ready to sacrifice personal pique for the public good, who placed party above the country, who were still labouring under a misconception of the only possible methods of political work in the existing circumstances of the country. We do not despair however of that supreme agency, Time, doing its work of healing differences and bringing wisdom to misguided men, and the hope may be cherished, therefore, that at least a considerable section of the malcontents and

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irreconcilables will rejoin the Congress in time for them to take pa in the Lahore session at the end of this year.

As we have said at the outset the Congress at Madras was a n able success. This is the more creditable when regard is had to t local difficulties encountered by the Reception Committee. After t duly constituted Provincial Congress Committee intimated to t General Secretaries its willingness to hold the year's session at Madr and its invitation was accepted by them, an organized prote was got up by some men in Madras who had their own reasons f dissatisfaction and the ringleaders of this factitious opposition wi the too willing aid of their influential organ in the press—an er while Congress paper—tried their worst to throw obstacles the path of the Provincial and the Reception Committee. Fort nately for the good name of Madras and for the last session of t Congress, their unworthy attempts failed as they deserved to fa the chief men who had unwittingly joined in the protest withdre from it so soon as they were apprised of the true facts of t situation, and the opposition was generally discredited. The Rece tion Committee went about its work with a manful sense of duty a the arrangements were completed in time, and so satisfactorily too to have won the unstinted admiration of the delegates from the oth provinces. While at this we desire to make special mention of t Captain and members of the Congress Corps, all vakils and teache who in rendering assistance to the delegates and preserving order the pavilion, conducted themselves in a manner that reflected t greatest credit on them. Besides the substitution of this Congre Corps for the old 'student-volunteers', the restriction placed on t number of visitors was another wise innovation made by the Recepti Committee. In the place of a mammoth gathering, to be audible every unit of which an organ voice was necessary, we had a Congre of very manageable proportions in which most of the speakers we able to make themselves heard in every corner of the hall. The were 617 delegates representative of every province and almost ev community. Quite naturally the number from Madras itself was t largest and that from distant provinces comparatively small. But t point to be remembered is that the last Congress was not a whit l representative of different sections of the community in differ provinces than any previous session. As regards the total numb too, the last Congress compared favourably with many of the prec ing sessions; more than 900 or 1,000 having gathered at some sessi owing to the peculiar circumstances of the year.

The President of the Congress is one of the most distinguished living Indians and need not fear comparison with any of

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predecessors in point of learning, ability, or sobriety. Dr. Rashbehary Ghose's name was first proposed for the exalted office of President of the Congress so long ago as in 1897, when the choice of the majority of Congreas Committees fell upon Mr. Sankaran Nair. This fact, by the way, disposes of the puerile criticism in which some critics did not hesitate to indulge, that Dr. Ghose is a Congressman of but two years' standing. The truth is that he was President of the Calcutta Standing Congress Committee for several years in the early nineties, that he acted for Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Calcutta Congress of 1896, and that all along he has taken a keen interest in the fortunes of the national movement, although as he said on a memorable occasion he had not figured as an orator on the Congress platform. Dr. Ghose's presidential address at the Madras Congress fully sustains his great reputation as the author of the brilliant addresses delivered by him on two occasions at Calcutta and the one prepared for Surat, and of the speeches—which will live—delivered in the Supreme Legislative Council. The objection that the address did not cover the whole field of Indian politics, that it was not in fact a long one as several previous addresses were, deserves to be mentioned only to be passed over as too trivial to be taken seriously. Dr. Ghose's severe criticism of the aims and methods of the Extremist party was searching as it was truthful and opportune, while his generous recognition of the noble statesmanship of Lords Morley and Minto in putting forward schemes of reform which ought to satisfy the aspirations of the better mind of India for a generation, was entirely in consonance with the past policy of the Indian National Congress. Altogether the address was worthy of Dr. Ghose and worthy of the Congress. To us, as we doubt not it is to many others, it is a source of no small comfort and satisfaction that the illustrious lawyer, scholar and patriot who was shamefully dishonoured by the violentists at Surat, has presided over and successfully guided the deliberations of a session of the Congress which will long be remembered as the first session after its resuscitation and reconstitution. This was in the fitness of things as Dr. Ghose himself had been the President of the Convention and Chairman of the Convention Committee, which has brought back to life the most prized of present-day public organizations in India.

The resolutions of the Congress covered fairly extensive ground and were embodiments of expressions of opinion on large questions of Indian policy, which it would not be statesmanship for the British Government to ignore or disregard. The loyal homage tendered to the Throne in acknowledging the gracious message of His Majesty the King-Emperor, coupled with an expression of confident hope that the

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pledges contained in the Proclamation and the Message will be loyal given effect to by the officers of the Crown, fittingly formed the su ject of the first resolution. This was followed by a resolution voici the gratitude of the country for the reforms vouchsafed by the Sec tary of State and the Government of India, with an expression of ho that the same liberal principles and policy would actuate the auth rities in working out the details of the proposals. It will be for t Provincial Conferences to examine the scheme for each province cr cally and in detail and lay before the Government the considered vie of the people on whatever may strike their spokesmen and represen tives as imperfections or defects therein. We trust that this high important duty will be performed efficiently by the several Provinc Conferences and the various public bodies in the country. The resc tion on the reforms was followed by an expression of the abhorren felt by the Congress for the detestable deeds of violence perpetrat by the assassins' brotherhood. Then the Congress passed an e phatic and a well considered proposition on the ill-treatment of Indi in the Transvaal and other colonies of the British Empire. The solution pointed out the unrighteousness of the policy of treating colonies as the white man's preserve, while Asia is considered happy hunting ground of every white nation and gravely warn His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament of the con quences to India and to the Empire at large of a continuance of t present intolerable state of affairs. Who can say that the Congre was not justified in urging retaliation against the colonists, wh insolence and arrogance take no account of broader Imperial c siderations in the determination and pursuit of their own polic Other resolutions of the Congress concerned themselves with t unredressed wrong of the partition of Bengal, the recent deportatio the special coercive legislation of the year, education, the land t the Swadeshi movement, the high prices of food grains, and ot subjects which were considered of present importance. The Ho ourable Mr. Gokhale made the speech of the session in which he gr a most lucid exposition of the constitutional changes that are pendi and explained how far Indians will be in a better position when t changes have been effected. Mr. Hume has ceased to be Gene Secretary and the Honourable Mr. Gokhale, Joint General Secret of the Congress—a fact which the country will deeply regret. M Wacha continues to be one of the General Secretaries and the Hono able Mr. Khare takes the place of Mr. Gokhale.

II.

Along with the Congress were held as usual the Industrial, Soci and Temperance Conferences. The first of these was presided o

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by Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, who has been connected with the organisation ever since its inception as its General Secretary. Mr. Mudholkar needs no introduction to the Indian public. For a score of years he has laboured strenuously for the common weal and has risen to be one of the leaders of the national movement. An ardent Congressman, Mr. Mudholkar has never failed to recognise the equal importance of industrial development and trade expansion, social reform and educational advancement. His activity has accordingly been many-sided. Neither has Mr. Mudholkar been dilettante industrialist. He has started important concerns in his own province of Berar which testify to the reality of his interest in the material development of the country. It was in every way a fitting recognition of his public services that he should have been called upon to preside over the Conference at Madras. Mr. Mudholkar delivered an address fully worthy of his high reputation. His animadversions on the ascetic ideal on the one hand and on the boycott on the other, were in place and opportune. He dealt with almost every important industry of the country beginning with agriculture, and uttered words of wisdom on technical education and the organization of capital, which are *sine qua non* for every industry. The speech of Dewan Bahadur P. Rajarathnam Mudaliar, who acted as Chairman of the Committee, was of a practical character, too, modest and unpretentious—as was that of Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao, Chairman of the Receptiom Committee of the Congress. There were 23 papers contributed to the Conference on various topics bearing on the development of industries by men undoubtedly qualified to pronounce on their respective themes. These are as usual brimful of interest to the serious student of Indian industrial economics. The greatest service the Industrial Conference has rendered during the three years of its useful existence has been the collection and dissemination of valuable information on industrial subjects. The reports of the Conference are full of instructive information, and we may be sure that the report of the Madras Conference will be not less so than those of Benares, Calcutta and Surat. The report on the work of the Conference, including a record of industrial activity on the part of the State and the people during the year that is past, which was presented to the Conference by the President of the previous Conference, Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakerlal Desai, was as interesting and suggestive as the two preceding reports, and is gratifying reading as showing that the zeal of the people for the success of the Swadeshi movement has not slackened or abated. The resolutions of the Conference urged the creation of departments of industry in the several provinces such as the one that exists in Madras; the development of existing engineering and other

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technical institutions in the several provinces into fully equipp technological colleges, the institution of faculties of and degrees in co merce and the establishment of colleges of commerce in the seve provinces, the establishment of agricultural banks for the purpose financing co-operative credit societies, the repeal of the excise duty indigenous mill-made cloth, the necessity of an enquiry into existi railway rates and their reduction wherever they may be proved to unduly heavy, and the importance of the mining, textile and sug industries. Among the speeches delivered at the Conference may mentioned as noteworthy those of the Honourable Sir Vithaldas Thackersey and Professor Lees Smith of the London School of Eco mics and Political Science. The Conference has reappointed R Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani as Secretaries this year.

The Twenty-Second Indian Social Conference was held on t 31st December under the presidency of the Honourable Mr. Justi Sankaran Nair. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, the General Secretar has not delivered an inaugural address for the last three years. T Conference was accordingly opened by Rao Bahadur M. Adinaraya Iyah, Chairman of the Committee, who delivered a scholarly addre marked by the sobriety and thoughtfulness the public have learnt associate with his name. Mr. Adinarayana Iyah is one of the leade of the Hindu Association, which was started on the occasion of th previous Conference at Madras as a protest against what its promote alleged was its go-ahead character. The years that passed have do their work of healing, and on the platform of the Social Conferen this time was not only Mr. Adinarayan Iyah but the Honourable M V. Krishnaswami Iyer. Mr. Sankaran Nair's presidental address wa as might have been expected, a stout-hearted performance, courageous advocating reform wherever a diseased social institution demande change. He dealt at great length with caste, the position of woma in Hindu society, the evils that have crept into the marriage custom the necessity of educating and otherwise bettering the condition of th depressed classes, and other subjects in the social reformer's pro gramme. The resolutions of the Conference were of the usual charac ter. But the speeches on them were on a higher level than at som previous Conferences. The speech of the session was made by Mrs Sarojani Naidu, and the next most important speech was that of th Honourable Mr. Gokhale on the condition of the depressed classes More and more does the conviction grow on one as one contemplate the various aspects of public life and the future of the country, tha social reform has a great deal more to do with national regeneratio than impatient political extremists are willing to allow, and it ough

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to be the devout hope of every well-wisher of the country that the task the Social Conference has undertaken may claim more and more the support of educated Indians and be attended with an ever-increasing measure of success.

The Temperance Conference was presided over by the Rev. Mr. Macnicol of Poona. It is to be regretted that the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was unable to accept the position which had been first offered to him. Mr. Macnicol himself is a gentleman who has earned the respect of thoughtful Indians by his discerning sympathy with the national movement. He is a thoughtful observer of the men and events of his time and has a power of expression which has won for his writings many an admiring reader among the educated Indians. Mr. Macnicol is an ardent temperance reformer and has thrown himself whole-heartedly into the work of the Temperance Society of Poona. The selection of such a man as President of the Conference was therefore a happy one in every way. And by the address which he delivered from the presidential chair he abundantly justified the choice. The speech of Mr. N. Subbarao Pantulu—a leading public man of Southern India—as Chairman of the Committee, was a happy one indeed. In a brief compass Mr. Subbarao brought into bold relief all that had to be said whether in criticism of the excise policy of the Government or in placing prominently before the people the lofty and inspiring ideals of our spiritual race. Mr. Subbarao was right when he made the claim for the Temperance movement, that it is essentially a spiritual movement. In the resolutions of the Conference special stress was laid on the necessity of local option.

III.

Thus far we have dealt with the National Congress and the Conferences which are practically an adjunct to it: There was one other highly important function held in Christmas week to which it is necessary to make more than a passing reference. We allude to the annual meeting of the All-India Muslim League, held at Amritsar at the same time as the Congress. The Muslim League aims at the political advancement of Indian Mussulmans, just as the Congress seeks to achieve the same result in the case of all the communities which go to make up the Indian people. We will not at this stage put the question what is the justification for the existence of this separate communal organization when there is a larger institution with more or less the same aims as the Muslim League. We prefer to welcome it as an addition to the several public bodies which have been started because their members refuse to be satisfied with their present position in the British Empire and mean to use every constitutional

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means for ameliorating their political status. We have been to almost in strident tones, that the Mussalmans of India are n content any longer to be silent on political questions, that on t other hand they are anxious for the growth of a political conscio ness among them and for the extension of representative institutio among them. And we find in actual practice that the opinio of the Muslim League are identical with those of the Natio Congress on most of the questions that engage the public min Why, the President of the All-India Muslim League at Amrits was the President of the Behar Provincial Conference at Bankipo earlier in the year; and this Conference was virtually, though not name, a branch of the National Congress.

This gentleman is Mr. Syed Ali Imam, the leader of the Ban pore bar. As we remarked in noticing the Behar Conference at t time, Mr. Ali Imam is a cultured, thoughtful and broad-minded repr sentative of the Mahomedan community, whose opinions it is importa for the Hindus to understand with a view to friendly discussion a ultimate *rapprochement*. Mr. Ali Imam's address to the Musli League is an able performance, upon which we desire sincerely congratulate him. His address strengthens our conviction that if some time to come the National Congress and the Muslim League wi work for the same ends concurrently, the Mahomedans will soone or later feel persuaded that they may without danger to their ow community's interests, and that they should in the larger interest of their and our common mother country, join forces with the N tional Congress and work in unison with the Hindu and other comm nities living with them in this land. Is not one warranted in lookin forward with confidence to this consummation when one reads th words uttered by Mr. Ali Imam in his address at Amritsar? A swering his own question whether the Mahomedans of India shoul accept the views of the Congress, Mr. Ali Imam says :—

It seems to me that there are many questions of practical politics whe the interests of the two communities are identical, and that in so far as thes questions go, there is no earthly reason why the League should not hol out its hand in loving and patriotic grasp to the Congress. The separatio of the judicial from the executive, the repeal of degrading Colonial Ordinance the extension of primary education, the adoption of measures of sanitatio the admission of Indians of all races in larger numbers into the higher branche of the public service, discontinuance of official interference in matters o local self-government, reasonable reduction of military expenditure witho endangering efficiency, recognition of the legitimate and patriotic desire o the warlike races of India to render military service as volunteers, th grant of commissions in the army to Indians, an equitable adjustment o Home Charges, limitation of revenue on land belonging to the State, estab lishment of village unions for the disposal of petty civil and criminal case

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encouragement and protection of indigenous arts and industries, the eradication of insolence on one hand and feeling of inferiority and mortification on the other between the rulers and ruled are some of the many grave questions in practical politics in India, that equally affect all classes of our countrymen.

'Why is it then that we have held aloof from the Indian National Congress ?' asks Mr. Ali Imam. His difficulty is the first part of Article I of the Constitution of the Congress wherein its object is stated to be the attainment by the people of India of a system of Government similar to that which obtains in the self-governing members of the Empire. Mr. Ali Imam's interpretation of this is that Congressmen ask the rulers 'to take to their ships and to retire from India.' With all respect for the learning and skill in interpretation of our friend, we must take leave to tell him that it is neither a correct nor a fair interpretation, that it indeed smacks of the hair-splitting lawyer rather than of the broad-minded statesman or even the observant student of human affairs. The National Congress certainly has for its goal the attainment of self-Government within the Empire, and no Congressman need blush to put this forward as the height of his ambition for his country. But the immediate task of the Congress is to obtain a steady reform in the existing system of administration. Mr. Ali Imam avows sympathy with this object. His only quarrel is with the first part of the first article which he fancies is inconsistent with the obtaining of a steady reform in the existing system of administration. There is no such inconsistency whatever. Congressmen aspire for their country the same status in the Empire as is accorded to its self-governing members. But they realise that this cannot be accomplished in a day, that it is a work of time ; and so they proceed to state that it is only by a steady reform of the existing system of administration that the ultimate result can be achieved. If Mr. Ali Imam will permit us to say so, his argument against Musalmans holding aloof from the Congress is neither consistent nor conclusive. Evidently his heart is pulling one way and his head the other way. We suggest that he should pursue his arguments to their logical conclusion, as the result of which he can hardly refrain from taking one more step forward and joining the Congress. We do hope that this advance will not take long and that we shall be in a position to congratulate him on the part he may have taken in the deliberations of the Lahore Congress, as we are happy to be able to congratulate his worthy brother, Mr. Syed Hasan Imam, on the creditable part he took in the last Congress at Madras.

The Muslim League, we notice, is dissatisfied at the provision made for the representation of minorities. It will be in the recollection of the readers that the Government of India's original proposal

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was to give direct representation to the Mahomedans on a restric franchise. In effect they suggested the division of the Hindus a Mahomedans into two water-tight compartments. They would have come into contact with each other at any stage in the process election. This was rightly objected to even by those who were opposed to some method by which adequate representation could secured to the Mahomedans, as it would have probably made m distant still the prospect of greater cohesion of the two communiti The ideal system of election is undoubtedly the territorial one which all electors residing in a given area would together elect th representative without regard to difference of creed or communi But as our Mahomedan friends have made up their minds against continuance and as the Government have decided to satisfy the desire for a separate representation, a compromise had to be ma between the existing system and the method put forward in the Go ernment of India's letter of August 1907. Among the various sugge tions made to this end stood out prominently those of the Bomb Presidency Association and the United Provinces Conference. Lo Morley has attempted to give effect to the views of these bodies as f as possible, and we have as a result of his serious attempt at reco ciliation of all opposing views the scheme of electoral colleges whic has been very lucidly explained in his despatch to the Gover ment of India. How far his scheme when worked out in detail wi suit the circumstances of all the Provinces remains to be seen. I any case it has this supreme defect that the elected representatives the people will continue to be selected by a triple-distilled proce of election and be brought no nearer the people than the electe members are at present. However this may be, friends of progress- men desirous of the growth of unity between Hindus and Mahome dans, cannot possibly assent to the views of the Muslim League th the scheme of electoral colleges must be abandoned in favour of th tentative proposal of the Government of India and that commencin with elections to Municipalities and taluka boards up to the appoin ment of Indians to seats on the Executive Councils the denominations basis must be recognised. The Muslim League has chosen, if w may state the truth plainly, to indulge in a threat. As it were, i holds the pistol at the head of the Government and says, 'unless you carry out our wishes we declare that you have forfeited you claim to our regard and confidence.' We will say naught on th propriety, wisdom or good taste of this: we would only express th hope that the full significance of its attitude will be understood an appreciated by the Government. The Mahomedans are no longe willing to say, 'The Government always, right or wrong.' The

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too have taken to agitation and to the assertion of what they hold to be their rights.

IV.

The long-expected proposals of constitutional reform were published in the course of last month, and have been the theme of congratulation and thanksgiving ever since the date of their publication. The one wish of the people has been that the tentative proposals of the Government of India published in August, 1907 should be altered beyond recognition as in their acceptable features they were halting and failed to satisfy reasonable aspirations and in other respects they were reactionary to a degree and would, if given effect to, have actually pushed back the cause of Indian reform. It is an unmistakeable triumph of constitutional agitation that the representations of the people have been listened to by those responsible for the good government of the country. The despatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State leave no room for doubt that they approached the consideration of this momentous problem as sympathetic and courageous statesmen who can look far into the future under circumstances of an exceptionally trying character. They are accordingly entitled to the warmest recognition of the Indian reform party, and it was in the fitness of things that this feeling of gratitude was given expression to at the Congress by the leaders of public opinion of the several provinces.

The essential features of the scheme may be stated in the language of Lord Morley, who put them thus in his luminous speech in the House of Lords :—

At present the maximum and minimum number of Legislative Councils are fixed by statute. We shall come to Parliament to authorise an increase in the numbers of those Councils, both the Viceroy's Council and the Provincial Councils. Second, the members are now nominated by the head of the Government, either the Viceroy or the Lieutenant-Governor. No election takes place in the strict sense of the term. The nearest approach to it is the nomination by the Viceroy, upon the recommendation of a majority of votes of certain public bodies. We do not propose to ask Parliament to abolish nomination. We do propose to ask Parliament, in a very definite way, to introduce election working alongside nomination, with a view to the aim admitted in all previous schemes, including that of the noble marquis opposite—the due representation of the different classes of the community. Third, the Indian Councils Act of 1892 forbids—and this is no doubt a very important prohibition—either resolutions or divisions of the Council in financial discussions. We shall ask Parliament to repeal this prohibition. Fourth, we shall propose to invest Legislative Councils with power to discuss matters of public and general importance, and to pass recommendations or resolutions to the Government. The Government will deal with them as carefully, or as carelessly as they think fit—just as the Government do here. Fifth, to extend the power that at present exists to appoint a member of the Council to preside.

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Sixth, Bombay and Madras have now Executive Councils, numbering two, propose to ask Parliament to double this number. Seventh, the Lieutenant Governors have no Executive Council. We shall ask Parliament to sanction the creation of such councils, consisting of not more than two members and to define the power of the Lieutenant-Governor to overrule his Council. I am perfectly sure there will be differences of opinion as to these proposals. I only want your lordships to believe that they have been well thought out and that they are accepted by the Governor-General.

Indians will be appointed as members of the Governor-General's and Provincial Executive Councils, but such appointment will not be made obligatory by statute. A standing official majority will be retained in the Supreme Legislative Council. We are not sure that in this respect the Government of India were not more liberal than the Secretary of State is. On the other hand, the latter wishes that there should be no official majority in the Provincial Legislative Councils, whereas the Government of India wanted to retain it. Advisory Councils, Imperial and Provincial, will not be brought into existence. In the matter of local self-government Lord Morley recalls the famous dispatch of Lord Ripon's Government, expresses warm approval of the policy enunciated therein, and wishes for an 'effectual advance' in the direction foreshadowed therein. We may expect that municipal and local boards will henceforward be made real self-governing bodies freed from the official leading-strings. For details of the exact reforms that will be introduced we shall have to wait till the publication of the Report of the Decentralisation Commission. With extended and real local self-government, with the beginnings of provincial self-government, with a more real voice for the representatives of the people in the deliberations of the Supreme Government; with Indian members in the Governor-General's and Provincial Executive Councils and in the Secretary of State's Council, well may it be said that 'a firm, intrepid and courageous step' is about to be taken in elevating the political status of Indians, and we repeat that Lords Morley and Minto are entitled to the deepest gratitude of Indians for the constitutional reforms they have decided upon. It is not pretended that their proposals are not susceptible of improvement. Portions of them do leave something to be desired undoubtedly, and it will be as we have said for the Provincial Conferences and Associations to make a detailed examination of the scheme and put forward suggestions for its modification or amplification wherever this may seem called for.

V.

It is a matter for the greatest regret that on the eve of the introduction of the reforms the Government of India deemed it necessary to deport so many as nine public men of Bengal acting under Regula-

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tion III of 1818, and to pass a Crimes Act, portions of which are open to grave objection. We readily admit that the Government must have acted under a sense of grave responsibility. They must have persuaded themselves that these acts of repression were absolutely essential for the preservation of tranquillity in the large province of Bengal. At the same time it is hazardous to give a *carte blanche* to the Executive Government to adopt whatever measures it may think necessary whenever there is disorder in a portion of the country. Eternal vigilance, we have been taught, is the price of liberty; and the graver a situation, the more likelihood there is that the Executive Government may succumb to counsels of panic from hare-brained or interested quarters, the greater the necessity for the utmost watchfulness on the part of the representatives of the people. We have endeavoured to examine the situation with as much care as possible, and it is our deliberate convicti on that no case has been made out for either the deportations or the very stringent law passed on the 11th December. The menace to individual liberty that the retention on the Statute book of Regulation III of 1818 and the corresponding regulations constitutes cannot be more forcibly brought home than by the exercise by the Government of the arbitrary power vested in them in the case of such God-fearing, unselfish and peaceable a citizen as Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter. The Government have never been able to persuade the public to believe in the guilt of Lala Lajpat Rai; in fact the Secretary of State has shown such disinclination to refer to this act of deportation as to produce the belief in the public mind that he himself is heartily sorry for having sanctioned it. We should be surprised indeed if it is not soon discovered by the Government what sad mistake has been made in laying violent hands on such a man as Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter. If the Government are anxious to conciliate the public, they ought immediately to restore these nine men to liberty and to their homes and country, and to give them an opportunity of vindicating their innocence. The exceptional legislation of June (the Newspapers Act) and December should also be repealed as soon as the situation improves.

Our Last issue.

The *Tribune* has the following observations upon the last issue of this review :—

We owe it to the talented Editor of the *Hindustan Review* to express our appreciation of the December number of his excellent periodical. It is impossible to give within the compass of a few lines any idea of the varied and the highly interesting matters that are compressed within the close upon 140 pages of this number. Several of the articles have, however, been touched in our leading columns and all that we need say here is that the store is rich and the bounteous steward carefully caters for even his most fastidious customers.

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The *Madras Times* has the following observations :—

The December number of *Hindustan Review* is interesting to us in Mad on account of two contributed articles on the subject of this city. The f is written with the object of informing delegates to the Congress where t and what to see in Madras. It is an article of rather a guide-book nature, gives a very fair idea of the city, and we have only detected one minor slip it, namely, mentioning a defunct hotel as still existent. The second is article on the Press of Madras, at least that section which is published English. It lavishes great praise on the *Hindu*, the *Indian Patriot*, and *Madras Standard*, for their ability, sound judgment, and moderation. So of the eulogiums, including the quotation from the *Pioneer*, were applica a few years ago, but are so no longer. The Anglo-Indian press is not negle ed, and we note that the writer displays almost as much enthusiasm for *Madras Mail* as for the *Hindu*. Of our humble selves the writer says "T *Madras Times*—the cheaper of the two papers—is (apart from its poli and views) a well-conducted daily with a good news service." Doubtless are expected to be pleased, and we must confess that we are well satisfi with every word of such a testimonial. Perhaps we cannot do better th return the compliment (*mutatis mutandis*) to the *Hindustan Review*. It (apart from its policy and views) a very well got up monthly and does cre to the Indian Press, Allahabad. But in its political views it generally repr sents that section of Congress opinion which says "yes the British Governme is the best in the world, but——," and then proceeds to leave the Briti Government without a leg to stand on. However, it is evidently honest a endeavours to be moderate in its views and in its manner of setting the forth, and it displays conspicuous broad-mindedness in condemning t Hindu agitation against the appointment of a Mahomedan judge to the Punja Chief Court.

THE INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD

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INDIAN HIGHER EDUCATION: A CRITICISM.—II.

By the Rev. Prof. C. F. Andrews, M.A.

IN my last paper I dealt with some of the main difficulties experienced in applying the recognized general principles of education to the special conditions of India. I tried to show that the problems confronting Indian Higher Education, as regulated by the State, centred round the two factors of the employment of English as the medium of instruction, and the adoption of a fixed policy of exclusion of religious teaching. A third factor, I pointed out, has already made its appearance and may lead to very serious results, namely, the banishment of politics from the higher educational field. In this paper I propose to leave on one side the considerations which arise from these extremely important factors, and confine myself to what may be called improvements of method. The subject is more technical, but I shall try as far as possible to avoid technical details and keep to broad issues which can be easily understood.

The first criticism of method which I should make,—a criticism which, as yet, I have not seen mentioned in Indian reviews—is this, that those who may be called the 'honours' men are at present almost entirely sacrificed to the exigencies of the 'pass' men, and are not given a full opportunity to cultivate their special talents. As a consequence the ablest men of the younger generation do not receive such an individual and personal training as would best bring out and develop their innate capacities. Ability works its way to the front in India, as it will do everywhere, but it is not encouraged to the full and treated in an exceptional way, as a special treasure. This is a very serious matter indeed, for the highest progress of the nation depends ultimately upon the recognized leadership of the men of highest ability. Every effort therefore ought to be made during College days to make such men as well-trained, as original, and as sound and

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accurate in their special branch of knowledge as possible. The wh field of modern knowledge grows larger and larger and the future w lie more and more in the hands of the specialists. These alone c keep the standard high in their special subjects and lead to an adva all along the line.

Let me explain the present method and point out its defects. far as I have ascertained, there is, at present, in no Indian Univers a clear and definite separation between the 'pass' and 'honours' m The only distinction is this, that the latter add a few more books their numerous courses and take a few more papers. They do all t 'pass' work, and a little more. They attend the same lectures, th go through the whole dull grind of 'pass' work,—and then they re a little further for themselves, and get a little extra help, out lecture hours, from their Professors. There is no 'honours' examinati marked out separately for them and them alone; there are rarely ev separate lectures given for them. They have to go in with the averag and, as a direct consequence, are not infrequently reduced to t average in intellectual achievement. Furthermore,—and this is a ver important point—the multiplicity of subjects, which they are oblig to take, tends to check at every stage their advance in some c special subject, for which they have a special taste and inclinatio They have not the time to specialize, and they now and then actual neglect the congenial subject, in which they are certain to pass, i order to qualify in uncongenial subjects for which they have n aptitude and in which they may fail.

Let me sketch out, by way of contrast, an 'honours' studen career at Oxford or Cambridge. I must state clearly before doi so, that I do not at all wish to imply that Indian Education should b made a mere copy of the West. Those who have read my first artic will not so misjudge me. I only bring forward this example fro English Higher Education, because it appears to me to embo principles which are universally true of higher education whether India, or elsewhere.

In England, even before the 'honours' student reaches the Univ sity, he has been singled out for special treatment. If, for instanc he takes classics, he comes, even in school days, under the perso guidance of a Composition Master, set apart for that purpose; if takes History, he receives personal tuition in History, and the same true of Mathematics and Science. While the average boy remains class work, pure and simple, the 'honours' student is constan receiving special teaching and special guidance. What is still mo important he is taught to work for himself, and to puzzle out his o problems. During certain periods each day he is left entirely free

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do his own work, and this faculty of independent work becomes one of the best means of evoking original talent.

When the student at last comes to College this special treatment is intensified. From the moment he begins his University life, his lectures, his tuition, his examinations are divided off from those of the 'pass' student. He attends far fewer lectures than the latter,—indeed, one or two lectures a day are often quite sufficient for his purpose. But on the other hand he has his Tutor to whom he can go with personal difficulties in reading, and for the correction of his own original work. He utilizes this personal help to the full. The closest touch is thus obtained with the Teacher who is set apart for his own special subject —a touch which is as inspiring as it is stimulating, both to Tutor and pupil.

There is all the difference in the world between five or six years thus spent in specializing in some wholly congenial subject, with the personal aid of a Teacher, who is himself a Specialist, and the same period employed in attending six or seven lectures each day, on all sorts of subjects, as a member of a class of some sixty or seventy students, with scarcely an hour's personal touch throughout the week with the Professor alone. It is true that such specialization has its dangers. It may be carried too far and it is unfitted for the average student of poor ability, whose original basis of knowledge is not broad or deep. But given the picked students to teach and inspire, there can be scarcely any educational effort more worth making. A stamp is left upon such students, which is unmistakable, and they become marked men in after life.

The complaint is constantly made that so few Indian students attempt original work, or take up special branches of knowledge, such as historical research, etc., after they have left the University. The fault, I am convinced, lies not so much in the students as in the system, which continually tends to reduce all pupils to one dead level. My own experience in teaching, both in England and India, bears this out. I do not find among Indian students any lack of brain capacity,—rather the reverse; but while in England I had every opportunity of close personal contact with the scholars and exhibitioners of the College, and could spend hours with them individually each week,—finding out their strong and weak points and endeavouring to stimulate them to original enquiry,—here in India, on the other hand, I am tied down to give four or five lectures a day of a general character to a large number of students, and have only the smallest opportunity of close personal contact with the best men. Even if I could afford to give them the special time for personal tuition, they have themselves various other subjects to distract their attention, and are in no position

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to specialize. Except for M. A. students, College work under pres conditions is bound to take the form of general instruction, and Lecturer aims at reaching the mean point, at which his own teachi will not be too elementary for the 'honours' men, or too advanced the 'pass' men.

It is true that changes, if changes are contemplated, must gradual. We must not attempt to run before we can walk. In Panjab, where higher education is still in a backward condition, have only just reached the stage of adding a few extra 'honour papers to the regular B. A. examinations. An honours 'school' mu develop step by step. We must again take care not to do anythin which would tend to the comparative neglect of the 'pass' men. Thes for a long time to come, must form the bulk of our students and the claims cannot be disregarded. At the same time we ought already be working steadily towards a complete system, which should be the best interest of both types of men.

At the outset, however, the previous question may be raised,—i not the expense itself prohibitive? Would not the change mean large increase of staff and raising of stipends? Let me first dispos of this objection, before going on to make constructive proposals. M answer would be, that Indian Higher Education is not a mere toy play with, but a matter of life and death to the future Indian Nation To sacrifice efficiency to cheapness in such a matter is suicidal. Th nation that will not make supreme efforts for education in moder times, is short-sighted and indolent. Englishmen themselves, in spit of enormous advantages and large endowments in the past, are falling behind in this very matter, and will very soon be overtaken by Germany, America and Japan, if they do not take more pains. While there were certain points in Lord Curzon's Indian educational policy which called for criticism, I have no sympathy whatever with that foolish popular cry against the costliness of the efficiency he promoted. A deep debt of gratitude is owed to Lord Curzon that he has forced us at last, even if somewhat violently, out of that rut of cheap inefficiency in which we should still be lumbering along, had he not given us the push we needed so badly. Take the case, for instance, of my own city of Delhi, where we had two affiliated Arts Colleges, both of which were inefficient on important sides, according to any decent modern standard. Then came Lord Curzon's Act. What has been the result? In the last three years we have both been compelled, under the threat of dis-affiliation, to undertake improvements, amounting in all to nearly two lakhs of rupees. All these will be carried through without increasing the cost of education for any Delhi student by a single penny. The younger generation in Delhi will get a far superior

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education at exactly the same cost. This change for the better has been universal in our Province. Only the other day I was talking with a member of the Panjab University Commission, which had just been the round of all the Colleges. He told me that in every single College which they had visited, large additions and improvements had been made, and the difference between the Colleges to-day and five years ago was enormous. He added that, as far as he had ascertained, the monthly fees for tuition and residence had not increased. It is evident therefore that when efficiency is insisted upon, and Government aid is forthcoming, efficiency can be obtained. Having disposed therefore of this objection it now remains to consider what are the best steps to be taken.

For a complete system, on the principles sketched out above, there should be a definite 'pass' examination on the one hand, and an 'honours' examination on the other. There would, in such a system, be no common papers for the two classes of students. The courses of study would be separate and the lectures separate.

But it may well be the case that we are not yet, especially in the more backward Universities, ready for such a drastic change as this would involve, and that we could not divide the students into two separate schools of learning, without injury to those who were men of average ability. A measure of reform which would come more within the scope of practical politics, and lead up to further changes, might be to make the B. A. Course for all a 'special' examination. Let general studies, with a certain amount of specialisation, be continued up to the F. A. standard, and then let each student choose, for his last two years, the one special subject in which he would wish to be examined. The 'one subject' should in each case be a broad one and give no encouragement to pedantry or narrowness; on the contrary it should be important enough to make in itself a special branch of knowledge worthy of an Indian student's concentrated attention. 'English' would not be counted as such a special subject, but would be the instrument, as it were, by means of which modern education was acquired. A practical, working knowledge of English would be demanded from every student, but a literary and poetical knowledge would not. This important distinction will be explained more fully later. The 'honours' student would take a more advanced course in the one subject chosen. Gradually as 'honours' men became more numerous and reached a higher standard, an 'honours' school separate from a 'pass' school would grow up and become a necessity. Then a further and clearer separation of different courses might be made.

An objection to such a 'one subject' scheme has already been mentioned, namely, that even at the B. A. stage the average Indian

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student's general knowledge is so small, that specialization wo be like a superstructure built upon too narrow a basis. There much truth in this, but at the same time there are advantages on other side, and if a general simplification of subjects all round wo lead to an improvement in the quality of the teaching—the Profes having the students' whole time in the B. A. stage, instead of onl fraction of it—then even though theoretically a more general cou might be preferable for the 'pass' men, yet practically specializati might lead to more careful tuition and so produce better resul The teachers of the special subjects for the B. A. course would n be able to divide their time over the whole College as they do present,—they would be obliged to give themselves up to the Thir and Fourth years—and this would add so much of the personal tou to higher education, even among the 'pass' men, that it might w outweigh other considerations. With regard to the 'honours' m there can be little question that the scheme would be an almo unmixed gain. They would be set free to devote the whole of the time to the one subject which they desired to study, and would g an increased amount of personal tuition into the bargain.

As any such proposal as I have made concerning the B. A. exam nation would imply considerable changes in the earlier examinatio also, it will be well to sketch out roughly the different subjects th would be taken at each stage, so that the scheme may be judged as whole on its own merit. I leave out for the moment in my sket the vexed question of the vernaculars.

For University Matriculation I should make a working knowled of English compulsory, together with Mathematics, History, Geogra phy and one Classical Language. One extra subject would also b taken according to the pupil's own choice. Additional Mathematic might count as such an extra, also additional History or additiona Classics, but not additional English. Elementary Science could b an extra subject; but I would not put it on the compulsory list.

For the Intermediate Examination, I should make a workin knowledge of English again compulsory, together with Mathematic History and one Classical language. One extra subject would b taken according to the pupil's own choice. Such extras would b Additional Mathematics, History, Classics. Science and Philosoph would also be allowed to count as 'extras', but neither would b compulsory.

Up to this point the student who intended to read for his B. A degree would be acquiring general knowledge. He would have working knowledge of English and also a fair knowledge of th main branches of an elementary 'Arts' course, *viz.*, Mathematics

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History and Classics. But still further he would be able, at each stage, to carry his own special subject of study one step further. The earlier examinations therefore, while general in character, would lead on to specialisation at the final stage.

For the Bachelor of Arts Examination, I would have a working knowledge of English alone as compulsory. Apart from English, one subject and one only would be taken. The subjects should be broad, and of real educational value. I should count as one subject each of the following pairs :—

'Pure and Applied Mathematics', 'History and Economics', 'Psychology and Ethics,' 'Arabic and Persian', 'Sanskrit and Prakrit (or Pali).'

The Master of Arts Examination would remain as it is at present, a special examination. In it however Pure Mathematics, Applied Mathematics, Arabic, Persian, History, Economics, Sanskrit, Pali, would each count as one subject and not be grouped in pairs. I would also grant the M. A. degree without examination to any Honours B. A., who produced a thesis showing original work of distinct ability, properly safeguarding, of course, the originality of the work done.

In order to be perfectly plain in a somewhat technical and complicated matter, it may be well to sketch out the syllabus of study of a typical student,—for instance, one who had a taste for Sanskrit. He would be obliged to take English, Mathematics, History and Geography in his Matriculation, and would naturally specialize in Sanskrit. In his Intermediate he would be obliged to take English, Mathematics and History, and would specialize again in Sanskrit. But in his B. A. Examination his whole time would be given to Advanced Sanskrit, with the exception of what was spent in continuing his English.

The basis of knowledge would thus be kept fairly broad, and yet some specialisation would be encouraged. Even the 'pass' man would have a fair acquaintance with one subject. Whatever truth there is in the criticism of our present system, that it leaves our students with a mere smattering of useless knowledge of many subjects, would be obviated.

The addition to the staff that such a 'special' couse would necessitate would be comparatively small, and it should be noticed that such additions would go to the B. A. classes. This would be a boon, as has already been pointed out, to the 'pass' men, but it would be an even greater boon to the 'honours' men, who would get in this way what they most of all need, namely, personal tuition. The efficiency gained would far outweigh the cost. In time our Colleges would produce men who were so deeply interested in their one special subject, that they would desire to continue its study after their College

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days were over. There would also be, in all probability, a marked increase in the number of those who would stay on at College and read for their M. A. degree in the special subject, for which they had gained an aptitude and a liking. In this and other ways the intellectual level of our Colleges might be raised.

There are certain points which for the moment have been left unexplained in sketching out the above scheme. To these I now turn.

I have spoken above of 'a working knowledge of English.' Let me explain my meaning a little further, as this is a matter of primary importance. There are two uses in India to which the study of English may be put. First, there is the acquirement of the language for practical purposes. It is the door to higher modern knowledge to-day in India and in order to study any subject on modern lines a working knowledge of English is essential. But to use English thus as an instrument of knowledge, it is not necessary to read high English Classics, such as Bacon or Carlyle; above all it is unnecessary to be acquainted with all types of English poetry from Chaucer to Browning. What is needed is continual practice in composition, an intelligent appreciation of English words, phrases and constructions, and a facility in reading rapidly and clearly understanding lucid modern English prose. This is what I mean by 'a working knowledge of English.' In order to test such knowledge, examinations would be far more on the lines of essay writing, composition, paraphrasing, etc., and far less on the lines of text-book commentaries with elaborate notes.

Secondly, there is a literary knowledge of English, which can only be obtained by reading the English Classics for their style, subject matter, ideas and literary excellence. By such study the student would obtain a first-hand appreciation of the style and sentiments of Burke, the rhythm and cadence of Shelley,—to take examples that come at once to the mind. For this second use of 'English,' text books with notes, commentaries with explanations of the authors' ideas, literary histories with accounts of different writers, etc., are clearly needed and examination questions would be set accordingly. Such a literary study of English might be of great value for a few Indian students, who have high literary tastes and wish to study the literature of the West. But such a study is quite unnecessary for the mastery of English as an instrument by means of which historical or scientific English books may be read. Once more, it is quite unnecessary for the practical services of modern life,—for business, commerce, office work, etc. The bulk of Englishmen themselves do not know their Shelley or Carlyle—why should Indians have to learn them? They would be much more profitably employed in studying the history, philosophy and classics of their own country.

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It is true a Rash Behari Ghose or a Surendra Nath Banerjea may become Masters of English literary style and show what wonderful powers of appropriation and assimilation exist in Bengal. But there is no need whatever for the whole Indian educated community to attempt this feat. Indeed such attempts can only lead to denationalization, when practised, not by master minds, but by men of ordinary talents.

It therefore appears to me extremely important to limit the study of English to what is practically useful, and to remodel all English examinations with this end in view. English should be learnt in a modern way, just as business Englishmen or Japanese learn German or French. Formal grammar would almost disappear,—for English is not a synthetic language like Sanskrit and has no more grammar than Hindustani. Phrases, constructions, language idioms, etc., would assume a prominent place; and good, simple, accurate composition on the one hand, and intelligent paraphrasing on the other, would be the final test of proficiency. 'English Literature'—an entirely different subject—might indeed be made a 'special' subject for the B.A. (to be taken instead of Sanskrit or Persian or Arabic) but I should foresee dangers in allowing even this, and would not advocate it, lest it should tempt men to desert more profitable and 'national' subjects for a study which, after all is said and done, must remain foreign and exotic.

To turn to another point, it will be noticed that I have not included Science in the proposed Bachelor of Arts' course, and that, for the obvious reason that 'Science' is not 'Art.' The Bachelors' course should be entirely free from Experimental Science subjects. They should be handed over entirely to the Science Faculty, and made the subjects for a Bachelor of Science or a Bachelor of Medicine degree. This would naturally be followed by the degree of Master of Science on the one hand, and Doctor of Medicine on the other.

With the Law Examinations, it would certainly be best to continue the present practice of demanding a Bachelor of Arts degree, before the Law Examinations are taken. The full Arts training is necessary in order to make the basis of knowledge broad enough for Law and the general education given, especially if 'History and Economics' is taken as the special subject, would be found invaluable in after-life.

A tendency is noticeable to-day in India to encourage degrees for 'Training in Teaching' without the University course being a requisite. Such encouragement is to be deprecated. A teacher who is trained in teaching without a good foundation of general knowledge and

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residence in a University is likely to become stereotyped in a few y and to make his training course a fetish instead of an aid to teach Probably in no profession is the Arts' course more profitable, and University life an asset of greater value, than in the Teaching pro sion. Yet the present inducements to a University graduate to bec a Teacher are most meagre. Our schools are at present staffed for most part by non-graduates, and as a consequence the College atm phere and College *esprit de corps* have to be learnt from the beginni when students leave school. The Schools do not lead up to the Colle and both suffer. If on the other hand, a large proportion of the trai Teachers in our schools were University men, there would be no g gulf fixed between College and School days. Corporate life and di pline would be much easier of attainment in Colleges and a broa outlook would be more manifest in schools.

I turn, last of all, to the vexed question of the vernaculars, and this matter I confess that I am still groping in the dark for a solut The difficulty is not indeed very serious in those parts of India, wh all the students speak the same mother tongue and that tongue has noble literature of its own. It would be comparatively simple, instance, to carry on education up to an advanced stage in the ver cular in Bengal, since Bengali might soon be made an admira vehicle of higher as well as primary education, and its literature is worthy subject of study and it is itself a noble medium for composition The same might apply to other parts of India and other vernacula But there are many large areas of India,—herein lies the great di culty,—that are polyglot and have no common language,—districts which examinations in five or six different languages would have to set, districts in which one vernacular shades off into another, in wh the towns and villages employ different dialects, in which one religi differs in language from another. How is the vernacular to be us as a vehicle of education in these? I found this year a primary sch in the Hills, where the education was supposed to be given in t vernacular, but the vernacular Hindustani of the text books w entirely different to the Pahari which the boys themselves spe Hindustani was practically for them a foreign language.

Again, as literary studies, vernaculars present great difficul Think, for instance, how a Sanskrit-reading Hindu is handicapped making a language study of Hindustani as literature, compared w a Persian and Arabic-reading Muhammadan! Both may be able speak Hindustani well, but the Muhammadan will know the Pers and Arabic roots and constructions of literary Hindustani far better t the Hindu. On the other hand, think how a Muhammadan might penalized who was obliged to take Hindi or Bengali for literary stu but did not know a word of Sanskrit! Think again of a College Cl in which translation has to be set in 3 or 4 languages and corrected

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various teachers—for instance, Panjabi, Hindi, Hindustani and Bengali! Still further, what is to be done with vernaculars that have little or no literature? Where is the broad division to be made? In the North, for instance, what is to be the place of Pashtu or Kashmiri?

Again, India is endeavouring to become united, and to form one single great Nation. This would appear only possible with some common language of the people spoken in every part of the land. In the United States there are large numbers of Hungarians, Poles, Germans, Italians, French, etc., but these all learn English and there is only one vernacular. The problem of education is simplified by the use of a common language. In Japan again the problem is simple because everyone can speak Japanese and the language is flexible enough and literary enough to allow of translations of all modern Western books. But in India religious, social, racial difficulties come in at once, as soon as ever any proposal is made that one vernacular should predominate. Muhammadans would rather die than sacrifice their own language,—so intimately connected with their religion,—Hindustani. The Bengali, however zealous and earnest a Hindu, could not bear to sacrifice his own expanding and flourishing Bengali literature in order to speak and write Hindi. The Southern languages, such as Tamil, are different in construction, roots and idioms from the Northern. Are they to be sacrificed also? Amid all these difficulties and confusions and anomalies, English comes in, not as ideally best but as second best, not as satisfactory but as least unsatisfactory, not probably as the final solution but as the present solution of racial, social and religious divisions. It has the great advantages of being the language of the governing power, the language of the world's commerce, the common language of educated India, the immediate key to modern knowledge and science. It has the great disadvantage of being a foreign, Western tongue. With some to-day this single disadvantage would override all possible advantages. I should be inclined to agree with them, if they could suggest a serviceable substitute. But that is just what no one seems inclined to do.

Perhaps all that can be done is to go slowly and steadily forward, encouraging the larger literary vernaculars and then wait for the development of events. Far more could be accomplished meanwhile in the way of teaching through the vernaculars, especially in the elementary stages. More also could be done at the later stages to foster vernacular writing and translation. But even steps such as these will meet with much opposition from Indians themselves, and progress will be very gradual. Still, it may happen that little by little the greater languages of India will oust the smaller ones, and the languages which have no growing literature will die of atrophy, and so at last, by the law of the survival of the fittest, only four or five great languages and literatures will remain in use. Then the problem would be simpler. English might give place altogether, and its literature be studied only by the few. But at present, one must confess, that to teach higher education through the vernacular, in 'Oriental' Colleges, has proved to be a failure, and that in our own generation English must remain least open to objection as the instrument and vehicle of acquiring modern knowledge.

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MODERN ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY.—I*.

By Mr. Manohar Lal, M.A., Principal, Randhir College, Kapurthala.

IN our lecture yesterday we considered very briefly the scope a method of Political Economy. We said that the central fac Political Economy is Man. We study his *wants* and his *activities* satisfy those wants, chiefly in society; and we take Man as he is, whole man, though we concentrate special attention on particu aspects of man's activity. Wealth occupies the important place does in our study, not because Economists regard it the only good, b because it furnishes a convenient and practical instrument for measur human motives. The gibe of the over-enthusiastic and hasty moral that Political Economy is the "gospel of mammon" is pointless; t wrathful dismissal of the study as 'dismal' by Carlyle was based on impatience to examine carefully the teachings of the great economis However, the intensely human aspect of our science has receiv special emphasis during the last fifty years owing to a variety of caus chief among which is the rise of that group of problems associated wi labour. Economists now make a larger study of "human characte and opportunities for development" and the influence of "standard o living" on the efficiency of labour than they did before. The credit o pioneering this work belongs to the great American economist Walke whose study of the wages question marks an epoch in the history o economic thought. And as Stuart Mill's *Principles of Political Eco nomy* summed up with great literary skill and power of exposition the views of the early English school, Professor Marshall in his *Prin ciples of Economics* with its motto of "Natura nonfit Saltum, presents a completely balanced treatment of the subject, retaining a that is good in the old though modifying it in the light of recen advances in thought, and keeping before his mind throughout his wor with marvellous genius all the intricate aspects of man's complex soci life.

In our last lecture we also considered briefly the discussions th have raged on the proper method of inquiry, and we showed that th old controversies are disappearing and there is no danger now of "th waves of disputation submerging the really sound and valuable result of previous thought." There is now a fairly general agreemen among economists that the difference between the two methods o

* The lecture is here given exactly as originally delivered, which will accou for its peculiarities of language. It forms part of a course which is being deliver ed by the Lecturer as University Lecturer in Economics.—(Ed. *H. R.*)

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"deduction" and "induction" is only one of degree; the two are not distinct, but do really supplement each other—both facts and guiding principles being necessary for the growth of a Science; but that the two no doubt are to be used in various proportions in the course of different inquiries.

This is the brief summary of our lecture of yesterday. To-day, we are going to examine the chief characteristics of "the modern organization of industry" confining our attention mainly to Western countries. In India, though we have been for a hundred years or more a most favourable market where the products of modern industrial activity have been sold, we do not yet possess any widespread system of "industrial organization" of the western type. Handicrafts still flourish in India—perhaps I should not say *flourish*—rather the handicraftsmen still ply their small work; the domestic system of business still continues. What is more, our main industry is agriculture; nearly 70 per cent. of the vast population of India depends directly or indirectly upon agriculture as their chief means of subsistence; and it is obvious that the special features of "capitalistic industry" are not possible in agriculture anywhere to any large extent, and hardly at all in India with our small farms and want of resources among the agriculturists. In spite of the fact that factories were established in Bombay and one or two other big towns so far ago as the fifties, the number of factories in India is still very small, and such as it is, is largely the result of very recent development. The dominant characteristic of modern industrial organization is the large and ever-increasing part that Capital plays in production; and when we consider the insufficiency of capital in our country, we have no cause for surprise for the slow growth of factories here. We are not going to consider here the causes of this lack of sufficient business capital in India, while the general loan fund of the world is increasing every day: but it is necessary to remark here one cause as it is an important feature of the western industrial organization of the day. The system of credit in India is still in a very rudimentary stage, and therefore the existing capital of the land is not available for industrial purposes. It is clear, therefore, that when we speak of modern industrial organization, we have to turn to the West for our study. This study is of great importance to the student of economics generally, but particularly to us in India, for our industries and business are beginning to take the modern and Western shape. We ought therefore to see in what directions the modern organization with its recent developments has been a success in the West, and in what ways it has been a source of danger. We have much to learn from the West in adopting their methods in our country—they can give us great guidance by which we can avoid serious mistakes.

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At any rate for students of Political Economy, it is of the utm importance to study the chief characteristics of the modern system industrial organization, for much of our argument in the various fi of economic inquiry would turn upon considerations suggested this analysis, and a proper understanding of the writings of the gr economists requires a knowledge of the industrial conditions wh prevailed around them. One of the chief contributions which Ad Smith has made to the Science of Economics—a contribution wh together with his treatment of finance will remain perhaps the mo permanent part of the work of the English Classical School,—is co tained in the first book of the *Wealth of Nations*: "of the causes improvement in the productive powers of labour, and of the ord according to which its produce is naturally distributed among t different ranks of the people."

Adam Smith lived at the eve of the Industrial Revolution wh labour was being minutely divided. Malthus lived when the new mo ment was rapidly revolutionising the whole range of English industri and Ricardo's work came out when the Revolution had done its wo and the forces of competition were powerful enough to lend undoubt plausibility to the assumptions which underlie his work. As Bageh has pointed out Political Economy, in the writings of Ricardo, is t study of business relations as they are found in an advanced coun industrially organized as England of that period, these business relatio generally being taken in an ideal condition with a general tendency t imagine strong cases.

Now what do we mean by organization of industry? By industri organization is understood the way in which the three agents of pr duction, land, labour and capital—the terms being used in the wide sense—are brought together for the purpose of production—includi within production such services as means of communication and tran port agencies supply, for production in economics includes marketing.

The manner in which the three agents of production have be related to each other has not been the same at all times, nor is it th same now in various countries. We will not here consider the old industrial organization—if indeed some of the arrangements in th so-called hunting and nomadic stages do even deserve that name b study only the organization as found in the more advanced countries the West. The course of economic development is not easy to trac inasmuch as economic life is complex and many-sided, and nearly attempts to mark off stages by historico-philosophical and socio-econo mic reasoning of a general type, are unsatisfactory. The division in three periods of barter, money and credit economy mistakes the acc dent for the essential.

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The broad generalization, indicated in Maine's famous law that the world has progressed from a condition of status to one of contract, and in Herbert Spencer's law of evolution that the movement is from the militant to the industrial regime are obviously only suggestive, but do not afford explanations of any practical use. The time-honoured division into five stages—the hunting, pastoral, the agricultural, the commercial and the industrial—is historically incorrect, and extremely vague. The division into the so-called the stone, the bronze, the iron and the steel age is of the same character. A more useful way of looking at the course of development is to notice the forms through which business has passed—the clan, the family, the hire system, the handicrafts system, and the domestic system which gave place to the factory system under which we are living at present. A study of these forms is a most fascinating chapter in the history of institutions, and is most necessary to an Indian student who desires to equip himself properly for the study of Indian problems.

Now let us turn at once to the chief characteristics of the present day typical form—the factory system. An American economist says :

> This system is the one under which the modern world lives. Here the capitalist employer not only provides the raw material and disposes of the finished product, but also controls the intermediate process. The machinery is so costly as to be beyond the reach of the workman ; and since the machines are the property of the employer, the building in which production is carried on must also belong to him and is called the factory. The labourer is not his own master as in the handicraft system ; he no longer owns the tools and the workshop, as in the domestic system : all that he does is to provide the human labour force which is applied through machines and in workplaces owned by the capitalist employer. The stupendous increase of production which is thus rendered possible reacts upon the labourer, both as producer and consumer. Population increases enormously, and there is a continual drift from the country to the city. Industrial society receives its modern shape, and the social income is divided into the rent of the land-owner, the interest of the capitalist, the wages of the labourer, and the profits of the entrepreneur. 'Manufacturer' no longer means the handworker, but the individual who employs others to work for him. The development of capital leads to keener competition and speculation, new classes of capitalist middlemen arise, and the machinery of credit and exchange is transformed. The predominance of the industrial capitalist employer is so pronounced as to give to the whole form of business enterprise the name factory system.

Such is the brief description of the factory system, indicating its chief features by a distinguished American economist in a recent work.

We shall now take up the several features of the modern industrial system for separate consideration :

1. Division of Labour, and increasing differentiation of functions.

Perhaps this is the most notable feature of the new system. All organization, as biologists tell us, requires differentiation and integration ; and the higher the organization the greater the complexity of

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functional structure—the more intricate the differentiation and integration processes.

In the modern factory system, with its growing complexity of organization, the division of labour and differentiation is every day becoming more minute. The conditions of machine production favour this.

The advantages of division of labour have been well stated by Adam Smith, and are now incorporated in all works on general economics. When an individual is confined to one work only, practice makes him perfect in it, he becomes an expert. A lad who had made nothing but nails all his life could make them twice as quickly as a first-rate smith who only took to nail-making occasionally. In a complex organization with division of labour, every one would find a place best suited for his power and intelligence. Adam Smith mentioned that, among other advantages, division of labour leads to invention of machinery. He says:—

> The invention of all those machines, by which labour is so much facilitated and abridged, seems to have been originally owing to the division of labour. Men are much more likely to discover easier and readier methods of attaining any object, when the whole attention of their minds is directed towards that single subject, than when it is dissipated among a great variety of things.

Now, though there is no doubt that invention of machines has been very rapid with the increasing differentiation of labour, the history of the past century does not bear out the reason ascribed by Adam Smith. It is the efficiency of production by machinery which gave a strong impetus to invention; and in an era of competitive struggle, new processes that economise cost have been devised with bewildering rapidity. But the inventions that can be credited to workmen actually engaged on a process have been very few—larger numbers of inventions are made by those who make invention their business in life; the modern competitive industrial system has made a special class of inventors possible as it pays to spend one's life in the search of economising devices. A considerable part of the inventor's work is done, too, by the increasing body of scientific men ever on the look out to harness nature and husband human energy.

Disadvantages.—The increasing division of labour in industry is, however, not without its disadvantages. The disadvantages proceed from the extreme specialization which division of labour necessitates.

It is urged as a serious charge against the modern factory system where one workman is confined to the mere mechanical repetition of a single simple act, that it tends to make a man a mere *machine*; it takes away from him the human qualities, and stifles all initiative and intelligence in him. The work in a factory is so monotonous that it loses all charm for those employed in them. It is all dull and

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monotonous, wearying and soul-sickening. Socialists paint the picture gruesome and in thick colours, and lead from it to some of their well-known panaceas. But there is no doubt that Karl Marx and others have correctly indicated the serious defect of the system as found in factories.

It is important, however, to remember certain considerations which Professor Marshall, who has discussed this subject most thoughtfully, has advanced. In discussing the influences which machinery exerts over the character of modern industry he says: Complex machinery increases the demand for judgment and general intelligence "for the more delicate the machine's power, the greater is the judgment and carefulness which is called from those who see after it." Marshall also points out the fact that while there is a constantly increasing subdivision of labour, many of the lines of division between trades which are nominally distinct are becoming narrower and less difficult to be passed. The barriers that divide different trades are weakened. In modern industry we have a multiplication of thin lines of division; but

> they are of an altogether different kind from the deep and broad partitions which divided one group of mediaeval craftsman from another; and which caused the lifelong suffering of the handloom weavers when their trade had left them.

Marshall has also argued that machinery relieves the strain on human muscles and lightens man's labours; and removes much of the irksomeness that attaches to hard animal muscular work.

On the whole, Professor Marshall is inclined to think that there is a clear balance of advantages over disadvantages. This becomes particularly plain when we see that as a rule factory workmen are more intelligent than agricultural labourers who, however, have varied occupations which should give them a broader outlook of life.

We have also to note that some of the dangers of the factory system can be averted. The human side of workers in factories need not suffer, when proper arrangements for their amusements and intellectual improvement are made. "The social surroundings of a factory life stimulate mental activity in and out of working hours." As Professor Seligman says:—

> Under proper leadership within his own ranks and in those of the employers, he may be a part of the machine, and yet not only remain a man but become more of a man than before. Under such conditions as they are disclosed by progress in the most advanced nations, division of labour may be a blessing instead of a curse, and remain an aid to production without becoming a menace to individuality.

Another charge, often made that the circumstances of factory life are unfavourable to *health* and *morals*, is not borne out by facts. There is no doubt that work in some trades, known as noxious trades, is

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injurious to health, and there is even danger to life in some trad but this is equally true of home employments. The worst kind labour conditions are not to be found in factories but in sweating tricts and tenement houses in the so-called east end of big towns. great American authority, one of the greatest on industrial matte generally and factory work in particular, Colonel C. D. Wright, Un States Commissioner of Labour, says in his monograph on factory s tem in the United States: "The trouble is not in the air space of factories but in that of the homes. The air of a cotton factory is bet than that of a lecture room."

The charge urging degradation in moral character is absolute unfounded. The moral results of the factory system would compa favourably with those of the domestic system which it superseded.

It is, however, to be noted that some of these dangers and ev were undoubtedly present at the time when the factory system was its early stages, but they were due to special circumstances and are essential to the system. To quote Colonel Wright again: "T great evils which became apparent during the early days of the factor system were simply the results of bringing together the labour wh had become pauperized under the domestic system and in agricultur districts. The factory brought these evils to light; and the empl ment of women and children became an offence in the eyes of t public, not because it was severer than under the old system, b because under the new the evils of such employment could be seen."

President Hadley of Yale—one of America's soberest thinkers o social affairs,—has thus summed up his consideration of the wh question: "On the whole we find that advancing civilization brin gains which more than make up for the losses."

I have dwelt on the subject with some detail, as it is assuming living importance in India. It is one of the questions in which we ha much to learn from the experience of western countries, and the sob discussions of thoughtful men. The question connected with "factor labour"—like the "numbe of hours of work," "Conditions of factor life," "examination of factories by sanitary inspectors," "the lack sufficiency of proper kind of labour"—are all occupying the speci attention of Indian publicists and thinkers to-day. We have had a com mission going into evidence of a number of questions and we find our daily and weekly papers frequent articles on the subject. He is a field for students of economics like us to study a problem with living interest.

On the whole subject I shall recommend you to read:—

J. A. Hobson's—*Evolution of Capitalism.*
Cook-Taylor's—*Modern Factory System.*
Marshall's—Principles, Bk. IV.
Report of the Royal Labour Commission.

and for historical material:—

Cunningham's *History Modern Times*:—
Miss Hutchin's—*Factory Legislation.*

For those preparing themselves for taking part in the discussi of Indian economic problems, nothing can he better than the study the whole problem of labour under the factory system.

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INDIAN MUSSALMANS AND INDIAN POLITICS.—II.

By An "Indian Mussulman."

ENGLISH education was, in short, the underlying and sole cause of the potent changes. Western culture when applied to Eastern brains is sure to produce a ferment. As it is with Hindus, so it is with Mahomedans. The educational seed was sown late into the Mahomedan mind and hence the crop was also reaped late. The political awakening, be it remembered, was not the result of disaffection—the Moslems are unswerving in loyalty as ever—or pro-Partition agitation, but rather the natural outcome of the seed which the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan himself had sown. The Moslem community felt a thrill of new life. The "spirit of the living" was having a tussle with the "spirit of the dead." The newly brewed wine could not be kept in the old bottles. How to reconcile the new spirit with the traditional stereotyped "school of Mahomedan opinion" was the insoluble enigma. How to evolve a policy which would not run counter to the counsel—crystallized counsel like hide-bound custom dies hard—of Sir Syed and yet move with the *zeitgeist* was the Sphinx's riddle. The ferment worked until the Aga Khan as the spokesman of the sixty-two millions of Indian Mahomedans, Œdipus-like, raised a new flag inside the entrenchments of Syed Ahmedian toryism. If this safety-valve had not been provided for, the enlightened Mahomedans of India would eventually have either joined the Indian National Congress or set up a Congress of their own. Other causes which helped the crossing of the Rubicon were (1) a desire on the part of the Mahomedans to protect their political rights and press their claims in a constitutional way, without prejudice to loyalty to their rulers and good-will to their Hindu brethren, (2) a fear—common to all minor communities—that unless they entered on an organised political action their interests would suffer and that unless they rose equal to the occasion they would lag far behind the members of other, more progressive, communities, in representative institutions. It slowly dawned on the Moslems that the policy hitherto pursued by them—of confining themselves to the work of spreading education in the country and leaving all politics to be dealt with by their more educated brethren—which might have been beneficial at

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one time, was unsuited to the new circumstances and, in fa quite detrimental to their interests. They became alive to t fact that to secure real advancement they must boldly step i the arena of politics and "declare their wants and grievanc with a view to their being recognised and removed by t Government." But the immediate cause which gave birth the Mahomedan Deputation was not the resignation of S Bampfylde Fuller, as some wrongly opine, (for the Deputati was organized long before the Lieutenant-Governor's resignati was in the air) but the prospect of getting a "fair share" in th extended representation foreshadowed in the announcement ma by Lord Morley in his memorable Budget Speech. The Mosle wanted to strike while the iron was hot and, as later even showed, his efforts were crowned with phenomenal succes Such was briefly the genesis of the movement.

The Deputation, the prologue to the All-India Mosle League, was not of spontaneous mushroom growth, was thoroug ly representative of the great historic people and was conducte "without undue publicity or advertisement." As early as 190 an attempt was made in the United Provinces of Agra an Oudh, the centre of Indian Muhomedanism, to protect th political rights of the Moslems of India and it was resolved that

Local associations should be formed in each province, besides a important and weighty corporation for the whole of India, composed of m conspicuous for the ability and soundness of judgment and that, through th instrumentality of all these Associations, more permanent arrangemen might be made for the protection of the rights and privileges of th Mussulmans of India.*

The Mahomedans took ample care to consult beforehand thei co-religionists in every part of the country. We are told:—

Their private activity was incessant for many weeks before the interview with the Viceroy. The Mahomedan Associations and Anjumans, and leadi Mahomedans all over India were consulted. The draft memorial wa submitted and carefully scrutinised and discussed in every centre of Mahomed anism from Peshawar to Madras; and there was much correspondence an consideration before it assumed its final form. A committee which include many leading Mahomedans assembled at Lucknow a week or two before to mak the concluding arrangements. Finally, the honoured names of the member of the Deputation headed, moreover, as it was, by so revered and esteemed Mahomedan prince as His Highness the Agha Khan, placed its notable an representative character beyond all question.

*Rules and Regulations of the All-India Muslim League (Pioneer Press Allahabad).

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Altogether the memorial was admirably drafted, temperate in tone, and even eloquent in some passages. A quiet dignity pervaded it. In spirit, it was more pan-Indian than sectional. Although sectional interests were placed in the foreground, they were relieved, in an unconflicting way, by the background of pan-Indian interests. Sometimes the tone of the memorial rose to the pitch of the Nationalists and is not unlike that of the National Congress. Taking the particular case of the elective principle in Indian politics, the views of the memorialists were as pronounced as those of a Mehta or a Gokhale. They boldly asked for some form of popular suffrage instead of acquiescing in the old aristocratic principle of nomination.

Reviewing the salient features of the address presented to the Viceroy by the Deputation, we note that it begins in quite an Oriental fashion by acknowledging and appreciating "the incalculable benefits conferred by British rule on the teeming millions belonging to diverse races and professing diverse religions, who form the population of the vast continent of India," winding up with the remark that the memorialists have every reason to be grateful for the "peace, security, personal freedom and liberty of worship" they enjoy. They strike quite a modern note when they warily and cautiously say that "from the wise and enlightened character of the government, we have every reasonable ground for anticipating that these benefits will be progressive and that India will, in the future, occupy an increasingly important position in the comity of nations." They urge the Government to pay "increasing deference" to the views and wishes of the people by cleverly suggesting that such deference "has, as far as possible, been paid from the first to the views and wishes of the people of the country in matters affecting their interests, with due regard always to the diversity of race and religion which forms such an important feature in all Indian problems." Continuing in the same strain, they extol the Government for the gradual expansion of the elective principle from the "confidential and unobtrusive communities in different parts of the country" to "the nomination and election of direct representatives of the people in Municipalities, District Boards, and, above all, in the Legislative Chambers of the country," and are frank enough to say that it was the prospect of getting a greater share in the Legislative Councils that had emboldened them to approach His

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Excellency the Viceroy on that august occasion. They show by statistical strategy and comparative figures that "under any system of representation—extended or limited—" their claims should receive adequate recognition. Of course, the claims and rights of sixty-two millions of Moslems who constitute "between one-fifth and one-fourth of the total population of His Majesty's Indian Dominions" and who are "more numerous than the entire population of any first class European power except Russia" cannot rightly be ignored. Nor do they stop with numbers alone. They earnestly press that "the position accorded to the Mahomedan community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence, should be commensurate not merely with their numerical strength, but also with their practical importance and the value of the contribution which they make to the defence of the Empire", with the additional hope that "the position which they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago, and of which the traditions have naturally not faded from their minds" would also be kept in view.

The Deputation declare that they have departed from the "time-honoured tradition" as "recent events have stirred up feelings, especially among the younger generation of Mahomedans, which might, in certain circumstances, and under certain contingencies, easily pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance," and propose that the newl eaven may be suppressed by proper representation. They sound a note of warning that if the representative institutions of the West which are, however, new to India are to be successfully adapted to the social, religious and political conditions obtaining in India, "the greatest care, forethought, and caution are necessary;" and in the absence of such care and caution, they fear that their conmmunal interests will be placed "at the mercy of an unsympathetic majority." They complain that the representation hitherto accorded to them has been "inadequate to their requirements and has not always carried with it the approval of those whom the nominees were selected to represent" and further remark that "while on the one hand the number of nominations reserved to the Viceroy and Local Governments has necessarily been strictly limited, the selection on the other hand of really representative men has, in the absence of any reliable method of ascertaining the direction

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of popular voice, been far from easy". In their eyes, the results of election are disappointing, for they painfully yet pertinently remark that "it is most unlikely that the name of any Mahomedan candidate will ever be submitted for the approval of Government by the electoral bodies, as now constituted, unless he is in sympathy with the morjority in all matters of importance, nor can we in fairness find fault with the desire of our non-Moslem fellow-subjects to take full advantage of their strength and vote only for members of their own community or for persons who, if not Hindus, are expected to vote with the Hindu majority on whose good-will they would have to depend for their future re-election." Rising above their sectional aims and ends, they utter a sublime truth when they say that "we have many and important interests in common with our Hindu fellow-countrymen, and it will always be a matter of the utmost satisfaction to us to see these interests safeguarded by the presence in our Legislative Chambers of able supporters of these interests, irrespective of their nationality." Yet they assert that they are "a distinct community" and incline to the belief that they have "additional interests of their own which are not shared by other communities," but there is no reason why these should clash with those of other communities.

The Deputation suggest that even in provinces where they outnumber the Hindus *i.e.*, the Punjab, Sindh, and Eastern Bengal, they are looked upon as "an appreciably small political factor that might without unfairness be neglected." Although there may be some truth in the statement that "the political importance of a community to a considerable extent gains strength or suffers detriment according to the position that the members of that community occupy in the service of the State," we cannot see how, the appointment of relatively better-qualified Hindus introduces "the competitive element in its worst form." This is only another way of begging for "preferential treatment,"—the prop of the older generation—which gives an anachronistic air to the Deputation. If occupation and long settlement be taken into consideration, the Hindu community (with its off-shoots), of all Indian peoples, claims the precedence and as they further form the majority and are, by their superior learning and industry, better qualified, we do not see any reason why there should be any heart-burning among us, the

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Mussalmans in India, as the "selection" takes place in a perfectly natural way in obedience to the laws of evolution. In the struggle for existence "the survival of the fittest" theory shall ever rule the world, both animal and vegetable. We, Moslems must keep steadily in view the homely adage "First deserve and then desire", in our onward march of progress. Although the number of deserving Mahomedans has increased and is increasing, yet the supply is not sufficiently large to cope with the demand, the statements of the Deputation notwithstanding. The allegation that there is a "monopoly of all official influence by one class" seems irrelevant and untrue, for we suppose that the so-called exclusive privilege enjoyed by the Hindus is not registered by any "letters patent" and that under the British *ægis*, we, Mahomedans, have as much chance, if not more, to get into the higher posts. If, in the distribution of official loaves and fishes, really deserving Mahomedans are provided for, the Hindus, we are sure, will not cavil at the appointments. If, on the other hand, official nepotism is shown to incompetent Mahomedans, the fire of disaffection will rightly kindle in the hearts of our Hindu brethren. As for the Anglo-Indian point of view, I cannot do better than quote the *Times of India*, which says that "any Briton who seeks to exalt and favour—or to cajole—the Mahomedans at the expense of the other races of India, is no true Imperialist of the Empire." In short, there should be neither favour nor unfairness. The Deputation also indulge in a little charlatanic boast when they say that Mahomedan educationalists have laid more stress on the "development of character" than on "mental alertness" and that they therefore make "good public servants." Our experience derived in so essentially Mussalman a State as Hyderabad tells us that with the possible exception of the army—even there non-vegetarian Hindus are on a par with the Mahomedans, the Rajputs, the Sikhs, and the Jats being sepoys *par excellence*—the Hindus, generally, make better servants than the Mahomedans. Coming to the next clause of the Deputation we note that the Deputation again complain of the paucity of Mahomedans in the High Courts and Chief Courts and that ever since the creation of these Courts, only three Mahomedan judges have been appointed. Right enough. That these three Mahomedan judges—the late Justices Badruddin Tyabjee and Syed Mahmood, and Mr. Amir Ali—richly deserved

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their elevation to the Bench is patent to every one. Be it said to their credit that they would have had, by their legal acumen, forced their way up to the highest judicial posts in any age and in any country, under conditions wherein intrinsic merit is the stepping-stone to success in official life. The prayer of the Deputation seems to have been heard, inasmuch as three Mahomedan judges have been appointed since, and whether they would justify their election time alone can tell.

The Deputation set forth an elaborate scheme for Moslem representation, beginning with the Municipal and District Boards and going right up to the Imperial Legislative Council including the Senates and Syndicates of Indian Universities. We all agree with the memorialists—as H. E. the Viceroy, in his reply, did agree—when they say, that the Municipal and District Boards "form, as it were, the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government, and it is here that the principle of representation is brought home intimately to the intelligence of the people." They suggest that the proportion of seats on the above boards should be determined "in accordance with the numerical strength, social status, local influence and special requirements" of the Hindu and Mahomedan communities, and that the same procedure should also be extended to the Senates and Syndicates of Indian Universities. With regard to the Provincial Legislative Councils they insist on the formation of Electoral Colleges representing important interests, *e.g.*, land-owners, lawyers, merchants, &c., Mahomedan members of District Boards and Municipalities and Mahomedan graduates of some years' standing (say 5 years). Coming to the Imperial Legislative Council they urge that "(*a*) in the *cadre* of the Council the proportion of Mahomedan representatives should not be determined on the basis of the numerical strength of the community, and that in any case the Mahomedan representatives should never be an ineffective minority; (*b*) as far as possible, appointments by election should be given preference over nomination; (*c*) for purposes of choosing Mahomedan members, Mahomedan land-owners, lawyers, merchants and representatives of other important interests of a status to be subsequently determined by your Excellency's Government, Mahomedan members of the Provincial Councils and Mahomedan Fellows of Universities should be invested with electoral powers to be

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exercised in accordance with such procedure as may be prescribed by your Excellency's Government in that behalf. They then beg leave to suggest that in the event of Indian members being appointed on the Executive Council of the Viceroy, their claims will not be overlooked. They also pray that Government will foster the growth of their long-cherished desire of founding a Mahomedan University which will not only be the centre of their intellectual and religious life but will pave the way for the solution of their wants and aspirations. Lastly, the Deputation hint that, in furthering Mahomedan interests, Government will be only strengthening the band of loyalty and "laying the foundation of their political advancement and national prosperity."

The Viceroy's reply to the Deputation, "as expressing the views and aspirations of the enlightened Muslim community of India" was courteous and full of sympathy. Lord Minto first traced the early efforts of the British to assist the Mahomedans to qualify themselves for public service, from the founding of the Calcutta *Madrasah* by Warren Hastings in 1781 to the passing of the Government Resolution of 1885, dwelling also, at some length, on the indigenous effort which culminated in the Aligarh College. He then referred to the situation in Eastern Bengal and Assam and, turning to the political outlook, said that we cannot possibly ignore the hopes and ambitions of New India. He added that the unrest was not due to the "discontent of misgoverned millions" but attributable to the "educational growth." Commenting upon the introduction of representative institutions of the West into India, the Viceroy said that, although they can do much for the Indian people, he should be "very far from welcoming all the political machinery of the Western world among the hereditary instincts and traditions of Eastern races." Then adverting to the political future of the Moslems, he assured them that, in electoral representation and administrative organisation, their political rights and interests as a community shall be safe-guarded—a promise which he has more than fulfilled. But the present aspects of this great question will form the subject of discussion in our next paper, which will conclude this series.

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RECENT EVENTS IN MYSORE: THEIR PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE.

By A "Mysorean."

THE present administration of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore has come in for a good deal of criticism at the hands of a section of noisy though not numerous politicians of Mysore and the press generally. If the shrill shrieks of Mysoreans conveyed as much truth as it did hysteria, then indeed the Dewan must be pronounced to be, as his opponents have averred, a Draco, a Sultan and a Czar in one, the oppressor of the people and the suppressor of liberties. However it is consoling to reflect that the horrors of the situation are entirely confined to the journalistic fancy and are not found to trespass into the homes or hearts of the people of Mysore.

Criticism of policies is almost completely buried under a heap of personal recriminations. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao is rewarded with an almost unparalleled amount of virulent and unscrupulous notice. One wonders if the men of Mysore ever stopped to consider that violence so extreme was sure to defeat itself. They bring against him numerous charges, and they find, honest critics that they are, nothing which they can in justice or charity adduce in his favour. They arrive at their verdict of absolute guilt by a trick not too clever. If any of the actions of the administration meet with their approval, they straightway attribute them to the benificent agency of the Maharaja, fondly hoping to achieve the double purpose of convincing His Highness of their loyalty, and what is nearer to their hearts, of depriving the Dewan of his poor share of credit. If, on the other hand, the actions of the administration fail to win their approval—as in most cases they do when the Dewan is a Non-Mysorean—the Dewan and none other must bear the whole responsibility for them. The surprising thing about this process of condemnation by convenient abstraction is that they should not have suspected the transparency and the futility of their dodge. In their haste to get at their enemy they have not left the Maharajah himself unscathed, a mischance which is certainly due to want of wit and not of affection for him. On their own showing, His Highness does all things good but preventing evil is not one of them.

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He is clever and talented to a degree, but he does not perceive, what is *ex-hypothesi* patent to all, what a monster he has for his Prime Minister.

Willing but not clever enough to be really cunning, the critics muddle through the mire of sectional politics, protected from self-contempt and the jeers of the public by their serene lack of humour. Themselves put to inconsistent shifts to protect their interests, they represent the Dewan as the reflection of themselves, as equally inconsistent and shifty. They are patriots, as the Dewan and those of his ilk can never hope to be; if proof is wanted listen to the way they lecture the British on their duties. And yet their Nationalism would, if it could, exclude Non-Mysoreans from the hospitality of State service. Scratch an Indian patriot in Mysore and you will find a Mysore particularist. Nay more; they often point out what an enemy to British interests the Dewan is, and wind up, perhaps the same exordium, with an insulting picture of him as a tyrant to his people. He is represented as a Nationalist when British indignation is sought to be stirred; and as the cat's paw of the British, when the hatred and contempt of the populace is sought to be evoked. Anyhow he must be ground down between the upper and nether mill stones of the Residency and the Demos. Well, whatever the Dewan is or is not, one thing is clear; he has roused the "Mysore party" to fury; and I am not sure, considering the character and tendencies of that party whether that is not one of his best titles to honour and fame.

All sticks have been used in the task of belabouring the present administration. The Dewan has thrown open the Civil Service for foreign competition (*i.e.*) for the competition of neighbouring provinces. We are reminded of a disagreeable development of recent Chinese politics. The reformers started the cry "China for the Chinese," the men of Canton introduced the amendment "Canton for the Cantonese." Two years ago this disruptive tendency gave much though temporary concern to the authorities. Mysore, it seems, is a growth in and for itself, not a branch of India drawing sustenance from the parent stem and bound up with it for all its deepest interests, and forming part of the common heritage of all Indians. To enable men of the different provinces to mix with each other for pleasure or business is both a national and a liberal movement. To bring

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together men habituated to different environments is to provide facilities for broadening the mind by exchange of ideas and the enjoyment of fresh experiences. The crossing of environments, as I call it, is perhaps the most important condition of progress; when that stops, criticism slackens, custom hardens and variation is rendered almost impossible. Crossing of every kind has long ago ceased in India, but nothing has contributed so largely to our stagnation and degeneracy as the cessation of the process of crossing environments. One of the most favoured of our Patriot Princes, the Maharajah of Baroda, is a great believer in the policy of conferring the higher dignities of his State on outsiders and his example deserves to be more largely followed. There is a method in what appears to be the madness of an autocrat. Men coming from afar are above local factions. As orthodoxy varies inversely as the distance from home, they are comparatively freer from caste prejudices. Not only the efficiency of the office but the moral support extended to it by the people is thereby increased.

The motto "Mysore for the Mysoreans" is a hollow and disingenuous plea masquerading as the sentiment of the people. It is not the cry of the people of the State of Mysore, but of a few citizens chiefly resident in the town of Mysore. One may conjecture that adherence to this principle is due to considerations more substantial than a regard for popular interests. It happens to coincide with their sectional interests admirably and therein lies its charm. One can understand and even sympathise with the passion with which it is defended. But to suppose that it expresses the will of the people is an absurdity which can be established *a priori*. For Mysore, like other parts of India, probably more than other parts of India except Travancore, is the home of caste animosities. Caste feelings are no respecters of boundaries. To represent that Mysore of all places in India has miraculously overcome internal dissensions to the extent of evolving, without imparting the secret to the myriads that are in search of it, an effective geographical feeling is to utter a lie which all good people would wish was a truth. A Mysorean, while he would prefer a Mysorean of his own caste to any outsider, would in the next instance prefer an outsider of his own caste to a Mysorean of another caste. Whether in any particular case an appointment would be aproved by the majority

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of people or not would depend almost entirely on the numerical superiority of the caste to which the officer belongs.

The big stick in the critic's armoury is the Press Act by which the Administration took power from the Legislature to warn offending papers in the first instance, and should their error be heightened by the guilt of persistence, to confiscate the press, and in the worst possible cases, to deport their editors. A curious, if not surprising, feature of the situation is that the papers which were most valiant and violent in opposing the measure, stopped publication of their own accord. One asks—does this represent the measure of their devotion for the sacred cause of liberty and the valour they could muster in its defence? Does it measure the amount of reliance they placed in that strong and united public opinion, which they claimed to have themselves created and led? Did they think they were presenting an edifying spectacle to their followers by fleeing precipitately before a blow was struck? If this is the way they represented courage, it is also the way they represented public opinion. The truth need not be missed any longer that they went down amidst the jeers of the people. They committed a *hari-kari* which had been delayed too long; and the Dewan is accused of the slaughter of innocents! The Executive was supported in the Representative Assembly, which is purely an elective body chosen by the masses, by all except a few lawyers and teachers. Our lawyers are great sticklers to forms: they stood for liberty and talked glibly of verbal shibboleths like the freedom of the Press They do not seem able to grasp the elementry truth that in politics rights are in essence the same as policies, to be judged by results and not by appeal to principles supposed to be immutable. The landlords and patels and merchants supported the Government. They regarded the Act as amply justified by considerations of public good and morality. One of them welcomed Executive action and compared the judiciary to the mother-in-law's house and the Executive to the mother's. This homely simile drawn from the experience of the young Hindu wife sums up the matter with admirable pathos and point. The forms of legal administration now current in Mysore are far beyond what our present stage of culture can profitably employ, and they have done on the whole more harm than good to the masses. The Government under this Act deals with press offences as

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political, and provides for deportation where transportation is becoming the rule in British India. Executive action even when most violent is relieved by a gleam of straighforwardness and lends itself more easily to revision or mitigation at the hands of the Government. And, after all, is a trip to Bangalore Cantonment so very much worse than a sojourn to the Andamans? Which is better, to be classed with a Lajpat Rai or a felon of the worst kind?

In reality, the Act marks an advance in constitutionalism. The Maharajah is in theory an autocrat in the internal administration of his State. If he is at all responsible, it is to the British Government and not to his subjects. The powers now obtained under the Act have always been in him; and they were used a few years ago. What the present Act does is to remove from the Maharaja an individious personal responsibility and shift it to the shoulders of the whole administration and circumscribe it by definite provisions for enquiry, warning and so on. Deductive reasoners founding States on elementry text-books will not of course be satisfied with anything short of the inauguration of a republic but the true philosopher will be quite content to say with Newman: "One step is enough for me."

To hear a certain type of Mysorean talk one would think that Mysore was an independent State and a first class power to boot. The submerged press deliberately tried to create serious misunderstandings between the State and the Imperial Government, by reading anti-British lessons into all the liberal reforms of the Durbar, which could of course not have been carried without the support of the Residency. Their motives may have been to spite the Dewan or to manifest their larger patriotism. But in any case no Government can tolerate a press which threatened to disturb the delicate balance of feudatory and imperial relations. The Press in the Native States must be particularly guarded and cautious in its expression of views bearing directly or indirectly on British affairs. I am not surprised that both Baroda and Hyderabad have refused to be embarrassed by the luxury of a press which cannot distinguish between freedom and irresponsibile license.

Conditions in British India and the Native States are so different that a slavish imitation of British Indian methods of administration or of agitation is unwarranted and would prove

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injurious. In a very real sense, the dictum of the Dewan that Mysore possesses a National Government holds good in spite of criticisms to the contrary. Doubtless Mysore is not a republic and under the social conditions prevailing it would be farther away from the ideal state if a republic were proclaimed to-morrow. It is not democratic in form but, what is of more immediate urgency and utility, it is democratic in purpose. The interests of the ruler and ruled do not and cannot come into fundamental conflict. The officers mix freely with the people and as they know the vernacular well, they understand their needs and requirements without the necessary intervention of middlemen and representatives. No one goes out amongst the people more freely than the present Dewan. It is a matter of common remark that the farmers and labourers approach him with greater freedom and converse with him with less reserve than they do with many of the lesser dignitaries. If he is the step-father of the city of Mysore, as they say he is, he is more than a father to the rural community. He is democratic enough in his ways and manners to satisfy an American. If he is a despot, he seems bent on having the days of despotism numbered. He created the Legislative assembly and further allowed Non-official members into it. He increased the powers of the Representative Assembly and has made every effort to educate it up to the level where increasingly fuller powers of controlling the Government may be entrusted to it. And all this be it remarked, without even the pretence of pressure from outside. About three years ago the Vokkaligara Sangha came into existence. The Vokkaligara are the agricultural caste. They form the most important and numerous section of the industrial population of the State. The fact to be noted here is that it owes its existence to the Dewan more than to any other individual and much of its success—and it has already made astonishing progress—is due to the sympathy of the Maharajah and his Dewan. If a plebiscite be taken to-morrow the people would be found to be decisively on the side of Mr. Madhava Rao.

Students of political science are aware of a kind of democracy technically termed Cæsarism, which is an autocracy supported and in some cases created by the people in defence and furtherance of their interests. When the masses in Russia rose and tore into shreds the constitution forced on Anne by the nobles

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they acted on a true appreciation of what was best for them under the circumstances. Poor, ignorant, powerless and without the unity and organisation required for the efficient protection of themselves, they infinitely preferred the rule of a single despot, too far removed from them to have many special ends antagonistic to their welfare, to that of their rich or literate neighbours who were notoriously rapacious and unscrupulous. And Frenchmen of the 19th century improved on the precedent and set up an Emperor by popular suffrage. During times of stress and internal dissensions men have in all ages turned to the strong man and not to self-Government. Speaking for the masses, I feel assured that they are better off under the personal rule of a Gaekwar than under a bureaucratic or representative regime. A drastic course of Cæsarism would prepare us sooner for real self-government than the listless dabbling in popular institutions which seems to be the order of the day.

The British may take a few lessons from the Native States. Civilized forms of Government are not in all cases a blessing to people, the more personal type is often the better. The masses have not much to gain by the cult of formal liberties, when they lack education, and are crushed down body and soul by poverty and the variety of social layers heaped upon them. What is wanted is, as Mr. Buchanan said, a change in the spirit of administration. The District Magistrates in British India should have sympathy as well as a thorough knowledge of the vernaculars and must, above all, be of a temper to delight in casting off the frightening weeds of pomp and splendour, which they put on during their temporary appearance on the Indian stage. They must have time and the tact to make the best use of 'banyan tree durbars.' They must make an honest and not merely a platonic endeavour to educate us to the standard of social reconstruction and self-Government. "Not democratic in form but democratic in purpose",—that is the moral conveyed by Baroda and Mysore to the British.

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INDIAN POLYTECHNICS.

By Mr. H. Subba Rao.

FEW will say that there is a perfect system of education in India. The late Sir Lepel Griffin wondered how England could give a perfect system of education to India when she herself has not got one. Systems after systems are at work, but without desireable result. In the education that we get in Indian Universities, the head is cultivated at the expense of other faculties. But, as Herbert Spencer has said, "if there is a rise in one faculty, there will be a fall in other faculties." We should so impart education to our youth that the head, body and mind are proportionately developed.

Recent events show that an attempt is made by some patriotic workers to give an 'integral' education, that is, the education of the head, body and mind. In England there are some schools of polytechnics to achieve this ideal. For instance, 'the City of London College' in Moorfields is an institution giving instruction in literature, science and art. For men engaged in commercial and industrial occupations, there are 'special trade classes' which will benefit them in everyday work. Of all occidental countries, France probably may be said to take a vital interest in the education of children. As a general rule, whichever country or nation considers its children as the life-blood of the nation, the education that is imparted to children in such countries is generally the soundest.

Abyssinia, though treated as part of 'the orient,' accomplished one of the noblest tasks, which even the benign British Government has failed to do, and that is, it has provided for the compulsory education of its children. All male children of 12 years of age are compelled to go to school. Japan has got many schools of polytechnics to which the State owes its present eminence. Different schools are established for teaching Mechanical Engineering, artistic crafts, Horology, electro-chemistry, metallurgy, and other arts which form the essential objects of study to make the country industrially prosperous. In India there are some occupations which are considered as objectionable. For instance, tanning leather, dyeing, etc. Some Hindus yet consider it opposed to their customs. But it is high time that

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we should take a broad and liberal view of these occupations and make enterprises. The knowledge acquired by students in foreign parts in tanning has enabled them to take positions of responsibility and increase their incomes. For example, students once earning less than £2 per week are now enabled to earn £5 per week in leather factories.

Prof. Millis in a lecture delivered in the Manchester Municipal Technical School in 1896, drew attention to the necessity of studying art and science in these pregnant words :—

I am afraid that men, as a rule, think too little of the value of science because they do not at once see how it is to be applied. I believe the young men should have been offered the fullest opportunities in the way of education directly and indirectly connected with their occupations, and this would open to them the possibilities of inventing new processes in their trade, or of adapting themselves to the ever-changing conditions of manufacture, that come about by the growth of general education, and the advance of scientific discovery.

In the Madras presidency, the artizan and mechanics class consist of about 18½ per cent. of the total population. The next numerous class is that engaged in the manufacture of textile fabrics and dress, which constitutes about 3 per cent. of the total population. Mr. Wallace says :—

Strangers from more advanced countries who visit India are generally impressed by the backward state of the crafts of this country. They observe that the Indian artizan does less work with a given amount of labour than the European. The amount of labour that an Indian artificer wastes is a proof of a deplorable want of method and technique. It shows that he has not been properly instructed ; and if you examine his tools, you will generally find them blunt and out of order.* * * *When we reflect upon the vast resources in natural wealth, mineral and vegetable of India which up to the present time are to a great extent undeveloped ; when we know that of all countries raising agricultural produce for export, India gives the least per acre, and that other countries import enormous quantities of her products only to manufacture and return them, we relise how much the working population has yet to learn in order that the wealth of India may be properly utilized.

This clearly shows that we require a large number of schools of polytechnics if we want to compete with foreigners in industries. That our people still retain their old skill in weaving Mr. Chatterton speaks as follows :—

If in other parts of the world, there is any demand of higher quality, there would not be any difficulty in meeting it, as the Indian weavers retain all their old skill, and only complain of the few opportunities they now get for exhibiting it.

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Dr. Hanford Henderson of the Harvard University gives a description of education that is given in American schools of polytechnics. They divide their schools into 3 parts, (1) Manual Training, (2) Technical schools, (3) Industrial or trade schools. In manual training, subjects such as bench work, wood work, pattern making and other subjects are taught. Subjects such as carpentry, brick-laying, stone-cutting, paper hanging, machine work, printing or plumbing are taught in industrial or trade schools. Dr. Henderson when questioned how India could enter into her rightful place in commerce said that without schools where practice and culture went together there was no hope of salvation to India.

Prof. Wilson estimates our ancient civilization in his Introduction to the Vedas in the following words:—"The Indians were a manufacturing people; for the art of weaving, the labours of the carpenters and the fabrication of the gold and iron are alluded to; and what is more remarkable they were a maritime people." The arts and sciences, as known to the Hindus, were reckoned, according to Abul Fazl, to be about 300 in number. The Sanskrit books enumerate about 64 kalas or fine arts. In India everything was hand-wrought and everything down to the cheapest toy or earthen vessel was therefore more or less a work of art. Mention is made about manual training in America. This is not new to us. Lace-making and embroidery of India were very much praised in the markets of Europe as they are valued at the present day. Stone-carving and wood-engraving had also reached a high standard in India as would be evident from a look at the different emblems of gods and goddesses of the Hindus, who still excite the admiration of the world in respect of their architecture, workmanship and finish. Mr. J. S. Cotton writing in The English Citizen series, raises a note of wail, at the decay of Indian arts and handicrafts. He says: "carpet-making, fine embroidery, jewellery, metal work, the damascening of arms, saddlery, carving, paper-making, even architecture and sculpture have all alike decayed by foreign competition." Sir Alfred Lyall remarks:—

From the days of the Romans up to our time, the Indian trade has drained the gold and silver of Europe. But how distressing it is for us at the present day to think, that all our local manufactures are neglected and are dying out, reducing a once prosperous India to the condition of an abject beggar, from door to door, for the supply of the bare necessaries of life * *

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* * The shadow of death seems to have fallen on every genuine Indian industry, and their ultimate disappearance appears to be only a question of time.

Now the question is, should we allow our industries to die out or make attempts to revive them and make our country prosperous? The answer is plain. We desire the latter. How to revive our industries and our arts? The Government is trying its very best to help us. But we require also some individual enterprises.

The following are some of my reflections on the means to be adopted for the industrial and economical salvation of our country. The first act that we should do is to establish schools of polytechnics in different provinces. The instruction given in such institutions should be to benefit even the humblest of individuals who form the lowest strata of the social organisation. For all such people instruction in the following subjects ought to be given:—Making of metal and earthenware pots, pans for cooking purposes, bone and metal buttons, pins, hooks, needles and thread, instructions in wood-carving, smithing. Now coming to a stage higher in the social scale, the following subjects can be recommended:—Making of:—(1) Culinary utensils and lamps. (2) Candles and soap. (3) Paper, ink, pen and pencil. (4) Compounding of varnishes and colours. To this class, such subjects as making of springs for couches or chairs, hinges of a cup-board or box, screw, nails and locks, should be taught as such works require some capital for their proper working. One degree higher again in the social scale, *i. e.*, to the middle class, mere artistic crafts can be taught. The subjects undertaken for tuition should be such as would be serviceable to jewellers, gold and silversmiths, etc. Therefore they should be taught jewellery, gold and silver smithing, watch and clock repairing, engraving on metals, enamelling, modelling, working in plaster, wood, stone and marble-carving, painting and decorating, photography, and architectural ornamentations.

The education of the rich requires a good deal of capital. To this class tuition in the following subjects ought to be recommended:—Mechanical Engineering and metal trades; Applied physics and Electrical Engineering; Horology; Electro-chemistry; Metal extraction; Dyeing; Sugar making; Brewing and the manufacture of Ayurvedic drugs.

This analysis, I believe, would be sufficient for our present needs, and very well succeed in making our country industrially prosperous.

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THE SEAMY SIDE OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

By Mr. Kesari Prasad Singh, B.A.

"To him that hath shall be given and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath."

IN countries like England and America where every new step in science and invention, industry and commerce is an addition to the people's wealth, tending to raise the standard of living, comfort and morality, the truth of this 'hard saying' may not appear on the surface; but even there it is discoverable when one goes deep in search of it. It is the painful discovery of this truth that has led economists, moralists and socialists to raise a cry for the more equal distribution of wealth and for the amelioration of the condition of those who are destitute and trodden down. Compulsory education, the regulation of labour and Factory Acts are all the outcome of this tendency. They are introduced to protect the helpless and to raise the standard of their living. It is truly said that the destruction of the poor is their poverty but it is equally true that of all degradations and of all curses poverty is the worst. Its effects are cumulative. Its tendency is to grow deeper where once it has taken root. The children of the poor have few opportunities of raising themselves out of the deep pit of poverty in which they find themselves. Poverty like a fever feeds on the blood, the very nourishment of life. A man may walk, move, work and earn, yet find in the end that nothing is left to him. It is truly said in Sanskrit that all the four quarters of the world are blank to the poor.

In India the people are very poor, with a low standard of living, a backward state of education—all due to their poverty. Yet never has any proper investigation been made nor have any efforts been seriously put forth to remove the cause of it.

We hear many different explanations of the poverty and backward state of India; some of them are true, but most of them are merely the suppression and misrepresentation of facts. It is not long since we heard from Lord Minto in the last budget debate that the economic progress of the country depended upon the people. Could there be any greater mis-statement of facts than this, which must surely have been made inadvertently. To an

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intelligent observer of the present political condition of India the remark must appear strangely inaccurate and inapt.

How does the economic progress of the country depend on the efforts of the people? The people have no part in the administration of the country. Their voice is very feeble and seldom heard in the matter of legislation. Their interests, whether political, intellectual, moral or economic, are represented not by themselves but by those who govern them and who sit in the British House of Commons. The Anglo-Indians who set themselves up as protectors of Indian's interests, act on the principle that they do and will do everything for the people but nothing would be acceptable to them if it came from the people. Scarcely any suggestion however sane, reasonable and pressing it may be, is adopted by the protectors of the peoples' interests. They may be likened to a jealous guardian or manager of a ward, who may never attain his majority or who is thought to be perpetually incapable of managing his own affairs. So long as the people are mute and follow their rulers like dumb creatures, they are commended and pitied. But the moment they show signs of intellectual and political life, they are considered no longer safe; nay, they are called enemies of the Government. Sometimes a man like Mr. Rees will confess his cherished desire that all forms of liberal education should be stopped in India. Mr. Rees is becoming famous in the House of Commons for the language which he is wont to use about the people whose salt he has eaten and I suppose still eats. It is fortunate for the House of Commons that other members on the same side do not catch the infection from him. It is here that the theory and practice of our rulers part company and the causes of unrest and discontent arise. This is but one instance of the numerous evils that are prevalent in the administration of India. I will try to point out some other instances which will illustrate how little foundation there is in the statement that the progress of the Indians depends upon themselves.

Is any justice done to India in regard to her commerce and industry? Hardly any. The reason is not far to seek. No justice is possible in a case where one of the parties acts as a judge as well. The tariff and the commercial policy of India are so shaped and regulated by the House of Commons as to always give an advantage to the merchants of the United Kingdom, who are rich,

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influential and powerful, over the Indian competitors, who are poor, uneducated and almost without a voice in the chambers of commerce. It is the British merchants who legislate for India in matters of commerce and trade. They are sellers in the Indian markets and at the same time legislators. In such circumstances it would be very easy to foretell what the laws would be. It is because of laws so made that Indian manufactures have died out and the country has been forced to depend on agricultural resources. It is not very long since an excise duty of 3½ per cent. was imposed on all the cotton goods manufactured by the mills in India. This was done simply to stifle the infant industry of the country, which threatened to be the rival of the factories and mills of Lancashire, though it was done under the pretence of maintaining the principle of free trade. Upon such a principle it is just and reasonable to levy custom duties on all imported cotton goods. But the principle is subordinated to British interests and the result is that while all the cotton goods manufactured by Indian mills are subject to duties, only a few imported articles of cotton are subject to excise duty. This is called the fair adjustment of the principle of equality. The very object that the Government proclaims to maintain is defeated in this. The Government of India were compelled to impose a tax on foreign-made articles for the purposes of revenue; and yet those very articles which could have brought the greater income are exempted under the policy of freedom and equality. For instance, yarns both fine and coarse, are imported free of duty. The people protested against such economic injustice, but all in vain. The law was passed. Trade is hampered and another load laid on the shoulders of a people, already tottering under the burden of taxation, and yet they are held responsible for the economic development of their country.

Trade is incompatible with the functions of a Government, unless it be for the good of the governed people. In any other case trade by Government cannot but result in oppression, monopoly and ultimate ruin. The character of the East India Company, both as a ruler and a trader, is a conspicuous example of this vicious policy. In all the branches of trade that were most profitable, monopolies were established. The trade of the country was ruined and consequently traders were thrown out

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of employment. This is no place to recount the misdeeds of the Company; they are faithfully recorded by Mill in his *History of India*. The corrupt administration that wiped away many of the manufactures and ruined the trade of the country was one of the reasons for the transfer of India to the Crown. Hopes of better administration were held out and entertained by the people; but they are perhaps never to be realised. Though the Company's rule came to an end, the evils that the Company bequeathed to the Crown have not all disappeared with the march of time.

To-day India is, in some respects, worse off under the Crown than it had ever been under the Company. Thus, though the Company established a monopoly in the manufacture of salt in Bengal where salt had been manufactured from time immemorial, yet it never forbade its manufacture. Bengal not only supplied its own salt but exported salt to other parts of India. A few years past the manufacture of salt was forbidden by the Indian Government and the grounds given in the Report on the "Moral and Material Progress of India, for 1904" are not satisfactory. Smuggling and illicit trade in salt were said to be the most important causes for the abolition of the salt manufacture in Bengal. Nature is as profuse to-day in that part of the country as it was in the former times; but the Government that professes to be the guardian of the people's interests will not allow them to reap the fruits which Nature so profusely offers them. Thus to-day the people of Bengal are forced to consume salt imported from foreign countries.

In the year 1905, the quantity consumed amounted to 40,000,000 mds. and the quantity produced in the country came to 32,000,000 mds. Thus twenty per cent. of the total quantity of salt consumed is to come from foreign countries. In fact, the annual importation of foreign salt amounts to 13,000,000 mds., and this quantity of salt is consumed mostly in Bengal where the people used to trade in salt and where the East India Company first established its monopoly in 1765. Such is the effect of economic injustice and trade by Government. Yet the people are blamed for their economically backward state.

It is well known to economists that any taxation on commodities which are subject to the law of Increasing Returns is injurious both to the Government and to the people. The

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imposition of taxation raises the price, the demand diminishes and the industries contract, consequently the income of the Government from taxation diminishes also. This tendency is invariably true in the case of those commodities the demand for which is very elastic. Now demand both for cotton goods and salt is very elastic in India. A little reduction of taxation (*viz.*, 8 annas per maund) has greatly increased the consumption of salt; and yet the Government that says that the economic development of the country depends on the people never advocates either the further reduction, nor proposes the abolition of such taxes as are based on a wholly un-economic principle.

Every law has its own effect. If it is a bad law it will be detrimental to the interests of the people, whereever they may be. Economic laws know no geographical limitations. They are constant and unvarying in their operation. The principle or policy which the British people adopt to promote the interests of their own manufacturers and traders should be extended to the merchants and traders of India. They are struggling for their existence; though unfortunately their symptom of life is misunderstood and their activity misinterpreted. It is unjust not to give her people the same rights and powers to make laws relating to their commerce and trade as are given to the other members of the Empire. The people of India in spite of recurring famines, periodical plagues and ever-increasing poverty are working heroically to keep body and soul together. Do away with those laws that are detrimental to the industries of the country; give the people an adequate share in the making of laws for tariffs and commerce; let the future commercial policy of India be framed and shaped with the aid of the people themselves and if then the country does not progress commercially, the people may be blamed, but not until then.

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AS AN INDIAN SEES AMERICA—V :

The Seamy side of American Politics.

By Mr. Saint Nihal Sing.

THE manner in which political posts are doled out in the United States may be illustrated by a concrete example. In an Illinois town recently visited by the writer, a town of considerable size and activity, there is a Post Office in charge of the Federal Government of the United States. This Post Office does considerable business. Four mails are received and four mails go out on each week day and the office employs several rural free delivery carriers. One day the writer noticed an old, decrepit man, paralysed and ready to sink into the grave, being wheeled in a chair to the Post Office. This man had been in this condition for a number of years. On enquiry the writer learned that the paralytic was the Postmaster and had held his office for several consecutive four-year terms. The Government paid him Rs. 3,000 a year to conduct his duties as Postmaster of the town; but the man, being utterly incapable of doing anything, had hired a girl at Rs. 21 a week, who served as an excellent substitute. While this poor, voteless woman toiled and moiled at a poor pittance, the favourite of the Republican party, worthy of nothing but a berth in the State asylum, pocketed a munificent salary, because he had a great influence upon the voters of the town. The Post Offices of the United States really constitute the pickings of the Congressmen. The Postmaster is named on recommendation of the Congressman from that District. It happens, therefore, that if a man is of personal use to the Congressman, he is placed in the Post Office and kept there so long as his usefulness to the congressman continues.

It would be unfair to score the Republican Party and make it appear that the Democratic party is its superior. Both are on a par with the other, so far as graft goes.

Despite their blatant expressions to the contrary, Americans are poor weaklings, far from perfect. The American city may be a storm centre where democracy is buffeting with plutocracy; Americans may be doing all in their power to fight privilege and establish a from of government that will be fair to all; but, so far, plutocracy has held dominant sway in the country and to-day the money-power stalks the land with brazen impudence. The

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business of the lawyer is supposed to be to teach the man with money how to evade the law. The barrister, with his whetted cunning, shows how far the criminally-inclined moneyed-man can go, and where he needs must stop. The judge seems to be on the bench for the purpose of declaring illegal and unconstitutional a law passed by the legislature—a ruling issued by another judge—which unfavourably reacts on the trust that has bought him to grant the special privilege the money-kings demand. We may sympathize with the American who is endeavouring to force the plutocrat to get off his back. We may give him our moral support. But we will not be bullied into the belief that his country is democratised thoroughly, and that the administration has successfully carried into effect the principle: "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none."

We are simpletons—we Indians. We put too high a premium on what the foreigner says. An outlander comes along and in a blustering, conceited manner tells us that our country has the corruptest police—the corruptest public officials—in the world. Like fools we take up the refrain and begin to sing it a little more vociferously. But, if we were to examine the situation, we will more than likely learn that the foreigner, himself, lives in a glass house, and the best thing for us to do is to warn him to give up throwing stones. I have seen our own municipal elections and have heard, *ad infinitum, ad nauseatum*, that the Indian voter is open to bribery. I have taken up the refrain and sung it myself, dressing it up after the fashion of a newspaper-writer and singing it in a louder key. But I have had the opportunity of seeing a little bit of the world, not with the eyes somebody else has loaned me, but studying at first-hand the truth about conditions in other countries. I have seen the American exercising his voting rights. When I compare the voting conditions in my own country with those prevailing in the professedly most republicanized country in the world, I do not feel that I should hide my face for shame.

The intelligent American usually ascribes the irregularities at polling places to the foreign element settled in America. He points out in holy indignation that the men who hail from Russia Poland, Italy, Greece, etc., are, for the most part, the refuse of the lands from which they come. The immigration laws of the country are not stringent enough, nor are the laws regulating

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the grant of citizenship intelligent and strict enough to keep undesirable aliens out of the land in the first place, and prevent them from becoming voters in the second. This apology for vote manipulation is, in a measure, true and just, since the vote-buyer finds the low-grade immigrants who, in the eyes of the law, are citizens of the United States, but yet are far from being real Americans, extremely susceptible to the influence of money.

Graft in America, however, cannot be solely attributed to the delinquency of the foreign element. Children born and bred in the United States are inspired to be patriotic. In the schools the little folks are solemnly made to swear an oath of which the following is a type :

I do solemnly swear that when I am old enough to vote I will always defend the honor of the flag at the ballot box ; that I will never sell my vote or buy the vote of another or permit the election laws to be broken if I can prevent the same; that I will not remain silent if I know of dishonesty in public affairs, but that I will put forth every effort to have the guilty public official exposed and punished; that I will always remember that first of all I am an American citizen, whose duty it is to place the welfare of my country above selfish greed or personal ambition. In this way I pledge myself to keep our flag unsullied.

Despite all these attempts to train the citizens of America, the lure of the dollar is so great in the country that born Americans are susceptible to the influence. Americans are so grossly materialistic and so money-mad that the vote manipulator finds it an easy task to bribe voters to vote as he desires them, for officials whom he bribes in turn to give him what he wants from the public crib.

When it is about time for municipal elections in an American city, a curious thing happens. About two months previous to the election day the wards begin to appear more populous. As soon as they arrive, the newcomers go to the place of registration and register their names on the books which contain the names of men who are eligible to vote for aldermen to be elected from the ward, and other city officials. When this newly arrived population is analysed it is learned that all the newcomers are men ; that all belong to the "hobo" class—that is to say, they are ne'er-do-weels, tramps who steal rides on railway cars, beg food to eat, and stealthily sleep in cow barns on straw-heaps. These men are imported—"colonized". They will be fed and lodged at the expense of the alderman to be, or at that of the plutocrats who are anxious to elect their tool to the city council, so that their interests will be

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safe-guarded. A two months' residence in the precinct entitles a man to vote—this is true in almost every large American city—and the votes of these "hobos," in the eyes of the law, are legal. In Chicago previous to the presiding election last Fall, investigators declared that they could turn up 2,000 such illegal voters in the river wards of the North and West sides. This would be but a drop in the bucket compared to the number of imported votes in the whole city. Thus money makes the mare go. Money elects the alderman and usually the alderman gets money enough to enrich himself and become a gentleman of leisure during a single term.

It is almost an utter impossibility for a foreigner to thoroughly comprehend the crooked devices employed by Americans at the ballot box. The American brain is preculiarly fitted to devise schemes that will fulfil the letter of the law and still attain the unrighteous end of the politician and the plutocrat back of him; and it is only the American brain that can sound the depths of such frauds. But even a foreigner cannot but see the iniquitous results of these frauds. The keeper of liquor shops, gambling houses and brothels bribes the police and other public servants with whom he is concerned, and thus is enabled to keep these establishments of infamy in a really illegal manner, to contaminate and destroy youth and to slide the criminally-inclined down the steep, smooth hill of degeneration. The town prohibits the sale of liquor; but an ingenius American restaurant-keeper hits upon a novel plan to evade the letter of the law. Whiskey is sold in sandwiches. Beer is sold in bottles labelled "Non-intoxicating beer." The law says that the saloons shall be shut on Sundays. The Mayor of the town interprets this law to mean that all liquior shops shall keep their front doors shut and their front windows shaded by opaque blinds. But the traffic in liquor goes on—a little more briskly on the Lord's day than on week days. The back door is left ajar and people go through it into the saloon who never would dare to pass through the front door. The inside of the saloon is brightly lit. Rioting, carousing, card games are the order of the day. Many a woman is wrecked in the wine room. Many a young man yields his life and prospects into the hands of an unscrupulous woman. This happens on the Sabbath as well as week day, day and night, ceaselessly, and the hands

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of the people who would do everything in their power to alter the infamous system are tied by those who manipulate the votes of the simpleton-people of America, and they can do nothing to check the tide of crime and illegality.

Once in a while a good man gets into office. He is God-fearing, conscientious, with the desire to promote the good of the public surging in his heart. He gets into office despite the vote-manipulator—despite the trusts and the vested interests opposed to his election. The odds are against him, however. If he has been elected on a party ticket, the party masters demand of him things that he cannot conscientiously do. He may choose to, listen to the scruples of his conscience on pain of losing his job, since the angered party will not nominate him again. If he runs on a ticket independent of the parties he must fight the political organizations of the land. The vast resources of the parties will be leagued against him. He has little chance to succeed.

There is a man in Denver, Colorado, a just, good man. The whole world knows him and admires his work. Judge Ben B. Lindsey has perfected the fabric of the Juvenile Court—a social agency fraught with dynamic good. The intelligent world loves the man and it is but meet and proper that his own people should retain him in his post of Juvenile Court Judge and get the benefit of his ability in a position for which Judge Lindsey is peculiarly inclined and gifted. But the Judge is too conscientious to ally himself with the corrupt parties. He will have nothing to do with the dirty-linen washing, nor will he accept the tainted support of the keeper of a saloon and brothel, or use the money begotten of crime to help him retain his position at the forthcoming elections. He is an independent, conscience-guided man. Therefore, the plutocrats do not want him—the vote-manipulators do not aid him. He has sought to exterminate saloons and houses of ill-fame where young men and young women buy tickets to perdition ; and these interests are opposed to his election. The sequel of the matter is that every effort was made to defeat this man who was so pre-eminently fitted to be Jugde of the Juvenile Court. In a recent personal letter Judge Lindsey wrote to me :—

I am just in the middle of a political campaign, running on an independent ticket for Juvenile Judge. The machines of both parties (Republican and Democratic) are against me, also the liquor and dive element.*** I was

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not nominated on either of the old party tickets for Juvenile Judge. Ninety per cent. of the people are for me, but under the present ballot law, it will be a hard matter to get enough votes to elect me.

What a shameless state of affairs does the letter of Judge Linsey exhibit! The parties in the infamous election of 1904 had so manipulated affairs that Judge Lindsey's election in the Spring was declared void, and it became necessary for him to run again in the Fall. Public meetings were being arranged in his behalf and little private committees organized to sway public interest to vote for Judge Linsey when, to his amazement, several days prior to the next convention the "henchmen" who did the bidding of the Republican boss, stated to the newspapers that there would be opposition to his nomination. He was sent for by William G. Evans, the political boss, who said to him: "It will not be necessary for you to organize your friends; there seems to be no use (and he smiled) for us to fight you and we have decided to nominate you when the convention meets next week." Judge Lindsey thanked the boss for his consideration and immediately abandoned all precautions such as women's meetings, which had won him a decided victory before. Two days before the convention met Judge Lindsey was dumbfounded to hear from a friend that the word was being quietly sent "down the line" to nominate another man for country and Juvenile Court Judge. When he became convinced of the double-dealing of which he was the victim, he gave the story to a Denver daily paper, which printed it, covering the entire first page, under the head-line "Treachery." On the morning of the convention Judge Linsey decided to go into the convention and "fight like hell," as he notified the Republican boss he proposed to do. He faught and won. The convention fight was declared to be one of the most dramatic that ever has occured in American politics; but in this case public opinion was so strong that the bosses were forced to give in and nominate him on the regular ticket. He won.

The case has been gone into somewhat in detail, because it shows, better than words, the methods that are used in defeating a good man whom the people really want, because his nomination and election would be prejudicial to the interests of trusts. Judge Lindsey has never been forgiven by the party magnates, and now, when he runs for office, he is forced to run on an independent ticket.

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A CONVERSATION ON CURRENT INDIAN TOPICS.

By A "Parsee Publicist".

I HAPPENED to make a somewhat long stay in a hotel in a large and flourishing Indian city with a wealthy and influential European population. My presence in the hotel was not objectionable to the European residents. They had their prejudices against Asiatics, but all along I was treated by them on terms of equality. I noticed soon after my arrival a well-groomed young Indian in up-to-date English dress with pleasant manners mix freely, and discuss with non-chalance various current topics of the day with Europeans who were anxious to learn what an Indian had to say on subjects which would in no small degree reflect on the character and reputation of the rulers of this country.

One warm October night I saw the Indian sitting after dinner on the hotel verandah with a small book in hand, and intently poring over it. I thought the book in his hand was some work on politics, but looking at it carefully from the place where I was, I found that it was a monograph on Whistler—that dandified, hidalgic artist of the Victorian years. A few minutes later he was joined by a man who appeared to be on the shady side of sixty, and had all the outward appearance of a Bhagdad Jew, but revealed himself to be a Christian Turk. The young Indian and the weather-beaten old Turk were evidently great friends, and got on together very well. The sparkling wit and the inexhaustible fund of Oriental wisdom of the latter were much appreciated by the former, who seldom uttered a note of discord to mar the conversation except when the subject of discussion was Indian politics. Not many minutes had passed before these two were joined by two other individuals. The one was a short, clean-shaven Englishman in the P. W. D., and the other was a thin, tale, sunburnt Scotchman. Both were smokers, but smoked in moderation. The quartette very soon began to discuss politics. I pulled a chair, took the *Pioneer* in hand, and settled down on the verandah with ears wide open, and in less than a minute got myself interested in what was transpiring.

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The silent Scotchman mumbled a word or two with a pipe in his mouth, and before he had the opportunity of making himself properly heard the impatient Turk said :—

(Turk.) "Give the Indians what they want and the English will starve."

(Indian.) "You are doing injustice to the English. They are a resourceful race, and are bound to get on well even if India obtained self-government like other independent parts of the Europe."

(Englishman.) "But Indians will make a mess of the whole thing if self-government is granted to them."

(I.) "Who wants self-government in a ready-made tabloid form? No sane Indian wants everything at once. What he says is 'make an honest beginning in a spirit of true liberalism always having in mind a self-governing India in the end."

The Scotchman whose pipe was still in his mouth was calm and undisturbed, and when he had his say he disclosed no small ignorance of Indian hopes and aspirations.

(Scotchman.) "I fail to see what they want."

(T.) Indignantly "To make Surendranath Bannerji the Viceroy of India. By God! I wouldn't live in such an India."

(I.) With a smile, "you would when the time came. But no one wants an Indian Viceroy."

(S.) "And are we to leave bag and baggage?"

(E.) "What about the English capital invested in this country?"

(I.) Why need you leave India? Haven't you largely invested in railways and mines in other countries and the colonies?"

(E.) "But the government departments now controlled by us would suffer if all Indians were employed."

(I.) "In what way? I may mention to you here that you are now running away with something else. We are on the question of English capital."

(E.) "The Indians haven't sufficient ability to manage their affairs."

(I.) "Yes, from your point of you. You can't confine yourself to the issue before us. The Germans think you are inefficient. Would you allow them to take charge of your government offices suppose you were convinced of their superiority."

(S.) "No, certainly not."

(I.) "The other day you were talking of the corrupt practices of the Americans. Why don't you cross the Atlantic to eradicate the evil?"

(E.) "But look what we have done for India."

(I.) "I confess I can't argue with you. You jump from one point to another. In this way we shan't come to any definite conclusion."

(T.) "You Indians couldn't have introduced railways, telegraphs and the postal service. In my country the postal service is bad, and you can't travel in comfort and safety as you do here."

(I.) "I admit that railways have largely assisted in circulating and equalising the value of the produce of this country, but in pushing them hurriedly when they were working at a loss the interests of English capitalists

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and merchants were principally taken into account. It is notorious that the railways have been extravagantly made. Sir John Lawrence condemned the extravagance of Indian railways in the strongest terms. The extension of railways ought to have been left entirely to private enterprise without a guarantee."

(S.) "What do you mean by 'Guarantee' ?"

(I.) "You have been in this country pretty long to know what it means."

(E.) "The Indian Government guarantees to pay a certain fixed rate of interest to English capitalists in the event of loss suffered by the railway company."

(I.) "When we turn from railways to the subjects of irrigation works and education we turn from unwise extravagance to equalled unwise niggardliness. The schemes of Sir Arthur Cotton, the champion of irrigation, were never previously considered. He was looked upon as a visionary and a crank."

(S) "You condemn railways, but how could you send European goods in the interior of India ?"

(I.) "I don't condemn railways. From what you say it's clear that you want railways in India at the expense of the taxpayer to dump European goods in Indian markets and crush indigenous industries."

(S.) "Your country can't manufacture anything."

(I.) Do you know that one of the blessings of the present foreign rule is to make India absolutely dependent upon European countries for manufactured articles. Indian manufactures have been superseded by British principally since 1814. You people certainly can't be proud of your rule if facts and figures go to prove how India has been impoverished by the most vexatious system of duties imposed for favouring the mother-country. The people are conscious of their helplessness, and they have now, rather late in the day, resorted to *Swadeshiism*. The Government did not enconrage native industries in the past and never for one moment thought of spreading technical education in the country."

(E.) "You are rather hard on us."

(I.) Plain speaking is often unpleasant. You are not angels but human beings like ourselves. You want to make as much money out of India as possible. Any other alien rule would have done just the same, but two wrongs don't make one right. An Englishman put it very honestly in one of his hebdomadal causeries in an Anglo-Indian newspaper that the Government of India was a purely business concern, and that it was not worked on philanthropic lines, that no Englishman would stay in India for a day if he could make as much in his own country. I quite agree with him. You remember the well-known dictum of Macaulay that the heaviest of all yokes is the foreign yoke. We Indians are endeavouring to lessen its weight by asking Government to steadily grant rights and privileges which are at present the monopoly of the ruling race."

The Turk could not control himself and at once trotted out an idea uppermost in his mind with an air of supreme import-

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ance. He had spent the best part of his life with Anglo-Indians belonging to the Upper Ten and was very much inclined towards them. He wanted India to be kept under a strong Anglo-Indian rule, but not a rule of the Swashbuckler.

(T.) "The people ought not to be educated so much. They become insolent and 'gad about' a good deal."

(I.) "You are utterly mistaken in your views. It is the want of proper education that makes some behave recklessly. You can't stem the tide of education. It is the sacred duty of Government to see that higher education is made cheap and primary education free. There ought to be a larger number of science institutes and technical schools and colleges. You want a man like Sir George Clarke, the Governor of Bombay for this. The principals and professors should work with more interest and show less aloofness. It is regrettable that in some Arts Colleges maintained by Government the European staff does not take much interest in the boys. They seem to imagine that eight or ten hours' teaching per week is all that is wanted from them. Things are worked differently in private colleges at Benares and Aligarh."

(E.) "Don't you think we could put an end to discontent by stopping higher education."

(I.) "You could not do that now. It's a mistake to suppose that education is the sole cause of the present state of restlessness. There was education ten years ago but not so much discontent."

(T.) "The English ought to say 'martial law and no damned nonsense.'"

(I.) "It would be driving sedition underground. And no Anglo-Indian with a sane head on his shoulders would ever think of smashing the hydra headed monster of sedition with any weapon of war. That may be the practice in Turkey, but Anglo-Indian rule with its faults is better than the late Turkish despotism.

The short tempered Turk was hurt to the quick, and began to show signs of departure, but the Indian soothed him by asking him to take his armchair and give up an uncomfortable bentwood chair in which he was seated. The Englishman as was his wont called for a half whisky and soda. He offered drinks to others, but both the Turk and the Indian thanked him saying that they were not used to whisky and soda. The silent Scotchman had a small dose of "Highland Cream" to keep company with the Englishman, and the four once more picked up the thread of their piquant interchange of sentiments.

(E.) "You want your own men to be consulted by Government. I doubt whether it is always possible."

(I.) "You are unwilling to listen to our men lest they would say some brutal truths which would be unpleasant to you. Take for instance the burden of £ 300,000 per annum imposed on the Indian Exchequer in the recent readjustment of the army charges. We don't know by what system of mathematics this figure was arrived at. Our men were never consulted,

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and we shall always remain in the dark about this mysterious military charge. The announcement in the House of Commons that the report of the Romer Commission will not be placed on the table will give rise to suspicion in the minds of educated classes that there is something in the report which if disclosed would show that India has been unjustly and unfairly treated. And the reasons given for the enhancement of the charges are such as to make a cat laugh."

(E.) "Yes, I think this secrecy is bound to dissatisfy some people. I dare say there is nothing done to prejudice Indian interests."

(I.) "Then why not let us have a look at the committee's report?"

(E.) "Oh, I don't know."

(I.) The British rule in India is not an unmixed blessing. The people don't positively hate it, but at the same time they don't love it inasmuch as you want to reign and not govern India. Unless the policy of your rule leads to '*India for the Indians*,' your rule will not be popular. You ought in the interest of England to make India a *part* of the Empire and not keep it by a show of military force a mere *possession*. Your statesmen call India 'the brightest jewel in the Britisl Crown;' 'the pivot round which the Empire turns,' the most important limb of the 'Empire,' and all the rest of it, but they don't move their little finger to satisfy the legitimate demands of the people. The present Liberal Government is expected to do much towards pacifying the people, but when the much-talked of reforms come to be published they will not satisfy all. We shan't refuse what little we get, but your Anglo-Indians will grudge us the crumbs of the loaves which they now enjoy. India is on the threshold of a great political struggle which will grow in keenness with the growth of time. The people are bound to succeed in the end for they believe that truth and justice are on their side.

(E.) "Yes, the people's demands must be conceded slowly."

(I.) "Your endeavour must be to make India a contented, happy and prosperous country by a wise and sympathetic policy, and the co-operation of the educated classes. You will then find that the lustre of the British Empire will for centuries remain the admiration of the whole world. I think we have had not an unprofitable little discussion. We might go on for a few minutes more, but it's high time we went to bed to forget the worries of this work-a-day world."

(S.) "Well, let's see what we could do to make India more contented."

(I.) "You can do a lot if you choose. Good night."

The Indian and the Turk left the verandah at ten minutes past eleven. All through the conversation there prevailed a good bonhomie between the four, and it seemed to me that the Englishman was appreciably affected by what the Indian unhesitatingly and fearlessly said. The sunburnt Scotchman whose sunburntness was indicative of too much open air exercise could not closely follow all that was said, but he was not in any way unsympathetic towards the views advanced by the

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young Indian party. When all the four had departed I put the *Pioneer* back in its proper place with a firm belief that in India political consciousness had awakened, and that it would be an act of insanity on the part of the British to treat the people in a cavalier fashion.

In the management and control of the vast continent of India with its varying types of civilizations, the British have imposed upon themselves a task fraught with difficulties and danger which some of them are now beginning to realise. It is much to be regretted that they shut their eyes to the teachings of history and allow themselves to be coaxed into the belief that the best doctrine to govern India is the doctrine of *laisser-faire*. Full fifty years ago when the Crown cheerfully accepted the Indian administration from the hands of the East India Company, a note of warning was sounde ' by some who prophetically dived into the future that the deaf, dumb and blind millions will one day find in the educated classes their sturdy champions, and with the spread of education the ideas of liberty and equality will filter through the different strata of society till they reached the humblest and the most neglected, and therefore the most easily combustible materials. The Universities turned out every year scores of diplomaed young men in whom was kindled a desire to play some part in the administration of their country, but they soon discovered to their disappointment that the doors leading to higher appointments were jealously kept close for the benefit of what the late Lord Salisbury called "our boys." What was the object in starting university education and drumming into the heads of Indian youths the shibboleths of English economists and apostles of liberty such as Mill and Burke if not to train them, and make them fit to accept the responsibilities and duties of governing their own country? There can be no doubt the educated classes form a fertile soil for the growth and spread of discontent and therefore it is to the interest of Great Britain to see that they are made to assist Government in maintaining the fabric of the British Indian Empire, for it is the educated men who have to be considered, and to them an alien rule is not and cannot be a rule without prodigious rawbacks.

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VIEWS AND REVIEWS.

Gladstone: His Life and Work *

By Mr. H. Osman Newland.

I have served under several Prime Ministers, men for whom I had high respect and to whom I had the greatest attachment, but I can say that I never knew one who showed a finer temper, a greater patience, or more consideration for his colleagues than Mr. Gladstone in all deliberations on any important subject. In his official position, with his knowledge, with his ability, and with the wonderful power of work that characterises him, he has, of course, an immense influence on the deliberations of the cabinet, but notwithstanding his tenacity of purpose and his earnestness, it is quite extraordinary how he attends to the arguments of all, and, except on any question of real vital principle, he is ready to yield his own opinion to the general sense of the colleagues over whom he presides.

SUCH was the tribute of Lord Granville in 1883 to the nineteenth century statesman who is commonly supposed to have been the tyrant of his cabinets, ruling by his inflexible personality, and persuading the masses by a stormy and almost ungovernable eloquence. But greater still is the encomium on the "Grand Old Man" of English politics,—as he has been fondly termed by his supporters and admirers —in the volumes which lie before us, penned by the able lieutenant of his later policy, John Morley.

To attempt to depict a genius of such versatility, a statesman who held the office of Prime Minister in Britain for a longer period than any other in the extended reign of Queen Victoria, a man whose vicissitudes of opinion, endless surprises, and a strange blending of qualities seldom found together, made him an enigma to many, and an idol to more—this is indeed a Herculean task which few would attempt, or attempting, could possibly succeed, as John Morley has done. One could almost wish that so excellent a biographer, so scientific a critic, so artistic, simple, and dignified a writer could have remained longer as a member of the opposition instead of being called to office, that the republic of letters might be further enriched with such gems of literature. Nor can we, in passing, refrain from extolling the public spirit and lofty enterprise of Messrs. Edward Lloyd, the publishers of the present popular edition of this biography, in placing within the reach of the masses so comprehensive a sketch of the most conservative of English Liberal statesmen.

William Ewart Gladstone was born at 62, Rodney St., Liverpool, December 29th, 1809, and came from a north country family which

* *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone.* By John Morley (now Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India). Popular Edition 2 Vols. Edward Lloyd, London, 5s. net.

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settled in Scotland after the Restoration. His father, John Gladstone, was a successful merchant who, besides a large East Indian trade, owned plantations in the West Indies, which happened to be the centre of the slave rising in 1823. This slave outbreak, and the death of its missionary John Smith was the "beginning of the end" of Slavery. John Gladstone was a member of Parliament at the time, and was naturally plunged into the heat of the controversy raised by Wilberforce whom the Gladstones regarded as "a well-meaning but mistaken man." When the emancipation came, John Gladstone received over £75,000 for 1609 slaves, although it was estimated that a slave was worth about £114 between the years 1822 and 1830. At that time even deeply religious people thought nothing of being slave-holders, and many of them would point the anti-slavery politicians,—and not without reason—to the fearful white slavery at home. William Gladstone was brought up in such a home. He himself has shown us some glimpses of his early life in his diaries and letters. "I was not," he says, "a devotional child. I have no recollection of early love for the House of God and for divine service, neither was I a popular boy. If I was not a bad boy, I was a boy with a great absence of goodness." His tutor did not influence him and his days at Eton were without great incident or merit, although his letters home are marked with much affection. The first inklings of future greatness in Gladstone appear during the latter part of his University career, in his brilliant contributions to the debates at the Oxford Union, particularly that on Reform (May 17th, 1831). When Gladstone sat down, one of his contemporaries wrote:—"We all of us felt that an epoch in our lives had occurred."

After taking his bachelor degree (January 26th, 1832) he set off for the usual European tour which forms the finishing touch of the educational epoch of the upper classes; and while at Milan he received the offer of a seat at Newark, in the gift of the Duke of Newcastle. His first election addresses are interesting when we remember his subsequent career. Briefly, they advocated correction of the poor laws, a dignified and impartial foreign policy, union of church and state, non-emancipation of slaves until Christian instruction had fitted them for it, adequate remuneration of labour, and allotment of college grounds. Although Gladstone was seeking a Tory seat, it will be noticed that in the first and the two last points there is already a slight indication of revolt against extreme Toryism, and of sympathy for the oppressed or brow-beaten derived from Canning, whose influence, Gladstone himself admits, "governed the politics of my childhood and youth."

Gladstone was returned at the head of the poll. On June 3rd, 1833, he made his first lengthy speech in Parliament, in defence of his

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father's slave plantations. In it he looked forward to the emancipation of the slaves by a slow and gradual process, lest without a prepared education for liberty the freed slave might be his own worst enemy. The speech was a great success; but compared with his future policy, his early voting in the House seems extraordinary. He was against the admission of Jews into Parliament, although later he recommended a Jew for a peerage. He opposed the admission of dissenters without a test to the Universities, although later in life he became their idolised leader. He voted against a property tax, and the repeal of the Corn Laws, against the publication of the division lists, shorter Parliaments, repeal of house and window taxes, abolition of military and naval sinecures, abolition of flogging in the army except for mutiny and drunkenness, and against voting by ballot; almost all of these being subsequently carried by his own Government. Yet his mind and feelings even at this time, were humane and sympathetic, for we read in his diary at this period "Had to kill a wounded partridge, and felt as if I had shot an albatross." "Saw Highland women with babies carrying heavy loads. Ah! with what labour does a large portion of mankind subsist, while we fare sumptuously every day."

In December 1834, Gladstone received his first appointment to the Treasury; a few months later when only twenty-five years of age he was Under-Secretary for the Colonies in Peel's administration and in 1843 President of the Board of Trade with a seat in the cabinet. His experiences in office, led him to modify many of his views. Lord John Russell was able to commend him for his liberal treatment of colonial matters in 1837; and he stood by Sir Robert Peel in his Corn Law Reforms, and by the general policy of that minister for many years after Peel had ceased to live.

The history of the split in the Conservative party at that time was somewhat analogous to that at the present time. There were Unionist Free Traders and Unionist Protectionists; and the latter managed to capture the party after Peel's death, although when they came into power they dropped their Protectionist schemes, as the Tariff Reformers will doubtless do in the next Parliament. The Peelites made a coalition with the Liberals,—as it is being suggested the Unionist Free Traders of to-day should do,—and Gladstone became Chancellor of the Exchequer of the coalition party in 1853.

When President of the Board of Trade he had endeavoured to bring about the public acquisition of the railways, then beginning to be the principal means of communication in England; and, in his Railway Act of 1844, he not only secured the definite provision for cheap workmen's trains, but reserved to the State the full right of intervention, and option of purchase at the end of a certain term at twenty-five years'

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purchase of the divisible profits. Now, a Chancellor of the Exchequer, he boldly swept away many duties on necessaries, and lowered many others, while increasing the duty on spirits, and extending the income tax and the legacy duty. His colleagues in the cabinet were frightened; but Gladstone's oratory carried the day and won congratulations from the Queen and the Prince Consort. His second budget in 1860, repealing the paper duty, increasing the income tax, establishing the commercial treaty between England and France, by which England abolished all duties on manufactured articles and reduced those on wine and brandy—was no less successful. His fame as financier resounded throughout Europe, and it rested not so much upon his oratory as upon his unswerving faith in certain fixed aims. "The state thrives best," said he, "which dives deepest down in the mass of the community and adapts its arrangements to the wants of the greatest number...To benefit the labouring classes and to do the maximum of good, it is not enough to operate upon the articles consumed by them; you should rather operate on the articles that give them the maximum of employment."

In 1866 Gladstone was Leader of the House of Commons; in 1867 he introduced his Reform Bill to extend the franchise. His party was defeated; and his brilliant but less scrupulous opponent, Mr. Disraeli, carried a Bill almost identical in character the following year. In 1868 Gladstone became Prime Minister; and the Liberal or Gladstonian party, as it was often called, dominated the country for several years, returning with a renewed lease of power in 1873. Its most notable efforts during that time were the Disestablishment of the Irish Church and the Bill of 1870 for free and compulsory education.

Of Gladstone's later work, his further extension of the franchise in 1884 to its present basis, his foreign policy,—especially his sentimental attitude against Turkey and his vacillating wars in Egypt and South Africa—and his "Home Rule for Ireland" measures,—all these are matters more of contemporary history. The ashes of controversy on these matters are still hot, and it is difficult to speak or judge of them without a bias. John Morley himself recognises that he cannot be indifferently neutral in a work produced in a spirit of loyal and affectionate remembrance and certainly he glosses over the policy of evacuation in Egypt and of disaster in the Transvaal. He regards with equanimity Gladstone's colonial policy, especially as regards Canada which he was apparently quite willing to sacrifice to the United States; he recognizes, it is true, the paradoxes of and the discrepancies between the two Home Rule bills of 1886 and 1892; but he perceives no lack of political sagacity in thrusting for the second time before an unwilling people, a bill, the far-reaching results of which might divide and segregate the peoples of the British Islands.

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Nor does India receive much notice in this political biography written by her Secretary of State. Scarcely more than half a dozen references of a few sentences in length are made to Indian affairs throughout the two volumes; and the comparison between the Government of Ireland and India is not altogether one that can be appreciated or understood. "India" he says, "has on the whole been governed with a pretty full perception of its differences from England; Ireland is governed by an absentee parliament." Still, this biography is a monument of literary skill, careful judgment, and quick perception of the secret strength of the Grand Old Man of the nineteenth century in England. The biographer and lieutenant of Gladstone cannot sympathise with his old colleague and master in matters ecclesiastical or spiritual, but he is quick to recognize that in William Gladstone "political life was only part of his religious life. It was religion that prompted his literary life. It was religious motive that through a thousand avenues and channels stirred him and guided him in his whole conception of active social duty... His political career might seem doubtful but there was no doubt about the man. Habitually he strove for the lofty uplands where political and moral ideas meet." Added to the religious temperament, his biographer continues, "he was born with a frame of steel. Though he often knew fatigue and weariness he was seldom ill." Last but not least in his composition was strength and steadfastness of will. "When asked what he regarded as his master secret, he always said concentration." Such was the man and such his career. Both are eloquently depicted in this masterly book; and not the least pathetic and eloquent is the story of his last days, the tribute of home and foreign statesmen, and the picture of the solitary figure of his wife at the head of the grave. Many statesmen have left perhaps more glorious memorials of their work behind them, but few have so ingrained themselves in the institutions of their country or impressed upon the State so vividly their own personality.

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THE BOOK OF THE MONTH: WOODROFFE AND AMIR ALI'S CIVIL PROCEDURE.*

By Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, M. A., LL.D.

GOOD wine, according to an old saying, needs no bush, and a good book, in the same way, needs no praise from a reviewer. Messrs. Woodroffe and Amir Ali require no 'booming,' whenever they appear as authors, and we should have dispensed with the customary courtesy of a review of their book, were it not that the new Code has brought in its train quite a surfeit of commentaries—each claiming for itself 'unequalled merit.' The conservative instincts of the profession will, however, prefer to rely upon writers whose reputation is already made and who have established their claim upon the allegiance of the profession. Messrs. Woodroffe and Amir Ali may, therefore, well count upon a warm reception of their new book by the profession. Their high judicial position, added to their reputation as scholars and the ability and skill which they have always displayed in their work—joint or separate—ought to be a sufficient guarantee for the real utility of their commentary upon the new Code of Civil Procedure. But it is not merely an assumption of this character that leads us to welcome the book. We have carefully examined the general plan of the commentary and read a large number of the notes by the learned writers, and we can safely say that their high reputation is well-sustained and that as their book on the Law of Evidence has come to occupy the position of the standard work on the subject, so will the present volume take its place among the large number of commentaries that have been published.

The new Code is, as pointed out by the learned commentators, to a large extent what it was. At the same time amendments of considerable importance have been made, and these have been printed in italics so as to attract the notice of the reader at once. The amendments which have been made, have been dealt with historically, that is to say, the learned writers have given not only literary exposition but they have also taken care to state in the case of each amendment the differences of judicial opinion or other causes which led to it, and the difficulties which the Legislature intends to remove by enacting it. As regards precedents, some 9,470 have been referred to in the book, and the learned authors have, whenever necessary, given English rulings.

* *Civil Procedure in British India:* A Commentary on Act V of 1908. By John George Woodroffe, M. A., B. C. L., and Ameer Ali, Syed, M. A., C.I.E. (Thacker, Spink & Co.; Calcutta and Simla.) 1908. Price Rs. 24.

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It is, however, to be regretted that the area of selection has been limited in India to the Indian Law Reports or the older reports—with the natural exception in favour of the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* and the *Calcutta Law Journal* among the current reports. Such important legal publications as the *Madras Law Journal*, the *Bombay Law Reporter* and the *Allahabad Law Journal*, might well have been utilized. The Punjab Reports too might well have been pressed into service. The reader will find constant references to Mr. Hukam Chand's well-known treatises, but what he will not appreciate is the reference to the cases noted in O'Kinealey's *Code of Civil Procedure*. The practising lawyer would like the book to be self-sufficient in this respect, though it would necessarily involve an increase in the bulk of it. This, however, does not mean that there should be no discrimination allowed to a commentator and that he is bound to crowd his pages with references to rulings of all sorts and varying degrees of soundness.

The annual output of our Courts is truly appalling, and the best of memories must at times despair of bearing the pressure which is put upon it by every issue of law reports and law journals. For one thing the tendency to depend upon precedents, when a correct and courageous apprehension of principle alone should suffice, is to be much deplored. It is impairing, if it has not already killed, in many lawyers vigorous originality and correct reasoning and the modern lawyer who wants an authority for everything, however simple, is a long way removed from his ancestors of an earlier generation, who breathed a freer atmosphere and who could fight their cases upon their own innate strength. It is the same in England as in India. Anything like the celebrated argument of Sir Samuel Romilly in *Huguenin v. Baseley*, to which succeeding generations of lawyers have attached all the weight of a judicial pronouncement, is as difficult to expect at the present day in the pages of English reports, as it is difficult to expect in the pages of an Indian report anything like the argument of great Indian lawyers, who argued some well-known cases reported in the earlier reports. Truly, we live in days of reflected glory. At the same time it is difficult to see how it can be otherwise. Anglo-Indian law is in its essence English law and it is notorious that English law is pre-eminently judge-made law. The acceptance of the continental view of judicial precedents must mark a revolution in the entire English legal system, but that revolution is much beyond our ken, and till then we can only hope that the dictates of commensense may be allowed to have at least as much chance as the injunctions of the instincts of 'the trained and case-hardened lawyer.' Our authors have done well in entering a protest, albeit a mild one, against making a fetish of 'procedure' in this country. It is worthy of note

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that even in entering this protest, they have had to fortify themselves by reference to high judicial authority. For, they quote the following dictum of Lord Penzance: "Procedure is but the machinery of the law after all—the channel and means whereby law is administered and justice reached. It strangely departs from its proper office when, in place of facilitating, it is permitted to obstruct and even extinguish legal rights, and is thus made to *govern* when it ought to *subserve*."

What striking results may flow from overlooking this wholesome view may best be illustrated by a reference to the enormous mass of case-law that had gathered round the provisions of section 244 of the old Code, which substantially corresponds to section 47 of the present Code. Whether an auction-purchaser was the representative of the decree-holder or the judgment-debtor, or both or neither, was alone a question which vexed the ingenuity of a number of Judges in every Court. Whether an auction-purchaser who had failed to obtain actual possession over the property purchased could seek to recover possession as against the judgment-debtor, by proceeding under that section or by a regular suit, seemed to defy all unanimity on the part of Judges, and now that the Allahabad High Court has since the publication of the book had a chance of delivering its opinion on the question, we find that it has not been able to secure unanimity among its members. It is obvious that an unsophisticated auction-purchaser who has paid good money for a property, does not care at all, whether he gets possession under section 244 or by regular suit, so long as he gets possession anyhow. It is not difficult to conceive that many an auction-purchaser has never obtained possession at all, though he has paid the King's coin for the property. You may quote any number of Latin maxims and Indian rulings to establish his fault, to prove that he ought to have known better and acted more quickly, but you cannot meet his simple question—"Did I purchase *through you* property or botheration? Give me my property and then you can fight out over correct procedure." We are glad to note that Messrs. Woodroffe and Ameer Ali have presented their notes upon this troublesome section fully, lucidly and carefully. It is to be hoped that the sound advice of Lord Penzance will be followed more consistently in this country by our Courts, more specially as their hands have been strengthened by the addition of a new section. We refer to section 151 which says "nothing in this case shall be deemed to limit or otherwise affect the inherent power of the Court to make such orders as may be necessary for the ends of justice or to prevent abuse of the process of the Court."

The provisions the old Code regarding the execution of decrees have been very carefully revised by the Legislature, but it is too

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early to say whether the changes enacted in the new Code will fulfil the expectations formed. Be that as it may, we are glad to find that the learned commentators have spared no pains in making this part of their book really useful to the profession. Their notes to the new provisions regarding pleadings will also be found useful by *mofussil* practitioners. We cannot, however, be at all sure whether the readers will be satisfied with the treatment which the provisions relating to Arbitration have received in the book. We think that the mere fact that the Legislature has expressed its intention of shortly dealing with the subject afresh in a separate Act, should not have been allowed to stand in the way of a fuller treatment in this book. We have no doubt that a second edition will soon be called for, and that it will make good the deficiencies pointed out which, however, do not affect the general utility of the book. We have already said that the book, bearing as it does marks of scholarship, ability, lucid exposition and careful arrangement, will easily take the leading place among the commentaries on the new Code, and we may congratulate the learned authors upon the manner in which they have discharged their work. The publishers, Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., have also more than sustained their high reputation as publishers. The get-up and the general appearance of the book are quite in keeping with its substance.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE Government of England by Professor Lowell of the Harvard University (MacMillan & Co.) is, both owing to the fascination of the subject and the masterly treatment which has been accorded to it by the author, a book of unique interest not only to Englishmen but also to educated Indians. The fact of our connection with England and the knowledge that the political evolution of our country is to take place on democratic lines can not but make every intelligent and public-spirited Indian citizen take an interest in the Government of a country where Constitutional Government has attained highest perfection. "Measured," says Professor Lowell, "by the standards of duration, absence of violent commotions, maintenance of law and order, general prosperity and contentment of the people, and by the extent of its influence on the institutions and political thought of other lands, the English Government has been one of the most remarkable the world has ever known." And it is an account of this remarkable Government that Mr. Lowell gives us in his book, and it is but bare justice to say that his two volumes are as lucid and interesting as Mr. Bryce's *American Commonwealth*. The American author displays as much sympathy, knowledge and mastery of detail in dealing with the British Monarchy as the British author displayed in discussing the American Republic. The different sections of Professor Lowell's book deal with (1) The Central Government, (2) The Party System, (3) The Local Government, (4) Education, (5) The Church, (6) The Empire and (7) The Courts of Law and the author is quite at home in the discussion of these different topics. His account is not only accurate and full but also impartial and dispassionate. Learned he certainly is, but he is the master, not the slave of his learning. The British constitution is no doubt illogical and Englishmen, as Professor Lowell remarks, "usually succeed in confounding utterly all general principles and making all general statements inaccurate." But this very illogicalness is one of its chief merits. It is impossible to read these pages without realising that the British Government is a living organism, cabinned and confined to some extent no doubt by precedent and tradition, but ever expanding and improving and always ready to respond to the call of its environment. It is this freedom and spontaniety which distinguishes it in such a remarkable manner from paper constitutions of many other countries, and its story, as told by Professor Lowell, is well worth the study of all thinking men. Professor Lowell's *Government of England* is a

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work of the highest merit and it will deservedly take rank with such political classics as Mr. Bryce's *American Commonwealth* or Mr. Bodley's *France*. We would strongly recommend that it may be prescribed as a text-book by our Universities.

The Government of India by Mr. Syam Sundar Das, B. A., of the Central Hindu College, Benares (Published by the Indian Press, Allahabad), is an attempt to do in a more improved and less controversial form what Sir William Lee-Warner attempted to do in his *Citizen of India*. This little book of 139 pages is really, as the author himself frankly admits in the preface, a compilation, an abstract in fact of certain portions of the fourth volume of the new *Imperial Gazetteer*, from which, for the most part, even the language has been freely borrowed. It is divided into ten chapters. The author has wisely confined himself to a narration of facts and avoided all controversy, but we gravely doubt whether the school master in whose hands a subject like this is placed, can do likewise. Of course, if he does not know or care for his subject, he will teach it mechanically in the mere spirit of routine. But if there be genuine teaching, then difficulties are bound to spring up. For instance, when the question of Home Charges is discussed, how can an honest teacher help telling his pupils that the payment of the charges of the Secretary of State's establishment by India is a grave piece of injustice. The same is the case with questions like the relations of Residents and the rulers of Native States, the invasion of Tibet by the Anglo-Indian forces, etc. A conscientious teacher must speak some unpleasant truths in connection with such questions. And yet, we are afraid, that under the condition of things which now prevail, such a teacher will have short shrift. We hope that before introducing a subject like this in our schools, the Government will give their best consideration to the point which we have raised above. Mr. Syam Sundar Das has, however, done his best under somewhat difficult circumstances and deserves encouragement at the hands of the reading public. There are a few slips here and there, which we hope will be rectified in the second edition. The correct Persian word for the Collector of revenue is not *amalguzar* but *malguzar* (p. 4) and Aurangzeb's reign can hardly be said to have witnessed the rise of Sikh Power (p. 5). It did witness the rise of Maratha power but the Sikhs did not become a 'power' till many years after. The Tehsildars are not called Mamlatdars in Bengal (p. 37) but in the Bombay Presidency and the ruler of our Provinces is no longer called the Chief Commissioner of Oudh (p. 38). This designation was abrogated when the name of the *United Provinces* was adopted and at present the ruler of these provinces is simple styled the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The relations

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of the British Government with Persia are in the hands of the Foreign Office and not of the Colonial Office (p. 58). The matriculation or an equivalent examination conducted by one of the five Universities in India is not the only public examination which an English school student has to undergo (p. 101) and not one-sixth (p. 126) but practically the whole of Bengal is permanently settled.

Last year we noticed, at some length, a Bengali book of uncommon merit, entitled *Upanishader Upadesh*, vol. I, by Pandit Kokileswar Vidyaratna M. A. of Cooch Behar (of whom the book can be had). The learned author has just brought out the second volume of the work which, we are glad to notice, will but enhance his reputation as a thorough master and capable teacher of the *Upanishads*. In this volume, a clear and lucid translation of the text and Sankara-Bhasya of *Katha* and *Mundaka* Upanishads have been given. The easy flow, the charming style and masterly diction of the language, coupled with a very lively and brilliant manner in which the subject-matter has been dealt with, have made the book a most pleasant reading and this is the best recommendation of a book of this nature. The very sombre nature of the language in which most of the philosophical treatises are generally presented scares away a good many readers at the outset. But in regard to the beautiful diction and the manner of treatment of the book under review, we can unhesitatingly say that in this respect alone, it can hold its own against the best philosophical works produced in that prolific vernacular literature—Bengali. We repeat our remarks made a year before when we received the first part of the work that the learned author has, by means of this book, opened the door of the knowledge of the Upanisads—the *Brahma-jnan* to the common people who can read Bengali only—and he has also at the same time enriched his own vernacular literature. The Introduction appended to the book is its most striking feature. It is a study in itself; and we feel sure that it will amply repay a very close and careful perusal. We never came across such an admirable introduction in any book in Bengali or other Indian vernacular. In it the author examines the Vedanta philosophy in all its details, according to the light thrown by the commentaries of the great Sankara and he expounds the great *máyábad* with a clearness nowhere to be found. The *máyábad* of Sankara has been misunderstood and misinterpreted by many. Even scholars of great eminence—let alone the common people—have thought that Sankara did not acknowledge the existence of the cosmos, holding it to be false and illusory and that his idea of *Brahma* was a sort of *vacuum*—without consciousness, without power—something like a cypher—a non-entity. Some have gone so far as to

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brand that great Acharyya as an atheist, a *Bouddha* at heart. The readers of the Introduction will find how ably and brilliantly the learned author has proved, beyond all possible doubt, that the charges laid at the door of Sankara have been without any foundation and it is owing to ignorance or misunderstanding of the teachings of the great master that such false notions have had their origin. In short, the Pandit Vidyaratna has succeeded in vindicating the name and fame of Sankara and established the claims of his doctrines as the most intelligent and accurate thoughts ever evolved from human mind in metaphysics, and he has proved that these doctrines have nothing to suffer, if examined in the lurid light of the most advanced scientific truths of modern Europe. We heartily recommend the work to the readers of the younger generation and we doubt not that their hearts will swell, in reading its pages, with a just pride at the depth of knowledge their forefathers possessed. We are glad to observe that a Hindi-translation of the first part of the work has been undertaken by Pandit Nandakishore Sukla Banibhusan.

UP-TO-DATE.

We have received from Messrs. Natesan and Co., the enterprising publishers of Madras, copies of their two most recent publications—*The Madras Congress and Conference* and *The Reform Proposals*. The first booklet is a collection of all the Inaugural and Presidential Addresses delivered at the Indian National Congress, the Industrial, Social, Temperance, Theistic, and Ladies' Conferences. The volume also contains the full text of the Resolutions passed at these Assemblies. The price of the book is annas eight a copy. The second book, *The Reform Proposals*, is a handy volume of 180 pages containing the full text of Lord Morley's Despatch; the Despatch of the Government of India; the Debate in the House of Lords with the speeches of Lord Morley, Lord Lansdowne and Lord Macdonnell; Mr. Buchanan's statement in the House of Commons; the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's scheme presented to the Secretary of State for India and his speech at the Madras Congress on the Reform proposals. The price of the book is annas six.

In the *Hindustan Review* for July, 1906, in the course of a survey of "Our Illustrated Publications," we noticed the *Empress* of Calcutta as "a large-sized fortnightly, which holds its own as a high-class illustrated Journal, and is conducted on the lines of the well-known illustrated weeklies of London." Since the beginning of this year, Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co.—who were the publishers of the Journal—have become sole proprietors of it, the late proprietor and editor, Mr. Parker, having retired home. The new proprietors announce that "while the old policy—which has resulted in making the *Empress* the premier illustrated paper in India—will be continued, novel and pleasing features will be introduced and no effort spared to make it bright and interesting." The two numbers issued—under the new management—in January, amply fulfil the expectations raised in the above announcement, and we are prepared to endorse the claim as to the *Empress* being "the premier illustrated paper in India." We have only one suggestion to make, that the Journal should soon be converted by the new proprietors—whose resources as printers and publishers are undoubtedly the greatest in the country—into a weekly. A fortnightly illustrated Journal is an anachronism even in India.

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RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE.

1. *The Code of Civil Procedure:* Being Act No. V of 1908, with a Commentary. By (the late) J. O'Kinealy and (Sir) Robert Fulton (Rampini), M. A., LL. D., Revised and brought up to date by Harry Stokes, Bar.-at-Law. Two volumes. (S. K. Lahiri & Co. 54, College Street, Calcutta). 1908. Price Rs. 18.

2. *The Indian Practice:* A Commentary on the Code of Civil Procedure (Act No. 5 of 1908) and Matters of Civil Practice. By M. L. Agarwala, B. Sc., LL.B., Bar.-at-Law. Two volumes. (Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad). 1908. Price Rs. 12.

3. *Sohoni's Code of Criminal Procedure.* Sixth edition, thoroughly revised and enlarged. By S. Swaminadhan, M. A., LL. D., B. Sc., PH. D., Bar.-at-Law. (The Deccan Book Agency, Poona). 1908. Price Rs. 20.

4. *Hindu Family Law:* As Administered in British India. By (Sir) Ernest John Trevelyan, D. C. L., Bar.-at-Law. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla). 1908. Price Rs. 16.

5. *Cunningham's Indian Evidence Act.* Eleventh edition. By Sir Horatio Hale Shephard, M. A., LL. D., Bar.-at-Law. (Higginbotham & Co., Madras). 1908. Price Rs. 12.

6. *Insanity in India:* Its Symptoms and Diagnosis. (With reference to the Relation of Crime and Insanity). By Major G. F. W. Ewen, M. D., L M. S. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla). 1908. Price Rs. 8.

7. *The Principles of the Law of Interest in British India.* By Edmund Upton, Bar.-at-Law. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla). 1908. Price Rs. 4.

8. *The Provincial Insolvency Act.* Being an Annotated edition of Act III of 1907. By A. P. Muddiman, I. C. S. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla). 1908. Price Rs. 3.

9. *Memorandum of Practice in Civil Cases.* By W. J. Howard, LL. B., Bar.-at-Law. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla.) 1908. Price Rs. 2.

10. *The Oudh Rent Act* (Act XXII of 1886); with notes by Mata Prasad Saksena, B. A., and Mahraj Narain Varma, pleaders, Hardoi. Mercantile Printing Press, Meerut. 1908. Price Rs. 3.

11. *Effects of War on Property:* Being Studies in International Law and Policy. By Alma Latifi, M.A., LL.D., I.C.S., Bar-at-Law. With a Note on "Belligerent Rights at Sea," by John Westlake, K.C., LL.D., D.C.L. (Macmillan & Co., London.) 1909. Price 5s.

A LAW book which has passed through no less than six editions and has been the constant companion of Judges and Civil Court practitioners for more than a generation, needs little commendation at the hands of a reviewer. The Commentary on the Code of Civil Procedure, which was first prepared by the late Mr. (Justice) O'Kinealy, took its rank—as soon as it was published—as the leading edition of the Code. The fifth and sixth editions were prepared by another distinguished Judge, Sir Robert Fulton (Rampini) and they retained in public estimation the premier position which the book had come to occupy in Anglo-Indian legal literature. The

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present edition has been brought out by Mr. Harry Stokes, of the Calcutta bar. In bringing out the last (fifth) edition of Dr. Field's well-known *Law of Evidence in British India*, Mr. Stokes gave ample proof of his capability for the work of a commentator and annotator, and we find in his present work evidence of the same skill and scholarship, which we commended in noticing his edition of Dr. Field's book. Mr. Stokes has completely overhauled and thoroughly recast the subject-matter of the last edition of Mr. O'Kinealy and Sir Robert Rampini's work and in skilfully adapting it to the present Code, he has fully brought it up to date. The arrangement of the subject-matter is well nigh perfect, by reason of breaking up the annotations into convenient divisions and sub-divisions, each marked off with headings in distinctive types. No practitioner, in fact, could wish for a better-arranged commentary. Great credit is also due to Messrs. S. K. Lahiri & Co., the enterprising publishers of the work. The mechanical execution of the book—especially in the half-calf binding—is excellent. We have no doubt that in spite of a most formidable rival in Messrs. Woodroffe and Amir Ali's edition, Mr. Stoke's edition of this old favourite will successfully hold the field.

Mr. M. L. Agarwala, of the local High Court bar, has long been known to be an indefatiguable commentator, annotator and compiler of a series of highly useful and valuable legal text-books and editions of important statutes. His latest work—*The Indian Practice*—follows the lines of his previous works in so far, that it is primarily designed for busy practitioners and judges. From this standpoint, it may safely be declared that of all the editions of the new Code of Civil Procedure issued so far, Mr. Agarwala's work is pre-eminently calculated to be of great use to the practitioner, who needs a systematic and well-digested repertory of precedents, to be referred to as occasions arise in the course of discussions at the bar. The author rightly claims for his method of annotation that "each noticeable point is given a prominent place and no note is so long that one would weary of going through it in order to find an authority." The lines on which Mr. Agarwala has compiled his work are those of the well-known "White Book" of English practitioners, the *Annual Practice*. Altogether, the practitioner who desires, a thoroughly up-to-date analytical digest of case-law on Civil Practices would do well to keep Mr. Agarwala's work handy for reference. The publisher of the book has done his part well and the printing and binding reflect credit on the resources of his press.

The late Mr. C. H. Sohoni's annotated edition of the Code of Criminal Procedure, was one of the most useful and deservedly

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popular editions of the Code. The learned author died shortly after bringing out the fifth edition of his book, which he adapted to the present Code, Act V of 1898. The book soon went out of print and a new edition was in great demand. The publishers were very well advised in entrusting the work of revision to so competent a person as Dr. S. Swaminadhan of the Madras Law College, who had a distinguished scholastic career in Great Britain and America. The editor has brought to bear upon the book his great scholarship and the result is a work which in completeness, accuracy and arrangement stands unrivalled amongst the many editions of the Criminal Procedure Code. While principally designed for the busy practitioner, the editor claims—and in our opinion his claim is fully justified—that he has "striven hard to afford all reasonable facilities to stimulate the art of accurate thinking while on one's legs—an accomplishment but seldom exhibited in this country, even by the foremost men in the profession." Madras is famous for high class printing and the printers, Messrs. Addison & Co., and the Poona publishers, are both to be heartily congratulated on the excellent get-up of this book, which is turned out with mechanical skill highly creditable to Indian printing and publishing firms. Dr. Swaminadhan's edition of this valuable and useful popular commentary—in its splendid format—will deservedly occupy a very prominent position on the bookshelf of the Criminal Court practitioners, Magistrates, Judges and Police Officers.

Dr. (now Sir) Ernest Trevelyan's new book on *Hindu Family Law*, is a work of great value to Civil Court lawyers and Judges. Since he retired from the bench of the Calcutta High Court, which he very worthily adorned, Sir Ernest has been a Reader in Indian Law in the University of Oxford. Some years back he brought out in collaboration with Mr. Arthur Phillip, long a distinguished member of the Calcutta bar, a useful work on *Hindu Wills* —which we noticed in terms of appreciation, at the time it was published. He has now presented a careful and accurate digest of the original texts, as interpreted by our Judges and modified by case-law, dealing with that most important branch which is concerned with the rules governing the Family Law of Hindus. The book seems to us to be modelled on the lines of that well-known work, Sir Rowland Wilson's *Anglo-Muhammadan Law*. There is nothing to take exception to, in the method adopted by the author: on the contrary, such a plan is calculated to convey to the student or the busy practitioner the information he seeks, in a more convenient form than that available in the treatises conceived on the old plan—of which Mayne's *Hindu Law* is the best known example. The work under notice covers, in some nine chapters, the whole range of Hindu Family Law, the statements dealing

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with which are set forth categorically in the form of propositions, supplemented invariably by copious annotations and commentaries, which summarise in a systematic form the case-law on the subject. We have detected only one slight mistake, which bespeaks much for the accuracy of the book. Act XII of 1887, does not deal with the Civil Courts of Assam, Bengal, Behar and the "United Provinces," as stated on p. 3 of the book. It deals with the constitution of the Civil Courts in the Provinces of Assam, Bengal, Behar, and Agra (the late "North-Western Provinces") only—Oudh having a separate Act (XVIII of 1876), governing the constitution of its Civil Courts, and which is mentioned by the author on p. 4. Of the get-up of the book, it would be idle to say anything beyond stating that it fully maintains the reputation of Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., as that of the premier publishing firm in Northern India. We have much pleasure in commending to the legal public in this country Sir Ernest Trevelyan's *Hindu Family Law*, as a highly useful and valuable digest of an important branch of Hindu Law.

Sir Henry Cunningham's edition of the Indian Evidence Act has now been before the public for no less than thirty-five years and has passed through nearly a dozen editions. If good wine needs no bush, nor does such a work as the one under notice. The present edition (the eleventh) has been revised and overhauled by so competent an editor as Sir Horatio Shephard, M.A., LL.D., late a distinguished Judge of the Madras High Court. We have tested the book carefully and have found it singularly complete and thoroughly brought up-to-date. Leaving aside the exhaustive works of Messrs. Woodroffe and Ameer Ali and of Dr. Field, on the Law of Evidence, we may safely say that Sir Henry Cunningham's Commentary on the Evidence Act has always appealed to us as the best of all the handy editions of the Code. That this is also the popular view, is evidenced by the large number of editions the book has passed through since it first saw the light. The present edition by Sir Horatio Shephard will not only fully sustain but enhance its reputation. The book has been turned out by the publishers—who are the leading firm in their line in Southern India—with all the skill in mechanical execution for which their workmanship is deservedly famous.

An exceedingly valuable contribution to Indian Medical Jurisprudence has been made by Major G. F. W. Ewen, M. D., in his highly interesting book—*Insanity in India: Its symptoms and Diagnosis, with Reference to the Relation of Crime and Insanity.* The learned author purposes "to give a brief but fairly accurate account of the symptoms and diagnosis of the types of insanity that usually come under one's notice in this country" and though

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he confines himself only to "a clinical picture of the varieties met with" and does not discuss the pathology or in fact anything more than what is stated above, nevertheless his book covers a very large field and is, for all practical purposes, a comprehensive exposition of the many medical and medico-legal questions that frequently arise in both the Criminal and Civil Courts. Though the subject of Insanity is dealt with in all the text-books of Indian Medical Jurisprudence, Major Ewen's book is the first attempt at a separate exhaustive treatment of so important a branch of the subject, and we welcome it, therefore, with all the more pleasure. Though principally intended for medical men, the book is no less valuable to legal practitioners, Magistrates and Judges, and we can hardly imagine a law library as well-equipped, which does not contain Major Ewen's excellent and interesting book. It may be added that the author was for seven years in charge of one of the largest lunatic asylums in the country, that of Lahore and he has, therefore, bought to bear upon his book not only a vast knowledge of the subject but long practical experience "of the unfortunate beings who have committed some legal offence while suffering from mental disease."

A text-book on the Law of Interest has long been wanted by the legal profession in India and we are glad to find that Mr. Edmund Upton has at last supplied the *desideratum* in a way which leaves nothing to be desired. "It has been my endeavour," says the author, "to describe not only when, but why interest is awarded or refused by the Courts." But while not claiming for his "small work," more than that it is "an attempt to set forth the law as it is," the author has wisely enriched it with historical sketches in the first three chapters of (*a*) Usury in its relation to Law generally, (*b*) Usury Laws in England and in India and (*c*) in particular of the Usury Laws of British India until their repeal in 1855. These learned dissertations—for they are quite that—materially enhance the value of Mr. Upton's book, which as a statement and exposition of the Usury Laws as at present administered in India is an excellent piece of work, presenting as it does a careful and accurate digest of the law on the subject, as embodied in various statutes and as laid down in case-law. Further, it refers to all the leading English cases on the subject and it thus obviates the necessity, for all practical purposes, of reference to English text-books. We have much pleasure in commending Mr. Upton's *Principles of the Law of Interest* as a trustworthy compendium of the subject, which no Indian lawyer can do without.

One of the most beneficial measures passed by the Imperial Council in recent years was the Provincial Insolvency Act (III of

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(1907). An annotated edition of it was badly wanted by the practitioners in the Civil Courts in the *Mofussil*, and we are glad to find that the *desideratum* has been well supplied by the publication of Mr. A. P. Muddiman's edition of the Act. The editor, who is Registrar on the Appellate side of the Calcutta High Court, has done his work well. The annotations that he has made will be very useful in explaining the provisions of the new Act. We commend the book as a careful and accurate piece of work.

Mr. W. J. Howard has rendered a very useful service to Judges and practitioners in Civil Courts by his unearthing and publishing the "Memorandum of Practice in the Trial of Civil Suits," promulgated by the Calcutta High Court in 1876, but which has since been allowed to pass into oblivion. Now that the new Civil Procedure Code has been recast on the same lines as the "Memorandum," its text will be of great utility to all concerned in the administration of Civil Justice. No Judge or Civil Court practitioner should be without a copy of Mr. Howard's exceedingly useful little book.

A good edition of the *Oudh Rent Act* was badly wanted by the practitioners and officials of Revenue Courts in Oudh. This is now fully supplied by Messrs. Mata Prasad Saksena and Maharaj Narayan Varma's edition of the Rent Act of Oudh. The editors have displayed considerable diligence in their work and have striven hard to make their commentary useful and instructive and we have pleasure in testifying that they have fully succeeded in their effort. The book is thoroughly up-to-date, and it will be of great utility to those who have either to administer or help in administering the law relating to Rent in the province of Oudh. The book is creditably got-up and is cheaply priced, both of which are additional recommendations in its favour.

Dr. Alma Latifi, of the Panjab Civil Service, is a devoted student of Public International Law and during his brilliant academic career at the Cambridge University and at the Inns of Court, London, he carried off more than one scholarship in the subject, the first fruits in the study of which, he has now placed before us. Dr. Westlake—one of the greatest living authorities on International Law—in the course of the chapter—called a "Note"—contributed by him on "Belligerent Rights at Sea," to the book under notice, calls it a "valuable volume." Such commendation from Dr. Westlake is praise indeed. For ourselves, we are glad to find that Dr. Latifi's first venture in legal literature is marked by scholarship and learning of a high order. The book is not a *resume* of the works existing on the subject, but it is, to a large extent, an original contribution of great merit to some of the important branches of Public International Law. Dr. Alma Latifi's *Effects of War on Property* is a book which no student of Public International Law can afford to neglect. It is a work which redounds to the credit of not only the author, but the educated Indian.

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CRITICISMS AND DISCUSSIONS.

N. B.—The contributions under this heading refer to matters previously treated in the *Hindustan Review*. Criticism of any article will, as a rule, be limited to a single issue. The discussion ends with a reply from the original writer.—Ed.

(*a*)—A Plea for Social Reform.

By Mr. Nand Kishore Lal, B. L.

SUCH is our deep-rooted conservatism that, as pointed out in a recent issue of the *Hindustan Review*, we are unable to diverge even one hairbreadth from the social institutions founded by our hoary ancestors of antediluvian time. What matters it for us if ages have passed away demolishing Governments in succession and bringing into existence influences completely changing the character, ideas and modes of life of mankind? What if our garments have become strange, antique, obsolete and out of order? We must put them on at any cost, unmindful of the taunts and jeers of our neighbours whom we, in our conceited idea of superiority, term 'unsophisticated barbarians.' The saying of Tennyson fall flat on our ears—

> The old order changeth yielding place to new
> And God fulfils himself in many ways
> Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

But the Laws of Nature cannot be trampled down with impunity and our perversity, therefore, has brought about results which are too painful to describe. Early marriages of our boys have degenerated our race. Our rigid adherence to 'touch' system and our abhorrence of foreign travel have made us inert, exclusive and stagnant, and have stifled in us the growth of that great quality—curiosity, without the cultivation of which no real progress in any branch of Industry can be made by any nation on the face of the globe. Our institution of hereditary caste system has, by producing jealousy and disunion, proved a real stumbling block in the path of our progress and enlightenment. Our segregation of females and their consequent total ignorance have shorn us of the quality of chivalry. In short, our degeneration is so complete that it hardly requires an argument to prove it. Go wherever you will, throughout the length and breadth of India, you will find nothing but ignorance, poverty and degradation.

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Even our one great solace of religion is fast crumbling away beneath our feet. Hence we are lost both to God and man; so that neither can we attain salvation in Heaven nor obtain the good things of this world.

How long, shall we continue in our task of self-destruction? How long, I ask, shall we be at war with the Laws of Nature? When shall we cease looking at things through the eyes of our venerable ancestors of days gone by? And a disastrous fate would assuredly await us if we are to try the impossible task of regulating our affairs blindly through the tenets and maxims of our ancestors of the 'Golden Age.' In this age of wonders when the world is advancing at a tremendously rapid pace, how can we refuse to move without falling headlong into the abyss below? How absurd it is to suppose that the old ways and methods of our ancestors will, without any modification whatsoever, enable us to compete with other nations in the solution of the great problem of 'the survivorship of the fittest?' For instance, what hope is there that our crude and cumbrous method of handloom would successfully compete with machinery? What hope that our old methods of conveyance would cope with the railway and the motor cars of the present age? Again, what chance there is that our effete and worn-out institutions, which preclude us from foreign travel, would help us when all the nations of the world are freely exchanging their thoughts and ideas through mutual intercourse.

Let us open our eyes and shake off the lethargy of ages. Let us take inspiration from our near neighbours, the Japanese, and let no vain prejudice mar our future progress. True greatness depends not merely upon an idle vanity in the glorious doings of one's own ancestors but on increasing their name and fame by continuing and enhancing the civilisation they have left behind; and this cannot be attained if we ignore the claims of the actual present, the surroundings in which we live, and the circumstances which govern us. But, unfortunately, this is the one fatal defect in our character which has brought us to the pitch in which we are and which keepeth us there. We are apt to regulate our life too rigidly according to the rules framed ages and ages ago.

Change is essential in the very nature of things, for without change this world would become stagnant and not worth living

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in. It is, therefore, my earnest desire to impress on my countrymen the necessity of legalising foreign travel and abolishing the rotten institutions of caste and 'touch' and early marriage and other social evils which are the real hindrances in the path of our progress.

(*b*). -Secularity and Religiosity in India.

By "Aryavarma."

In a recent issue of the *Hindustan Review*, an 'Indian Nationalist' has dealt with the 'History of Modern Europe' in an instructive manner. He points to two great ideas, running like an under-current throughout the whole History of Modern Europe, *i.e.*, Liberty and Secularity. It is with great respect for the deep scholarship of the 'Indian Nationalist,' that I beg to differ from him in one important point.

The writer lays great stress on the idea of Secularity as the great lesson which Modern History teaches us for our future guidance. Says he in the concluding paragraph of his learned article:

> The whole trend of Modern Civilization is towards Secularity, and the sooner this fact is recognised in our country the better. The History of Europe shows us plainly what havoc can be wrought by religion, if it is allowed to intrude in the secular departments of life.

One is tempted, at the outset, to differ from the writer in the unwarranted freedom with which he applies to Indian circumstances the conclusions drawn from European History. The proverb 'East is East and West is West' should not be wholly lost sight of. What has given beneficial results to people of the European type need not necessarily be equally beneficial to Indians, who are differently constituted and circumstanced. It may, however, be urged on the other hand, that human nature is everywhere the same, that history repeats itself, and that people under given conditions and similar circumstances have suffered or prospered in much the same way all over the globe. The writer remarks:

> To the European during the Middle Ages, as to millions in India to-day, religion was all in all.

Hence, following the analogy of the History of Modern Europe, the conclusion evidently is drawn that religion is bound to act as a dead weight upon all our efforts in the path of reform and progress. It is *here* that we beg to differ from the learned writer.

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If 'religion' in Europe were practically the same thing as in India, there would be less room for differences of opinion. If the religion of the Vedas—the Fountain-head of Religion from the Hindu standpoint—had found an echo in the Bible, the conclusions drawn from European History would have been safely endorsed. But, as everybody knows, the two 'religions' stand as far apart as the poles. Hence, *prima facie*, the idea of Secularity cannot be as powerful or beneficent in India, as it has been in Europe.

What, then, is the attitude of the two 'religions'—the Vedic and the Biblical—towards Science, the handmaid of Modern Civilization? The Bible, it is well-known, abounds in glaring contradictions, in dogmas and fanciful myths, which are imply repugnant to a scientific mind. So long as the influence of the Bible was dominant over men's minds, the boldest speculations of Science remained a dead letter, and their originators subjected to bitter persecution. But Truth triumphed at last. The progress of Science has now dethroned the Bible from its high pedestal. In fact, it is now generally recognised that the teachings of the Bible are contrary to all Science. What wonder, then, that the idea of Secularity should find a congenial soil in the West to grow and flourish in. The mythological portions of our own *Puranas* —the chief scriptures of the present-day Hindus—fare no better, in this respect, than the Hebrew Puran. If the 'Indian Nationalist' meant by 'religion' the prevailing religion of the Hindus—I am writing on their behalf only—he is, to some extent, justified in advocating a boycott of 'religion' from "the secular departments of life." But the issues are wider and the question deeper, as is evident from a close study of the writer's remarks.

Let us now look to our ancient and true religion. By "true religion" I mean the religion as taught in the Vedas and in the Upanishads and other Shastras which derive their authority from the Vedas. And it may be asserted without fear of contradiction, that of all the religions of the world, the Vedic is the most scientific. The Vedas are the store-house of the various sciences and Vedic teaching is in perfect harmony with the great truths of Science. The Vedas inculcate those "eternal principles which govern nature and man, those immutable laws which in one sphere are called 'Science', in another 'true philosophy.'" Unlike other religions, Vedic theology is based upon

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Science and Philosophy. This great Aryan religion is a happy combination of Science, Philosophy, Theology, Morality and Art. If this be true, and it will perhaps appear doubtful to those of our educated countrymen who derive their inspiration from the so-called Oriental scholars of Europe,—a fact at once humiliating and denationalising—if the Vedic religion is really what it claims to be, then, indeed, there is little danger of its working a havoc in the spheres of Science, Art, Morality and Politics. On the contrary, these sciences, by their union with the Vedic religion, derive their sanction not only from the highest but also the most scientific authority. Truth is eternal and is not affected by limitations of Time and Space. Take your astronomy or politics, your code of morals or social polity from the Vedic sources, you stand little chance of being ridiculed as 'fossilised' or 'antiquated.' As a matter of fact, Religion did dominate over these sciences in Ancient India, but it only ennobled them all the more. It gave the arts and sciences an æsthetic or spiritual turn and saved them from becoming 'gross,' 'profane' or purely 'materialistic.' Vedic religion, instead of proving an obstacle, was always the patron of Art and Science.

We find that the idea of Secularity has grown so powerful in Europe, chiefly because the religion of the Bible could not satisfy the spiritual requirements of the thinking minds, and because its plausible theories and dogmas were exploded and shattered under the ruthless wheel of logic. The inevitable result was that many of the best minds in Europe began to lose their faith in a Revelation, a Supreme Being and a Divine Government. Says Mill, the greatest thinker of his day in England, in his *Essays on Religion* :

> The divine message, assuming it to be such, has been authenticated by credentials so insufficient that they fail to convince a large proportion of the strongest and cultivated minds.

And again :

> The notion of a providential government by an omnipotent being for the good of his creatures must be entirely dismissed.

This was written about half a century ago, and the verdict of the most candid Rationalists of to-day echoes the same sentiment. Mr. Philip Vivian writes thus in his new book, *Churches and Modern Thought* (page 362) :

> Belief (in supernatural), indeed, is strikingly analogous to an organ which, owing to its having no further useful purpose, has atrophied and become

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rudimentary. It may have served some purpose in bygone ages; but now, in its present state it is a source of weakness like the splint bone of a horse.

These remarks apply, of course, to the Christian religion as taught in the Bible, but could not possibly be based upon a close study of the Vedic religion and theology. The flimsy foundation of the Biblical doctrines has given rise to various schools of Heterodoxy like Sceptics, Atheists, Agnostics and Rationalists. Their influence has proved a potent factor in establishing the supremacy of the idea of Secularity during recent times. But though the Christian religion is declining in Europe, Secularity has not proved an unmixed blessing. Serious and thoughtful students of Western civilization tell us that in Europe selfishness and greed rule supreme. The Almighty Dollar and its illegitimate child Pecuniomania reign over the hearts of men. In spite of the tall talk of 'social efficiency,' 'classes' are oppressing the 'masses.' The average European is not much of a God-fearing individual. Life has no goal beyond immediate enjoyment Spirituality is conspicuous by its absence. Expediency is the rule of action. "Godlessness is responsible for 'extreme socialism,' 'anarchism' and 'nihilism'." The beautiful 'sermon on the Mount' is honoured more in the breach than in the observance. Well may one cry out "Save us from this trend of Western civilization."

Let us now take stock of ourselves. We are to-day, as a race, in the depth of degradation. We are diagnosed to have suffered from an 'overdose of religiosity.' Overdose it may be, but certainly not of the right kind. We have, unfortunately, lost the *true spirit* of religion. We only stick to certain forms of it—mere husk without the kernel. We profess to follow a religion, but never realise its true significance. Religion has long ceased to be our true guide, philosopher and friend. But it is generally supposed, that, with the millions in India, religion is all in all. To us, it is a piece of news, too good to believe. A closer examination, however, dispels the illusion. It may be pertinently asked "Was not religion 'all in all' when Indians occupied the foremost place in the scale of nations?" In fact, we knowf or certain that arts and sciences flourished and Indians reached the zenith of their civilization, while yet they were the most religious people on the face of the earth and religion dominated every sphere of their activity. Surely tnen there must be something *rotten* in the domain of Religion in India.

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And the evil is not far to seek. We have neglected and forgotten our simple and grand religion. We have drifted far and wide from its elevating ideals. We are to-day burning incense at the altars of Ceremonial, Superstition, Mythology, Hypocrisy and Mammon. How mighty has been our wreck! The only wise course, then, for us to follow is, if we are true to ourselves, to fall back upon the original sources of our real faith. What else on earth can inspire us with high ideas and ideals and fire us with righteous enthusiasm? Our history points to our religion as the 'saviour' of our race. If European history points to the idea of Secularity, our own history bears eloquent testimony to the value of Religiosity. Our religion, through all the vicissitudes of our civilization, has been our mainstay and saved us from the fate of the ancient Greeks and Romans. And religion too—corrupted and misunderstood—has brought its votaries down with itself in India. The true remedy for our national regeneration, therefore, lies in imbibing the true spirit of the once glorious religion of the Vedic India.

One word more about the true sphere of Religion. We are told that in Europe 'Religion' is only a matter between a man and his (optional ?) Deity. Then, in truth, it hardly deserves the name. For Religion, in its proper sense, is neither a product of human imagination, nor is it dictated by our hopes and fears, nor dependent upon individual convictions. It is something rational, permanent and universal. True Religion is a solution of the mystery of life and death, of life after death, of self, of Universe and a Supreme Being with their mutual relations. It points to our Destiny, prescribes a course of conduct and the ideals of life and enunciates our duties and responsibilities. Such a Religion, when followed sincerely, cannot but influence our whole life and color every transaction of it. Its neglect leads men astray from the path of true happiness and involves them in sin and suffering, in the last resort as an individual, and in the long run as a people. The thoughtful in Europe have now begun to realise the utter dearth of spirituality and its dangers. Here, at least, Europe has much to learn from India. In our present state we have also to learn much from Europe in the way of 'public spirit', 'industrialism' and 'love of freedom.' But that is no reason why we should endeavour to minimise the impor-

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tance of Religion in our national life. On the contrary, our reformers and patriots should encourage all efforts towards spreading a knowledge of the true religion among the masses of India; and more so, because our ancient religion has, in the course of thousands of years, been split up into hundreds of mutually conflicting sects, with their endless rites and ceremonies. We venture to assert that without an honest and thorough study of the Vedas and Vedic literature, one cannot be in a position to 'sound' or 'fathom' the ocean of Religion. The claims of the Vedas for universal homage will doubtless advance with their study in the right spirit, and the sway of true religion will increase proportionately. But if our national leaders advise us to follow indiscriminately the 'ruling ideas of European history,' they have read the 'religious' history of India in vain.

Our Last Issue.

Capital writes:—

The current number of the *Hindustan Review* is up to mark in dealing with the living subjects of the day, as a glance at its table of contents will show. The reviews of books which form a feature in the *Hindustan Review* are distinctly well done.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—

There is a plethora of political articles in the January issue of the *Hindustan Review*, and the question of Indian nationalism, now so much in the foreground, is discussed from many standpoints—though, unfortunately, the problem still remains unsolved. In one portion of this issue, Mr. Ali Imam's address at the All-India Muslim League is subjected to keen criticism and Mahomedans are told that they have, at length, resorted to agitation; while in another, an "Indian Mussulman" taunts his countrymen with holding aloof from the Congress and accuses them of getting an equal share of privileges without stirring a finger. Mr. Sasi Bhushan Mukerji decides that the failure of Indians to reach a common ideal is due to unsympathetic rulers, and in "Indian Higher Education: A Criticism.—I" the Rev. Prof. C. F. Andrews, M.A., treats of the matter from the national point of view, and gives much salient advice. There are other attractive papers in this issue which is, as usual, well written and full of interest.

The *Hindu* writes:—

The *Hindustan Review* for the current month is a rich number. The first article is from the pen of the Rev. Professor C. F. Andrews, M.A., on "Indian Higher Education." This contribution which is the first of a series which he proposes to write on the subject, is a remarkable one and well deserves a careful study from every Indian politician. "The Indian struggle in the Transvaal"—that ever-fresh wound for which the Imperial Government have not the boldness to apply a bold remedy—is treated by Mr. L. W. Ritch, Secretary, South Africa British Indian Committee with an earnestness and sincerity which cannot but command universal interest. There are other articles which well deserve perusal.

The *Indian Patriot* writes:—

The January number of the *Hindustan Review* is a very interesting issue. It opens with a valuable paper from Rev. Professor C. F. Andrews on Indian High Education, and it is a paper which, as are the Rev. Professor's other articles, is exceedingly sympathetic and well-written. The Indian struggle in the Transvaal is a touching story of woe and disabilities under which our countrymen suffer yonder there. 'John Morley in politics' is a very readable article, and it will be found reproduced in these pages. There are several other articles of interest, and a sketch of Mr. Justice Mitra, a study of Indian nationalism, proposed Parsi Academy, Indian Mussalman and Indian politics. As an Indian sees America, 'study of history' are all good articles. The Editor, Mr. Sinha, has been making his review every month more and more interesting.

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THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I.—"*I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse -I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard.*" (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Liberator*).

MOTTO II.—"Minds may doubt and hearts may fail, when called to face new modes of thought or points of view ; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange." (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation*).

Rai Bahadur Chaturbhuj Sahai.

WE are not surprised to learn that the citizens of Arrah in a public meeting assembled thanked the Government for conferring on their fellow-citizen, Babu Chaturbhuj Sahai, the title of Rai Bahadur on the last New Year's day. Babu Chaturbhuj Sahai has been for a long series of years a distinguished and prominent public man in the province of Behar. He is an ex-member of the Lower Provinces Legislative Council and public opinion in Behar is unanimous that of all the Beharees who have hitherto been returned as elected representatives of the people to the Previncial Legislative Council, B. Chaturbhuj Sahai's record as a councillor is the most creditable. He was for many years the Chairman of the Arrah Municipal Corporation and has been for nearly a quarter of a century the acknowledged leader of the Arrah Bar. Such a career well deserved the recognition that the Government have been pleased to bestow. We sincerely congratulate Rai Bahadur Chaturbhuj Sahai, and hope he will long be spared to enjoy the honour.

The Kayastha Conference.

The twentieth session of the Kayastha Conference—or rather the first session of the reconstituted Kayastha Educational Conference—will be held during the next Easter and Good-Friday holidays which will last from the 9th to the 12th of April. A strong Reception Committee has been formed with M. Govind Prasada Saheb as president, M. Gulzari Lal Saheb as Secretary and M. Kamta Prasada Saheb "Dana" of Gwalior as Joint-Secretary. A Social Reform Committee has also been organized to determine and carry on that portion of the work of the forthcoming Conference which relates to Social Reform in the

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community. Now that the conference is believed to have shaken off the fetters which bound it to traditions and practices which were calculated to mar its utility, it is to be hoped that it will receive the sympathy and co-operation of even that advanced section of the community which for the reason referred to above has hitherto felt compelled to fight shy of the Conference.

———

A Kayastha State Scholar.

We are glad to learn that a Kayastha student has succeeded in obtaining the State Technical scholarship for learning dyeing and calico printing in Manchester, given by the Government of the United Provinces. Mr. Jawala Prasad Srivastavya, Ex-student of the Muir Central College, Allahabad, is the son of Munshi Janki Prasad Saheb, retired Tahsildar and resident of Bansi in the district of Basti. He is now studying in the Municipal School of Technology in Manchester. The scholarship of £150 per annum will be tenable for two years. We wish Mr. Jawala Prasad every success.

Further we are very pleased to note that the members of his family have displayed great moral courage in allowing Mrs. Jawala Prasad to accompany her husband to England. We believe Mrs. Jawala Prasad is the first Kayastha lady of the Srivastavya section who has gone to England. She is the daughter of the late Munshi Mahadeo Prasada Saheb, Deputy Collector of Kasba Sondhi in the Jaunpore district.

———

The late Mr. Mazumdar.

We are deeply grieved to learn of the sad and untimely death of Mr. Rati Lal Brij Lal Mazumdar, Barrister-at-law, and a prominent member of the Valmik section of the community of Bombay. The deceased always took keen interest in all matters calculated to advance social and educational reform in the community. He was present at the first Kayastha Conference held at Lucknow, and in recent years had also been of great service to the Cogress. He had been Captain of the Congress Volunteers for some years past, and it was mainly through his and his party's exertions that the infuriated extremists at the Surat Congress were prevented from rushing to the platform in large numbers and causing personal harm to the Moderate leaders. The premature death of Mr. Mazumdar is thus not

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only a loss to the Kayastha community, but to the public in general. We offer our sincerest condolence to the members of the deceased's family.

Kayastha Journals.

In the course of the survey of "Literature and the Press" in the *Administration Report* of the United Provinces for the year 1907-8 which has just been published, we find it stated that of the five journals (one English, one Hindi, and three Urdu), the last, namely, *Hind* of Lucknow, *Rastgo* and *Swarajya* of Allahabad, all edited by Kayasthas and all now extinct, "attracted particular attention owing to their tone and the views they expressed." It also appears that "it was found necessary to warn the editors" of some of the papers including the *Rastgo*. The Report further declares that "objectionable articles were noticed" in several papers amongst which were the *Awazai Khalq*, Benares, (also edited by a Kayastha) and *Swarajya*.

A Kayastha Donor.

Our local contemporary, the *Indian People*, has the following appreciative paragraph about M. Ishwari Prasada of Gorakhpore :—

Mr. Molony, the popular Collector of Gorakhpore, opened the new English school on the 6th of January, 1909. One more school was badly wanted at Gorakhpore, and we are pleased to learn that this keenly-felt want has been removed. This school is the result of private enterprise and activity, but we feel much satisfaction that the Government will also help this institution. It is also very gratifying that the Hindus and the Mahomedans have both heartily co-operated in bringing this institution into existence. Gorakhpore is peculiarly fortunate in as much as the members of these two great communities there, in all public matters, work in union and harmony. In connection with this matter we wish to make especial mention of the liberality of Babu Ishwari Prasad, Municipal Commissioner. He has paid the handsome donation of rupees ten thousand for the school-building, which is, we understand, to be called 'Ishwari Manzil.' Babu Ishwari Prasad has built a boarding house for the Hindu students of the Gorakhpore Jubilee High School in memory of his late father and he has also paid for the building of a room in the boarding house of the Kayastha Patshala. If the example set by this worthy gentleman will be followed by the residents of Gorakhpore, we are certain this new school will not suffer for want of funds.

Indian Press, Allahabad.

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THE

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EDITED BY

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, *Bar-at-Law.*

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HERBERT SPENCER AND ASIA.

By Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, late of *The Statesman* (Calcutta).

CURRENT discussions on education in India are apt to begin with the assumption and end with the conclusion that the system established fifty years ago was of too literary a character. The thing is so obvious that we might, with advantage, give up saying it, without forgetting that letters, however badly learned, possess a high value for the intelligence. It is not without significance that some of the most prominent critics of higher education as it exists in India, are among those who insist upon the retention of the humanities as the essential basis of education in the West. Oddly enough, however, to the charge that the Indian Universities have been too much concerned with the English classics is added, in some quarters, the complaint that the Indian student is given too much Herbert Spencer. At a recent meeting in London, I heard a Liberal member of Parliament utter this astonishing opinion, evidently under the impression that Herbert Spencer is a text-book in common use throughout the Indian colleges. I gathered that, if this were so, the objection would be not so much to Herbert Spencer's theory of the universe as to his view of human liberty. For the same Liberal member, in the House of Commons shortly afterwards, quoted with horrified disapproval the following Spencerian maxim from the heading of an Indian propagandist sheet published in Europe :—

> Every man is free to do that which he wills, provided that he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man. Resistance to aggression is not simply justifiable, but imperative. Non-resistance hurts both altruism and egoism.

This, said the speaker, was the kind of pernicious stuff upon which Young India fastened and fed ; and I do not doubt that the majority of those who heard or read the speech, drew the inference that Herbert Spencer was somehow the creator of the Indian nationalist movement, and that a knowledge of his writings had been criminally encouraged by the British educational authorities. Should any one be desirous of

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finding out how much of this is true, he would not, I imagine, have his suspicions confirmed by a reading of the "Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer," lately published by Dr. David Duncan, formerly Director of Public Instruction in Madras, or of the famous "Autobiography," which has just made its appearance in a cheaper though still rather costly and cumbrous form. India came very little into Herbert Spencer's sphere of work, although, necessarily, he found himself brought up against her primitive beliefs and social structure when writing "The Principles of Sociology." For the rest, Dr. Duncan's book furnishes very little evidence that Spencer ever had occasion to think seriously of India. His interest in Asia was mainly centred in Japan.

I have remarked one amusing little incident. At a meeting in 1896 of the Brooklyn Ethical Association, someone appears to have asserted that the author of the Synthetic Philosophy had been largely influenced by the teachings of the Vedanta, through the writings of Sir William Jones. Spencer was particularly annoyed by this, which he called a wild idea. He wrote to America to say that he did not even know the name Vedanta and had never read anything of Sir William Jones's. But, he added, "there are always some people who find that a man's ideas are not his own but somebody else's."

It is true, as we know, that Spencer's theories have had a considerable influence in this country, portions of his more important works having been translated into the principal languages, but it is rather odd that in the "Life", the only specific mention of this influence has reference to the enthusiastic welcome accorded to Spencer's first book by British Officers in the North-West. So long ago as 1858 Sir Lewis Pelly expressed his obligation to "Social Statics." He told its author that about a dozen copies were then in circulation among the officers on the frontier, and that Colonel Jacob, Chief Commissioner in Sind, swore by the book and based his measures entirely on its principles—a tribute by which Spencer, who was then amazingly ignorant of the work done by his predecessors, was immensely flattered. It would seem that Spencer was not often directly consulted by Indian reformers in regard to practical schemes of social improvement, and the fact need not surprise us. He was the last man in the world to treat with respect, or even sympathy, the principles embodied in Hindu Society. Apparently the only Indian public man who went to him for assistance was Mr. B. M. Malabari, who, in 1890, was engaged in canvassing English opinion on the subject of the Age of Consent Bill. Spencer confessed that, although he had not studied Indian affairs to any extent, he could understand the difficulty felt by the authorities in dealing with such questions.

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It was a mistake to assume that the institution found good for one people would be good for another, and it was, he thought, the perception of this mistake which caused the inaction of the Indian Government at that time. He continued :—

I incline to agree with you, however, that the passivity of the Government in relation to native usages may be carried too far. Marriage is rightly to be regarded as a contract. A contract implies unconstrained consent of the contracting parties, and it implies also that they shall be of such age as to be capable of understanding the responsibilities to which the contract commits them. . . In neither of these respects does the Indian usage fulfil the requirements. The union is not the result of a voluntary contract, and those who enter into it are not of fit age to make it, even though voluntary. It may be a question whether under such circumstances the State may not go to the extent of ignoring the contract, and declining to administer in all matters concerning it or growing out of it.

It was, however, as already mentioned, in connection with the development of Japan that Herbert Spencer's interest in Asia was really aroused. In 1893 Mr. Arinori Mori, Japanese Minister to the United States, asked his opinion about the reorganisation of Japanese institutions. "I gave him," said Spencer, "conservative advice—urging that they would have eventually to return to a form not much in advance of what they had, and that they ought not to attempt to diverge widely from it." Prince Ito and Baron Kaneko made a careful study of Spencer's writings during the five years which they devoted to the revision of the Japanese Constitution. Baron Kaneko wished to know whether Asiatic nations could hope to come within the circle of the European constitutional states. Spencer was not without misgiving on this score. He was impressed with the danger of granting political power to a people used only to despotic rule. As regards foreign relations, he counselled a policy, not of isolation, but of resistance to all interference by foreigners. His fear was that by means of treaties Japan would be ill-advised to give foreigners a foot-hold on her territory, as China had done. Later, he confessed disappointment because his warnings had been disregarded, and Japan, he thought, was experiencing the evils which might have been expected to arise from too large an instalment of freedom. His advice had been to graft, not to replace. Thus, the remodelled constitution should have been built upon the ancient system of family organisation. Under this system it habitually happened that there existed in each group an eldest male ascendant, the ruling authority of the group, an authority who was in many cases a despotic power. These patriarchs or heads of groups should be made the sole electors of members of the representative body. The advantage of such an arrangement would be threefold: (1) the electorate would be of easily manageable proportions;

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(2) extreme opinions in the group would be mutually cancelled or modified by having to go through the patriarch; (3) the aged electors would have conservative leanings and would not be in favour of rash changes. (Spencer was always an ultra-timid evolutionist in politics). Being convinced that free institutions among an unaccustomed people were certain not to work well, he recommended that the assembly formed of representative men elected by the elders should be limited in its functions to making statements of grievances: it should have no authority either to initiate or even to suggest remedial measures. Such, he pointed out, was the function of the English Parliament in its earlier stages. After a tutelage of three or four generations, the further power of suggesting remedies might be conceded, to be followed, after another period of probation, by full legislative rights. No wonder, Spencer described his advice as conservative. It was so extremely cautious as to be hardly beyond the acceptance at the present day of the Spencerian constitution-framers in the Simla Secretariat.

The part of Herbert Spencer's admonition to Japan which will be thought of most interest at the present moment is his warning with regard to Foreign Powers. He laid particular emphasis on the necessity of keeping Europe and America at arm's length. "In the presence of the more powerful races," he wrote, "your position is one of chronic danger, and you should take every precaution to give as little foothold as possible to foreigners." The only forms of intercourse that Japan could with advantage permit were those indispensable for the exchange of commodities and ideas, the importation and exportation of physical and mental products. No further privileges should be allowed to people of other races than were absolutely needful for the achievement of these ends. He regarded as fatal the proposal to throw open the whole Japanese Empire to foreigners and foreign capital:—

> If you wish to see what is likely to happen, study the history of India. Once let one of the more powerful races gain a *point d'appui*, and there will inevitably in course of time grow up an aggressive policy which will lead to collisions with the Japanese; these collisions will be represented as attacks by the Japanese which must be avenged; forces will be sent from America or Europe, as the case may be; a portion of territory will be seized and required to be made over as a foreign settlement; and from this there will grow eventually subjugation of the entire Japanese Empire. I believe that you will have great difficulty in avoiding this fate in any case, but you will make the process easy if you alllow any privileges to foreigners beyond those which I have indicated.

He added that intermarriage with other races should be sternly forbidden as contrary to the laws of biology, and he approved of putting restrictions upon American and Chinese immigration. In the light of what has happened since, all this sounds strange enough. Spencer, like the rest of the world, did not foresee that in the course

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of a few years the relative positions of the competing Powers would be reversed, and that the policy of keeping alien races at arm's length would appeal more forcibly to America than it did a decade ago to Japan. Spencer enjoined that the letter containing the foregoing advice should not be published during his lifetime. When, after his death, it saw the light, the *Times* (that powerful advocate of equal racial rights in India and Africa) found the opinions "as narrow, as much imbued with antipatly to real progress as ever came from a self-sufficient shortsighted Mandarin, bred in contempt and hatred of 'barbarians.'"

The purpose of this short article is to summarize Herbert Spencer's attitude towards questions affecting Asia, and therefore I will make no attempt to indicate the leading characteristics of the personality revealed with such singular completeness in the Life and the Autobiography. The autobiographer is in general much more of an artist than a mere reporter. Rousseau and Goethe, De Quincey and Carlyle, Renan and Ruskin, all made of their own histories an inextricable blend of poetry and fact. Spencer attempted and achieved a piece of detached and unimpassioned self-portraiture, which, whether attractive or not, we recognise as extraordinarily accurate and sincere. No one will ever read Spencer's Autobiography with any feeling in the remotest degree resembling the exquisite pleasure aroused by every page of Ruskin's "Præterita" or Renan's "Souvenirs de ma Jeunesse" —but then Spencer set out, not to reproduce in words the magic of an imaginative youth, but to record the incidents of a prosaic life and describe the unfolding of a severely rational mind.

One matter of curious interest I may note before concluding. Spencer had little pleasure in books. He was always an impatient reader. His literary equipment was of the most meagre kind, and he built up his system in almost entire ignorance of the history of human thought. The academic philosophers will always despise him on this account. Indian readers will remember that, in his last address as Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, Sir Thomas Raleigh gave expression to the common opinion that Herbert Spencer's work would have been of far higher value if he had begun as a disciple of Aristotle. Such questions lend themselves to endless argument. Spencer, certainly, was never disposed to apologise for his academic deficiencies, and his opponents therefore accused him of intellectual arrogance. He was arrogant, as all his readers know; but such sincerity as his must be held sufficient to outweigh a hundred temperamental faults. Dr. Duncan quotes a letter to Sir Leslie Stephen in which Spencer makes confession, without any self-depreciation, of his imperfect knowledge of books. "Social Statics," he explains, was

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written without any preparatory reading. Up to the age of sixteen he had acquired nothing in the way of formal education beyond a stock of mathematics, and to this he never added. During his eight years of engineering life he read next to nothing, even o professional literature. He read nothing continuously except novels and travels, and of these but little. Indeed, he doubts whether during all those years he ever read any serious book for an hour at a time. A copy of Locke's "Essay on the Human Understanding" was on his father's shelves, but he did not remember ever to have taken it down. No different was it with regard to all other philosophical writers. He knew nothing of Bacon except the Essays, or of Paley except that he had enunciated the doctrine of expediency, or of Bentham except that he had formulated the principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. As for the other classical writers on ethics, he had never looked into them; but when Mill's Logic appeared he read with approval his criticism of the syllogism. When he was six years of age, he met with a translation of Kant and read the first few pages. Forthwith, rejecting his doctrine of time and space, he went no further. His ignorance of the ancient philosophies, he says, was absolute—and we have seen that Vedanta was an unknown word to him when he was past 75. Twice or thrice he had taken up Plato's Dialogues, but had quickly put them down with more or less irritation. Of Aristotle he knew even less than of Plato. His method was little reading and much thinking. "All along," he declares, "I have looked at things through my own eyes and not through the eyes of others." His guiding principle was that the only true preparation for ethics was the study of the science of life—the science of life as conceived by the modern mind.

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THE REFORMS.

By Mr. S. H. Swinny, M. A., Editor of the *Positivist Review.*

It is probable that the Reforms have both gained and lost by the considerable time which has elapsed since the present Government came into office. After ten years of reaction, a Liberal Government regained power Everywhere, among the workers—at home, in South Africa, in Ireland—there were hopes that a new era had dawned; and not least in India, when it became known that the destinies of that country were to be entrusted to that great apostle of freedom, John Morley. The Liberal Ministry was formed, and the country in January, 1906, gave them the greatest majority which any English Government had enjoyed for generations. But in India year followed year, and except for a change in the name of the Secretary of State, and the bitterness that follows disappointment, there was nothing to tell the people of India that a Liberal Government was in power. It seemed the triumph of that specious pretence—the removal of India from the sphere of party—which means that India is to be eternally governed by an autonomous bureaucracy, the serene continuity of whose rule shall never be disturbed by a breath of popular sympathy. And while the people of India were growing sick with hope deferred, Lord Morley, so his apologists declared, was studying the Indian question, and painfully realising the greatness of his burden. And now at last when even his warmest friends had given up hope, when those Indian leaders who had expressed their trust in him, had thereby lost the confidence of great numbers among their fellow-countrymen, he produces a scheme which, if it does not go very far, at least goes entirely in the right direction. It is certainly a case of "better late than never."

By this delay, the reception of the reforms in some quarters has been improved. Where men had ceased to hope for any reform, even the smallest and most shadowy advance is welcomed—how much more a substantial improvement in the political position of the Indians. But while some, sick with hope deferred, are full of gratitude, others have passed the stage at which gratitude is possible. They have definitely separated themselves from the existing order, and are not to be reconciled. Thus the delay in the Reform has greatly minimised its power for good. Even much wider changes would not restore the old era of good will, the old faith in peaceful and constitutional progress.

There is one great improvement in the actual Reform compared with the original suggestions of the Indian Government. The

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Advisory Council of Notables has disappeared. As foreshadowed, it would not have adequately represented the classes most interested in politics, and it would almost certainly have been reactionary. On the other hand, the popular representation on Legislative and Executive Councils is increased. In the Provincial Legislative Councils, the official majority is actually to disappear, the numbers to be increased, and the procedure amended. The Council of the Lower Provinces, to take one instance, will consist of forty-six members of whom twenty will be elected in place of twenty of whom seven are elected. It will be seen, therefore, that the proportion of elected members is increased. So is the proportion of non-official members sitting by nomination, and some of these will represent interests which will not necessarily support the Government. But it is evident that this is a very different thing to a popular majority. It will be a gain that the official members will have to conciliate non-official support, and refrain from measures which rouse the antagonism of all sections of the community. But in ordinary times and with ordinary prudence, the Government will be able to get sufficient support from the non-official members to be secure of a majority.

Much, in fact, will turn on the skill of the popular leaders, their power of conciliating minorities and holding their own followers together. There will be much danger that the immediate effect of the Reform will be to increase the differences between rival communities. The Government may yield to the temptation to tread in the footsteps of Sir Bamfylde Fuller and openly bid for the support of the Mahomedans, by promising them preferential treatment. And the Mahomedans may yield to the temptation of separating themselves from the mass of their countrymen with whose interests their own are ultimately bound up. It is for the true leaders of the people, whether Mahomedan or Hindu, to show their patriotism by a policy of conciliation which will put an end to these intestine feuds. Many, perhaps the majority, of Anglo-Indian administrators have always been ashamed of such a policy; and recent events must have taught even the most reckless how much easier it is to provoke such antagonisms than to allay them.

Something will be gained by the mere increase in size. The new assemblies will be less of Councils and more of Parliaments; and in such bodies there is a tendency to jealously guard privileges already obtained and to desire to extend them, in which almost unconsciously all the non-official members of the new Councils will sooner or later share. Moreover, the farcical procedure in the Viceroy's Council by which most of the elected members spoke first and one after the other, will now disappear. Amendments may be moved

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to the Budget, and there is little doubt that whatever their numbers the wishes of the popular leaders will receive more attention. But the late leader of the Liberal party, Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, wisely said in speaking of Ireland :—

If an instalment of representative control were offered to Ireland, or any administrative improvement he would advise the Nationalists thankfully to accept it, provided it was consistent, and led up to their larger policy—but he repeated, it must be consistent and lead up to the larger policy. To secure good administration was one thing, but good government could never be a substitute for government by the people themselves.

Judged by this test, the Reform initiated by Viscount Morley should be accepted by the Indians—not of course as a satisfaction of their demands—but as an instalment which in making the Councils *more* representative of the Indian people, may well pave the way for making them *truly* representative.

But if the Indians accept this Reform with gratitude, they must not let that gratitude blind them to legitimate causes of discontent. The Partition of Bengal still remains ; their fellow-countrymen are still in prison without trial or opportunity of defence ; the drain of wealth still continues. Assuredly, India has need of the patriotism of every one of her sons.

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UNREST AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN INDIA.

By Mr. Y. Narayana Murti, B. A.

NEVER, perhaps, in all its past history, eventful as it is, has the question of Indian Education come in for a greater share of public attention than at the present moment. Seven years ago, under the direction of a most versatile Viceroy, half a century of its progress was taken stock of, and a strenuous attempt was made by Conference and Commission and ultimately by legislative enactment to overhaul it and cleanse its Augean stables. But once again, and even before the Universities Act of 1904 could come into operation or the general policy enunciated in the Government of India Resolution of 1904 could be worked out, there has been a recrudescence of educational controversy, and the public mind is drawn to it foremost among the questions of the day. The nationalistic movement in the country with its recent developments has invested the problem with an importance which it never claimed before and a significance which its supporters would surely never welcome. For there is an appalling feeling of unanimity in certain distinguished quarters that the present system of Indian education has been a veritable Pandora's box for the sedition and anarchy that was all too much in evidence amongst us of late. In this unenviable capacity it has been hauled up before the Houses of Parliament, in the press and on the platform, and charged, Socrates-like, with having unsettled the youthful mind in the country, with having destroyed all reverence for authority, and defiled the springs of Indian character. For once the greatest blessing which India owes to British rule is denounced, and the wisdom of those who were responsible for introducing it is seriously called in question. The Government are asked to thank themselves for having reared a serpent which has recoiled against them so suddenly and so insidiously. Various remedies have been suggested, constructive and the reverse, which have for their object a thorough revolution of the existing system; and one fundamental difference between these and the reforms proposed and sought to be carried out all along is that, while the latter were conceived in the interests of education and of the young men to whom it is imparted, the former have the

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deep and nearly exclusive political aim of preserving and increasing the stability of the British Raj, which is suspected to be in jeopardy. Thus, while, on the one hand, it is suggested that education in this coutry should be made less literary and theoretical, and more adapted to the practical needs of life, that Vernacular studies should be restored and Primary education made free and compulsory, the occasion has lent itself to the trotting out of alarmist and quixotic projects such as converting education into an instrument for dazzling the vision of Indian youth with a consciousness of the unlimited and invincible power of the British Empire; and for "manufacturing patriots" by bringing out the contrast between the place we enjoy under British rule, and the insecurity of life, property, and honour previous to its advent. Agreeably to this end, our schools are to "cease to indoctrinate the natives with English ideas such as that representative government is the one kind of good government in the world," and a policy of distrust and suspicion is to be inaugurated by establishing a system of censorship over the conduct of teachers and pupils, and of directors and conductors of schools, especially if they happen to be Brahmins!

Here we have a diagnosis and a cure; and without pausing to examine the pretensions of the latter, to question the wisdom of drawing the sword to scare the flea, to quote a familiar south-Indian saying, it will be a pertinent question to ask, what are the sins of which our educational system can *justly* be accused, and whether any aspect of the present unrest is legitimate and dignified enough to be called a child of education and not of the want of it. For an educational system will stand or fall, and an attempt to alter its character will be well or ill-justified according as it has made a people moral or immoral, loyal or disloyal, according as it has cherished and augmented or destroyed their traditional reverence for authority.

Other and older evidence being set aside, it is not long since the Government of India introduced their famous Simla Reform scheme with a fitting prefatory tribute to the benefits conferred on the natives of India by the spread of English education, and an appreciation of their increasing capacity for extended employment in the administration of the country. More recently still, Sir John Jardine, not a mean authority, either, on Indian Education, speaking from his place in the

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House of Commons, bore the following testimony to the influence of Western Education on Indian character :—

I have had the opportunity of observing the work done by Colleges and Universities in higher education, and I can say that in India as in England and as in ancient Greece, learning has been justified of her children. Much of the improvement, the social reforms, the progress in practical arts, and in the development of the resources of the country, has been started and carried out by Indians who have received the benefit of higher education. It is admitted that by means of Colleges and Universities the public service has been supplied and advanced both in learning and integrity.

If a tangible proof of this influence on Indian loyalty were needed, might we not look for it, among a thousand other instances of daily occurrence, in the outburst of enthusiasm which greeted Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales to this country two years ago, and which cannot all be attributed to the masses, more than 90 per cent. of whom are too illiterate and unenlightened to respond to the significance of the occasion, and to whose mind the visit of the son of a King whom they have never seen and seldom heard of, and could least of all conceive to be their own sovereign, was no more than a mere street pageant, or at the best the visit of a person whom the white men in this country held in high esteem? If there is any loyalty in the land for the British Throne (and no doubt has ever been entertained in this respect), it is a spontaneous tribute of gratitude and reverence rendered by the educated middle class to a Power which gave them peace and prosperity and rules by right of superior equipment to preserve internal order and keep off external aggression. India is loyal to British rule by tradition, by reason and by political necessity,—motives all, which appeal more directly and with fuller meaning to the educated and cultured mind.

To those who are ever so slightly posted in Indian conditions, nothing is so patent as that Indian character, without alienating its traditional reputation for charitableness to humanity and loyalty to the King, has been leavened by English education into a high sense of social duty, into honesty of purpose and public spirit. In the grand panorama which Indian society presents of the many and varied stages of its moral evolution, it is difficult not to notice that standing out from an essentially Indian background over which chance and change have no effect, are national piety and godliness, patience and

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tolerance, simplicity and self-restraint as the triumphs of the old classic culture, while the decadence of that culture is represented by a general dissociation of moral from intellectual ideals and an inroad of the form over the spirit, and the renaissance of culture under British influence finds expression in practical wisdom and realism, and a love of individual freedom and corporate life. Altogether, while we are not ashamed of our past, we glory in our present moral equipment, and if we are not more cosmopolitan in our outlook of life, if we lack the courage of our convictions, and the enterprise to do or dare, if our social reform and industrial regeneration are still far from being raised above the sphere of speculation, it is partly because modern education has but touched the barest fringe of our society, and even there has not gone deep enough; partly because of the divergence of ideals which prevents our making common cause with the masses, and partly because of our inability to afford to rise above our political and economic environments. The blame that rightly attaches to us on the score of having contributed little to the country's prosperity has reference to our inability to plunge into the thick of the fight against the odds that block our way, and not to our unwillingness to profit by an ever-ready opportunity. Indeed, that education of any sort, and pre-eminently of the kind we receive, should exercise no influence over character is incredible; and how much more so is it, and how inconsistent that it should exercise a pernicious influence! It is hard to conceive a more moral education, so far as it goes, than what is imparted to the Indian youth. It has no doubt some drawbacks, and some of them of a very serious nature, but they lie in the direction of omission rather than of commission, and whatever else they have done, they certainly do not constitute a menace to British authority.

It is admittedly no irreverence for that authority if educated Indians, encouraged by a little, ask for a little more share in the governance of their country and take a little more care of their own affairs in proportion to the training that has qualified them for such extended privilege. Nay, it is impossible for an English educated mind not to love and reverence the most highly cherished of English institutions, *viz.*, representative government. There is nothing unnatural, much less wrong or criminal, in such

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a reverence. It may be that Democracy, which is a living reality to the mind of the Englishman, is more or less but imaginary to the Indian. It may be that the Indian "does not know Liberty because he has never seen it," and that in his enthusiasm to transplant it on Indian soil he has not reckoned with the reason or the nature of the soil. He may even have been precipitale in his demand and wrought himself and his countrymen into a passion which grew in proportion to the persistence with which the Government refused to hear his overtures or his own more opportunist countrymen to second them. But is it in any way disparaging to the principle if it happens to be overdone, if impulsive schoolboys allow their enthusiasm for it to get the better of their reason, if the masses are carried away by a sense of personal danger whose why and wherefore they are far from being able to scan, nay, even if a few newspapers which make a bid for popularity by pandering to the lower tastes of the populace, incite people to boycott Government and assault Englishmen? Is it any ground "for preventing," in the words of a contributor to the *Quarterly Review*, "the people almost by force from learning English, and from studying English literature; for razing our Universities and Colleges to the ground and placing Mill and Herbert Spencer upon a new India Expurgatorius?" In such a case, will it do for the advisors of the Government to declare that the respect gained for the cause of liberty in India is so much loss for the British Raj; that representative government is the only good government in England, and the only bad one in India now and for ever and therefore not worth being fostered or so much as held up as an ideal out here; to urge the imparting to Indian youth of an education not in the science and art of good government, not even in a spirit of preparation for the highest goal of all government, but of a nature that will imbue their minds with a sense of the barbarism of their ancestors, as though this were education and not a systematic setting back of it by exciting emulation for the venal sins and a spirit of irreverence for the virtues of the past? No. On the contrary it were an occasion for the Government to persist on the track only with a firm hand on the reins, not to pull up by the roots the tree they have so long and so assiduously reared, but only to kill the parasite, to educate us as best they can into a love of Liberty, but stimulate and direct our exertions by

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example and precept to deserve to enjoy it, and like all nations that enjoy it, to wait till we deserve. If we are intoxicated with the wave of Western ideas and have grown restless over Liberty and Equality, it is a clear case where

Shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
And drinking largely sobers us again;

it is an apt occasion for the application of the good old maxim of medicine *Similia Similibus Curantur*. True, the furcoat that is indispensable to a Canadian is superfluous, nay injurious to an Indian, but even the Indian must wear a coat, and it were sheer injustice to demand of him to confine himself to the same old tattered coat of linen for all time and in all seasons, to hide from him the very existence of a better garment, to remind him that his ancestors wore no coat whatever, and exhort that he must make himself weatherproof and never require a change in all his life!

The unrest in India, in so far as it is a craving for a larger participation in the rights of British Citizenship, is the fruit of Western culture, and much of the perversity which it recently developed while working out its propaganda is such that would vanish (and indeed would never have been occasioned) with a wider extension of that culture, with an exhibition of larger sympathy and less precipitate haste on the part of those responsible for keeping the peace in the country, and with less of that intolerant and angry disdain with which the average non-official Anglo-Indian is accustomed to belittle and denounce Indian national aspirations. Even as it stands, it is an eloquent tribute to British sense of justice and British magnanimity in having promoted a system of education and unveiled a political outlook capable of creating it; and not less to Indian ambition to profit by that system and follow the little that has been conceded, despite a few initial and a few transitional errors, as indeed what great good ever dawned on a nation without a long previous ordeal of storm and gloom! And what a further exhibition of that magnanimity is manifest in the attitude with which the Viceroy and the Secretary of State have deemed fit to construe it! What a bright ray of hope was shot into the dismal apprehensions raised by interested persons over recent events by the strict impartiality with which Lords Minto and Morley have discerned the essential from the accidental,

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and resolved to arrest the hand that set the prairie on fire while standing by and supporting every legitimate ambition of educated India! Nothing can be more statesmanlike in spirit or more emphatic as a refutation of the now too common attempt to associate sedition and anarchy with the spread of education in this country, than, for instance, the following assurance of His Excellency:—

We all know that the lines of Indian thought are changing and that embryo national aspirations are beginning to take shape, and it will be a bad day for the British Raj and a bad day for the people of this country if we ever allow the belief to spread that the doctrines of murderous anarchy are even indirectly associated with the growth of these ambitions which British education has done so much to encourage.

Or the following admonition from Viscount Morley:—

It would be idle to deny at this moment that there is at this moment... a living movement in the mind of these people, a movement for objects which we ourselves have all taught them to be desirable objects. And unless we somehow or another can reconcile order with the satisfaction of these ideas and aspirations, the fault will not be theirs; it will be ours. It will mark the breakdown of what has never yet broken down in any part of the world, the breakdown of British statesmanship.

The fact of the matter is, and an unprejudiced analysis of recent public events could hardly fail to reveal, that, generally speaking, the unrest for political freedom is of the whole country, of long standing, and co-extensive with the march of progress; the disaffection against Government brought on by a sense of personal injustice is of the majority of the Bengalee-speaking race and their sympathisers abroad, while lawlessness and crime are strictly confined to its half-educated and uneducated section and to irresponsible and visionary demagogues, ill-advised students and the unthinking mob. It is not education but the total, absolute want of it that is responsible for this latter propaganda. The *Quarterly* reviewer above quoted ridicules the tendency to brand modern education as the originator of these troubles in the following words:—

Many people would have us believe that education is the sole cause of the troubles that perplex the British Government of to-day. It might as well be said that we owe all our difficulties to the persistent determination of the people of India to eat their daily dinners.

Is it indeed anything short of ignorant folly that mistakes picric acid for patriotism, and frenzied vituperation for political agitation, that proposes to drive the British out of the country

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or cow them down into granting political concessions by shedding some innocent blood? And did not the public mind recoil with indignation at the dastardly anarchic scenes enacted in Bengal of late, and, to quote the Viceroy once more, "expressions of abhorrence and condemnation reach Government from public meetings, associations and Indian gentlemen throughout the country, while the great mass of people have loyally shared with the British Raj in detestation of its contemptible brutalities?" Did not the voice of reason prevail in the counsels of the Indian National Congress when the apostles of the new creed of disaffection sought to commit it to a policy of active hostility to Government?

It would, therefore, be both uncalled-for and injurious to arrest the progress of education on the lines on which it has been run. But in other directions, both moral and literary, there is a crying need for reform, and it is to be hoped that friends of Indian education will give it their earnest attention. It has only to be remembered at this stage that the one golden rule of conduct in all Indian educational reform is *Festiner lente*. There is no dogmatizing in approaching the problem. A swing of the balance from one side to the other will perchance be fraught with disaster to generations of young men, and often the remedying of a mistake proves not only difficult in process but too late in effect. Every step forward or backward must be carefully considered and only gradually translated from experiment to "settled fact." It should always represent a golden mean between preserving and effacing the past, between conserving Indian individuality and forcing the foreign. The East has its own triumphs of Science and civilization as has the West; often the one proves a noble supplement to the other, a lamp by the light of which the other can be illumined. We, in India, have inherited the one by birth and the other by a happy political necessity, and the glory of education lies not in sacrificing the one for the sake of the other, but in fostering both and in adjusting and harmonizing the one with the other. A neglect of this principle in the past has deprived the country of some of the brightest results of an otherwise liberal system of education, and it is certainly not encouraging to see educational reformers of the present day only advocate wholesale reversion to one of the two extremes.

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For one thing, Modern Education in India is too Western. It assigns no place for the cultivation of a knowledge of the national ideals, and as such offers no incentive to patriotism. Its effect has been to denationalize the cream of Indian Society, to inspire in them a spirit of revolt against the past, and to constitute it a fifth grand caste in many respects the antipodes of the rest of the people. Its influence has been antagonistic to that exerted at home, and often finds expression in the absence of harmony among the elements that compose the family and in a mutual misunderstanding of the ideals of the past and the needs of the future—a misunderstanding which is fraught with untold danger to all attempts at social reform. Such a state of things never justifies a system of education that has given it rise ; but the proposal to "arrest the occidentalizing tendency of Modern Education" would only too surely err in the opposite extreme. It is not the arresting of such a tendency that is wanted, but a harmonizing of it with the oriental, the raising of its superstructure over oriental foundations. For no education can claim to be perfect which does not inculcate the principles of modern civilization. India would be reduced to an anachronism if at this time of day she has nothing to learn except her own system of the past. Let therefore the one be engrafted on the other ; let the one unite its volume to the sweetness of the other, and both flow, a noble stream, to fertilize and infuse new life into an ancient land. Thus, politically, rather than ignore the representative systems of the West or the despotism of the East, let us study both in all the richness of their detail, only let us not be glutted with the one or inebriated with the other, but let the one qualify the other, construed as only highest stage in the natural and spontaneous and not forced evolution of the other. To subserve this end, a study of the ancient history of India should be encouraged, elaborate researches into oriental institutions stimulated, and thus and otherwise the dead past should be revivified and brought into line with the living present. Similarly, let us not discard the vernacular languages of the country as we have done all along, or English as is now recommended, but study both to perfection and let the one grow into the other and each strengthen each. It is well-known that Indian Vernaculars are very much behind the times, and education through their medium is bound to be correspondingly

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behindhand. They require long years of toil and travail before being able to satisfy modern needs. We deplore the original decision of Government to assign them a subordinate place in our curriculum of studies. If prominent attention had been given them from the beginning they would possibly have developed considerably by now, and justified the proposal to make them the medium of instruction in secondary schools. A systematic and progressive encouragement would ere long give them a status which compels recognition. At the same time it is now too late in the day to demand that we should forego English. We have learnt to love and admire it. Half a century of the nation's lifetime has been devoted to it. It has become part of the valuable assets of the country and it would be nothing short of a tyranny now to propose to confiscate it.

So, industrially, let us not continue in the same venal neglect of technical and commercial studies as before, but at the same time not allow them to exercise a dominating influence over other aspects of a liberal education. In the present state of the country when the development of individual freedom which is always admitted to be at the root of national prosperity, is handicapped for want of economic independence, it would be a righteous resolve on the part of Government to bring it into existence by removing the obstacle of ignorance to Indian Industrialism. But much as we are in need of industrial education, we must not allow ourselves to forego higher mental and moral culture whose contribution to the sum of civilization is always decidedly larger and more profound. The tendencies of modern civilization in Europe and America have been a subject of much anxious concern to political thinkers of the West who are sounding a warning note against the venality, mediocrity and materialism to which it has conduced, sacrificing the higher, nobler and more abiding aspirations of human nature before the altar of monetary and utilitarian success. The day, if it is ever destined to come, is no doubt very far off when Indian conditions are so throughly metamorphosed ; but all the same it cannot be ignored that the Indian mind being noted for its adaptability and the Indian student mostly pursuing knowledge as a means of livelihood, it is not unlikely that during the next half a century and under the schemes now so much in the air, he will develop such an exclusively commercial bent

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that Indian industrialism, which depends for its progress upon so many other circumstances than mere industrial knowledge, which are not all present in this country and not all easy to bring into being, will cease to furnish him with an adequate outlet, and the discontent will only be bodily transferred from the universities of to-day into the laboratories of to-morrow. It has therefore to be seen that education in this country is not only widened but elevated, that intellectual culture is not narrowed down to material uses, and moral culture does not degenerate into a luxury. Every endeavour should be made to save the universities from being starved and those who have the natural aptitude for higher mental culture from being enticed away from it by the siren smiles of industrial preferment. To this end technical studies should generally be subordinated to higher literary culture, and by a careful system of selection at an early stage in their career (up to which both courses go together) students who exhibit no leaning towards higher education should alone be diverted to industrial pursuits.

There are, however, one or two matters which scarcely admit of a difference of opinion, or of a degree in the measure of earnestness with which the Government and the universities should apply themselves to setting them right. One serious and unanswerable charge against English education is that it is godless. If Western culture in India is *un*-Indian, it is pre-eminently so in this respect. Education without a religious basis neglects the development of the noblest side of human nature, and in no country does this neglect constitute a greater national evil than in India where spirituality has always been recognized as the *summum bonum* of human existence, as the ultimate standard of all human civilization. The plea of religious neutrality which has all along been relied upon by the British Government, does not hold in a matter where there is no difference of opinion as to the need for education based on religion. The diversity of Indian religions is a great, but not an insuperable obstacle in view of the decided uniformity that exists in the midst of and as a substrature to that diversity. One way or another, the development of a religious side to modern education is an imperative necessity and its neglect as sapping the foundations of Indian character cannot fail to bring out the difference between a paternal and an alien govern-

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ment. It is certainly not a compliment to the Government of India to perpetuate a policy inaugurated at a time when little was known of Indian systems of religion and philosophy and by men who had a very erroneous conception of those systems and who were more or less deliberate in allowing them to perish for want of support. It is a matter of opinion whether any religion is true or false, and if all Indian religions are ever so false, this does not disqualify them as a study and standard of conduct to *Indian* students.

Not the least important, and far the most immediate, drawback of Indian education is the quality of teachers employed in schools and colleges. It is a matter to be regretted that a cheap and wide-spread system of education should have resulted in sixth rate men being placed in charge of a machinery which ought to exercise such a potent influence over the country's prosperity. Time was when the department was manned by the very best products of the university whose character and attainments eminently fitted them to be instructors of youth. They were most liberally paid, and as often as not their talents for organization were rewarded with employment in Government service. The best men in the administration of a previous generation began their lives almost invariably and earned their laurels as teachers. Now the Department is air-tight both in admitting men into it and in qualifying them to get out it. It insists on technical qualification and rightly so, but only to allow it to supersede instead of co-ordinating first rate abilities. Its cold, stepmotherly treatment has resulted in men flocking to it who have not the wealth, talents or enterprise to seek other walks of life. For years, there has been a talk of educational reform, but none of the numerous proposals made to compass it have assigned an inch of space for bettering the condition of the teacher. It will be a sight to see—a sight for which there is nothing which the friends of Indian progress would not be willing to pay, how Indian education will improve under a better class of teachers whom a liberal scale of salaries can alone secure, and no amount of inquisitorial diligence, and a better generation of pupils admitted and promoted by proved merit, and not by any of the sinister causes that are now allowed to do duty for it.

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MODERN ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY.—II.*

By Mr. Manohar Lal, M. A., Principal, Randhir College, Kapurthala.

FROM Division of Labour we pass on to "Differentiation of functions." Strictly speaking, the two terms mean the same thing, and in fact the latter is, if any thing, more general, and we would have started with it, but the idea of division of labour is familiar to you all, while the more general term "differentiation of functions" is likely to be unfamiliar, as I do not know that it is brought out in any of the few works that our University recommends for your reading.

But by this time you have no doubt formed some idea of what "differentiation of functions" means. We mean by this rather longish term that with economic progress—as progress is understood at the present day in countries advancing in material prosperity—every *function* or *work* comes to be specialized, and a new class of business men or workers spring up who only attend to this special work; in other words, whereas formerly a number of functions were united in the same person, *e. g.*, under the handicrafts system the workman owned his own tools, brought raw material, etc., and so acted as his own capitalist; now with the advance of industrial organization, each function or work becomes the special concern of one distinct class of men.

This differentiation of functions is one of the most dominant facts of the modern system. From it spring in a large measure the efficiency of production so striking in the present economy, as well as some of those widespread evils equally striking that sometimes seem to shock public idea of honesty, and sometimes paralyse all of a sudden the business activity of the world as a whole.

We shall not have time to-day to go into the subject with the minute care it deserves, for some of the more important aspects of the issues here raised belong to a more advanced period of economic study than we have reached at present. I had intended in my third lecture to deal with some of these problems closely, but when I came to work at the subject, I found that their discussion would assume much knowledge on various economic topics which we are not likely to possess as yet. On turning over the matter several times in my mind, I have come to the conclusion that it would be best to take up the whole

* The lecture is here given exactly as originally delivered, which will account for its peculiarities of language, It forms part of a course which is being delivered by the Lecturer as University Lecturer in Economics.—(Ed. *H. R.*)

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subject of problems in our third course during the Christmas term. The third lecture will, therefore, remain undelivered for some time. But for those who have the time to study these problems, I shall be glad to indicate books and authorities which they may with advantage consult,—those whose time is very limited cannot do better than spend a few hours on Hadley's *Economics*.

We come now to consider some of the special cases of this differentiation:

(*a*) The most fundamental differentiation is that of *capital* from *labour* with the increasing relative importance of capital in the modern organization. The factory system requires the existence of large sums of capital; much capital has to be sunk into a business before any return is possible. Expensive buildings and plant are necessary before any start can be made. It is obvious that in such a system *labour and capital could not co-exist as functions, i.e.*, the capital necessary could not be provided by those who work with their hands.

The management of industries under such circumstances came entirely into the hands of the capitalist-manager who worked the factory on his own and *borrowed capital*. (Owned and barrowed capital—I want to ask you to remember this, for as we shall presently see the importance of borrowed capital has been increasing steadily). Under the domestic system, the merchant-capitalists used to supply the raw material, and at the end market goods, but the workmen worked in their own houses and with their own tools. But under the factory system this was all changed. The capitalist managed the whole from beginning to end, the workman only to provide his labour force in the factory.

As capital assumed increasing importance under such a system, this method of business organization has been aptly called "*capitalism*."

The present system while it requires considerable capital for its working, also produces much wealth and therefore capital. Statistics show that during the last century wealth has increased faster than population. Professor R. Mayo-Smith says:—

> It is the great producing nations that are the ones that are increasing in wealth at the most rapid rate. The Community not only supports itself, but devotes a part of its wealth to further production. When one thinks of the enormous sums of money invested in railroads during the last fifty years, the question arises: Whence did this wealth arise? The answer is that it produced itself to a large extent. The new methods were so productive that they afforded a large excess as profit, and these profits were turned again into capital.

This is one of the most vital facts of the present system. Machinery—which, remember, is simply capital in a particular shape—has increased the efficiency of production. More is produced—there is a

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larger National Dividend to use a Marshallian term—and there is more to distribute among the various agents of production. Increase of wealth means also an increase of saving—and the modern world does not hoard its savings, but invests them again.

The course that investments take as wealth increases, is in the production of improved machinery and labour-saving appliances—instead of producing objects of direct utility which pass at once into the hands of the consumer, instruments that are not directly useful, but of indirect utility as making the production of objects of immediate utility easy, are produced. This is a notable feature of the modern system, and we owe to this an expression so common in modern economics, "the roundabout" method of production.

(*b*) We said above that we should bear in mind the growing importance of borrowed-capital in the modern business world. The large capital requirements of efficient organization of production can hardly be supplied by the wealth of any individual or a small number of individuals, even though we have now men with their fabulous millions; anyhow a number of causes have given a peculiar shape to modern business, the era of single-man concerns or private companies is passing away, and the modern business world is rapidly moving through the various forms of joint-stock enterprise. The history of the rise and development of joint-stock enterprise forms one of the most important and instructive chapters in the story of modern capitalism, but we have no time to-day to go into it. What we have to remember is that a large part of the capital sunk in modern business comes from the general loan-fund increasing every year, and the direct investment of the public in the form of shares. From this peculiarity arise two special classes, one the *entrepreneur* class, the other the class of *financiers*, *promoters*, *underwriters*, etc.

Entrepreneurs.—While capital is growing in importance every day, the mere capitalist as such does not now occupy the position of command that he once did. The direction of economic enterprise has, by the slow process of differentiation, become a distinct function with a special class of men called *entrepreneurs*. The English equivalent is *undertakers*, but the word is ugly and has not obtained any currency.

It is the "entrepreneur" who organizes a business—who brings the agents of production together in such a way as to lead to the best results. He is the central figure in the modern business world, both capital and labour depend upon him for employment, it is he who with his resourcefulness and ingenuity of ideas, opens up opportunities for the two factors, and by skilful and careful management makes their combination ever more efficient. Such a person must possess the

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qualities of a leader and has been aptly compared to a general of the army, and designated a "Captain of industry."

Economic theory in England had for same time not given the right place to this "function of organization," partly because in the early stages the two functions of the employer-organizer and the capitalist were united in the same person, and partly for want of clearness of ideas owing to the absence of a word to express the idea. John Stuart Mill in a footnote to his *Principles*, regrets that the word undertaker in the sense of the employer or organizer is not familiar to an English ear; and adds that "French Political Economists enjoy a great advantage in being able to speak currently of "*les profits de l'entrepreneur*." It is no doubt because of this that Political Economy has in France avoided the mistake committed by some of the older English economists in failing to distinguish the functions of the employer and his share in the produce of industry as such from the functions and share of the capitalist as such.

You are no doubt happy in having learnt the subject through Walker who did more than any one else to emphasize the distinctness of this function, and give currency to the word "entrepreneur," but those who derived their instruction in the theory of distribution from the manual of Mr. Fawcett will remember how inadequate is the analysis of profits as given there. Such is the hold of old terminology in this respect that even Professor Marshall in his *Principles of Economics* at least has not given to the Entrepreneur the importance in the theory of distribution which the importance of the functions he performs requires.

We read in old books and even in Marshall that profits are composed of "interest on capital sunk; rewards of business management; and insurance against risk." In modern works we read, on the other hand, that interest as the return for capital should be kept as an entirely distinct share from *profit* which is the reward for the entrepreneur's function. Some American economists, chief among whom is Mr. F. B. Hawley, in a controversy that was carried on in the *Harvard Journal of Economics*, maintain that in profits of the entrepreneur the reward of risk-taking is the chief element, but risk taking, we shall see, is now crystallized into a separate function by itself, and it is best to regard *profits as the return for the difficult function of business organization.* The "*Employer and Entrepreneur*" is so important a person in the modern business world that it is well to bear in mind the chief qualities that are necessary for the successful performance of his function, and I venture to quote a passage of some length from my great teacher Marshall—

> The ideal manufacturer, for instance, if he makes goods not to meet special orders but for the general market, must in his first rôle as a merchant and

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organizer of production, have a thorough knowledge of *things* in his own trade. He must have the power of forecasting the broad movements of production and consumption, of seeing where there is an opportunity for supplying a new commodity that will meet a real want or improving the plan of producing an old commodity. He must be able to judge cautiously and undertake risks boldly; and he must, of course, understand the materials and machinery used in his trade. But secondly, in his rôle of employer, he must be a natural leader of men. He must have a power of first choosing his assistants rightly and then trusting them fully; of interesting them in the business and of getting them to trust him, so as to bring out whatever enterprise and power of origination there is in them; while he himself exercises a general control over every thing, and preserves order and main unity in the main plan of his business.

Few men can exhibit all these qualities in a very high degree, but we have almost an ideal instance in Mr. Carnegie who has made his fortune by his capacity as a first rate organizer and not a financial manipulator.

(*c*) We have now seen the place which the entrepreneur occupies in the modern business world. He is the great central figure in modern economy, the organizer of industry to whom both capital and labour turn for employment. The vast majority of people who having savings—and there are a series of causes which make for accumulation of wealth at the present day—have no business faculty themselves, yet they are anxious to reap the full fruits of their savings by safe investments.

All this capital finds its way ultimately to the "entrepreneur." But the entrepreneur under the complexities of modern business arrangements can hardly procure capital directly; and a most striking development of the industrial organization of the present day is the almost complete differentiation of what may conveniently be called the *function of financing enterprises*. This function has itself been subdivided, and we have promoters, underwriters and so on.

This development is one of the most recent and had its rise in the United States of America, where as Marshall remarked as far back as eighteen years ago, 'the new methods of a Joint-Stock Company are not much to their mind, they prefer combinations that are more mobile, more elastic, more adventurous, and often more aggressive.'

Before the era of *Trusts*, of which no doubt all of you have heard, the *financier*, in the sense of a promoter or undertaker, hardly existed; the capital requirements were provided by the machinery of the Joint-Stock Company. In big enterprises to-day of the Trust or Cartell type, the existence of a special class of functionaries, who make the starting of the enterprise financially feasible, even attractive, by floating the concern with an attractive, prospective and share list, and who agree on certain favourable considerations to provide the necessary capital to start the business; has become inevitable and necessary.

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The modern investor knows little about the technical aspects of the industries into which they put their money. They are acquainted with those industries merely as sources of profit. If they can be given satisfactory assurances that profits will be forthcoming from a proposed development, they are willing to invest money to that end. It is this attitude of the general investor that gives rise to the *Promoter*. The promoter is one who discovers investment opportunities, organizes companies to develop those opportunities, and sells the securities of these companies to obtain funds for development.

The promoter not infrequently is himself engaged in the industry which he proposes to extend or to develop in some other locality. Such a promoter, for instance, we have in Mr. John W. Gates of the Federal Steel and American Steel and Wire Companies, whose name is perhaps not unknown to the reader of newspapers in India.

On the other hand, and this is more often the case, a class of *pure promotors* is growing up who are not particularly conversant with the practical and technical affairs of the industry into which they temporarily enter, but who have somehow won a place in the charmed circle of successful financiers by the confidence which they command and by the rare skill of negotiation which they possess. The most notable example of such a promoter we have in Judge Moore of the United States who within the last few years has promoted several large steel corporations, and yet is understood to have had little practical knowledge of the steel industry.

(To be concluded.)

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THE POLITICAL RENAISSANCE IN TURKEY.

By Mr. Ghulam Ambia Khan.

VAINLY shall we ransack the accumulated annals of humanity to find a parallel to the wonder that has worked itself into perfection, silently and bloodlessly in the land of the "Unspeakable Turk," and has, of late, all on a sudden, ushered itself into the forefront of the world politics. In July last the world was taken aback with the news of an inexplicable yet epoch-making political change, which was preceded by no portent or sign, visible to the world at large, to account for its unexpected advent. History has accustomed us to associate with the victory of constitutionalism and popular independence, long and arduous civil wars, internecine bloodshed and tortuous struggles, as well as noble martyrdom and glorious self-sacrifice. Struggles for the vindication of constitutionalism have found many a nation wallowing in the blood of their kinsmen shed by their own hands, and, beheaded kings and shattered dynasties have formed their horrible concomitants in every land and every age. Ostensibly, the Turkish revolution seemed to have elbowed out its way unhindered by these customary accompaniments and unimpeded by any reactionary opposition. Nevertheless, though no shedding of kindred blood, outrageous cruelty, or violation of Imperial prestige has stigmatised the ultimate accomplishment of the Revolution, yet the noble band of its manœuvrers had to wage steady and arduous wars, not of arms against arms but of indignant and wounded national self-respect against militant maladministration and official corruption, of civic safety and personal liberty against the remorseless tyranny and grasping avarice of a powerful palace camarilla and their serried lines were ever and anon thinned by the disappearance of martyrs, who laid down their lives to the stroke of the invisible scimitar of the spy in the silent performance of their self-imposed duty to their derelict country. A prodigy, a veritable prodigy, is this Turkish Revolution; but how did it come about?

A long line of noble Sultans passed away—Sultans whose legions cannonaded and shattered the Byzantine walls on the shores of the Bosphorus and embraced victory in many a memorable battle by the waters of the Danube; Sultans who pulled

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down dynasties and kingdoms and one of whom even threatened "to stable his charger at the altar of St. Peter's at Rome." A subsequent long succession of comparatively weak Sultans followed. The surging flood of Slavonic upheaval in Russia on one side and the revival of warlike spirit in Austria, Hungary, and Poland, on the other, hemmed in the Ottoman Empire; while the Turkish discomfiture at the battle of Lepanto rudely and permanently shook the belief, that had gained ground throughout Christendom, of the invulnerability of the Turkish arms. No doubt, the race, too, had lost its pristine valour and the long and peaceful fruition of suzerain power over a vast empire had, naturally enough, culminated in a general laxity of morals leading to national degeneration and the decadence of those noble qualities which pine away in the contact of immorality and irreligion. As time went on, the empire dwindled in extent more and more. Like an antiquated and crumbling structure, it stood grim and dismal, vainly meeting the ravages of foreign arms whose cyclonic blast blew away from it parts and blocks and humbled it lower and lower.

The beginning of the last century found it weaker than ever and its partition seemed imminent. It survived the crisis because it was in the interest of the Powers to let it lord it over the Bosphorus. The dismemberment went on unabated till the empire which once extended from the Danube to the Euphrates shrank down to its present ridiculously small dimensions. Heedless of the great and multifarious improvements in civilisation, government and warfare, that were taking place in quick succession all over Christian Europe, the progeny of Othman, in spite of their hereditary warlike mettle, had long foregone their claim to superior fighting and administrative organisation. Fixed in the quagmire of despotism and corruption, the nation, even if it had willed, could not keep pace with the forced marches of Christendom towards greater civilisation and wider expansion. Hidebound in conservatism, the nation lay stagnant, still and paralysed after the violent ebullition of martial spirit, subsequent to their eruption into the Byzantine Empire, had ebbed into lassitude and depression. The sobriquets of "The Sickman," the "Assassin" and the "Damned" were showered upon the successor of Muhammad, "The conqueror" and Sulaiman, "the Magnificent." Ominous signs of utter annihilation hovered menacingly about the moribund empire.

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But Ottoman genius had slept too long; it could no more tolerate the ignominious degradation and wanton degeneration which had so long stifled its development and dislustred its display. The inert Ottoman limbs so long stricken with the paralysis occasioned by long and weary decades of emasculation and debilitation, stirred into activity with the vibrations of regathering vitality. Situated in the close vicinity of Western civilisation, the country was soon overtaken by its roaring tide and its old customs, ways and ideas drifted away with its flow leaving a soil, clean and refreshed for the ready assimilation of new innovations and theories.

The budding vitality and vigour of the Ottomans broke as under the shackles which deep-rooted despotism and tyranny had assiduously woven round them and which had systematically starved all spirit of free initiative. In bands they spread over the Western world to gauge the mystery of its tremendous success. In scientific education and wide diffusion of knowledge, they found the secret of the deadliness of the foreign arms and of the superiority of foreign civilisation. With eloquent exhortations, they preached to their countrymen the Gospel of the new light and poets arose to sing of liberty and independence to intensify the ecstasy of the nation's onward marches with the sweet cadence of the music of their inspired poesy. Carlyle's Great man was not long in making his appearance and Midhat Pasha is the pre-eminent sage and the first martyr of the New Light. His life he burned as an incense at the altar of liberty and constitutionalism and the curling smoke of the fire that consumed him still lingers in every Ottoman heart.

The gusty winds of rampant reaction and virulent opposition began to blow, threatening to nip the florescence of the new spirit and to scatter pell-mell the still incoherent propaganda. A widespread system of espionage preyed unceasingly upon the devoted head of the "Young Turkish Party." Very often the unwary "Young Turk" incurred official suspicion and forthwith he disappeared perhaps to find his watery grave in the bed of the Bosphorus or to die of utter isolation in some out-of-the way place. To avoid this scourge, many a Turk whose enlightened and noble nature militated against the stale and putrid misgovernment of the country, left the joy of their home and hearth to carry on their propaganda in the safety of the

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European Metropolises. There with idefatigable energy, the fugitive patriots formulated and propagated the tenets of their propaganda by means of pamphlets and brochures which were smuggled into hands only too ready to receive them. Spurred on by enthusiastic adherence and spontaneous approbation, they laboured hard and unfatigued to accelerate the deliverance of their country from insatiable exploitation and endless spoliation.

Two years ago, the Young Turkish Party crystallised into a more compact and organised society. It decided upon to establish its headquarters in Salonika and set on foot in right earnest the conspiracy which eventually pulled down the tottering fabric of aged despotism. With wonderful tact and foresight, which baffled the vigilance of the State spies, the directors of the society carried on the work of enlisting into their ranks the uninitiated and young generations of the country and of disseminating broadcast their revolutionary principles. Their methods were unique and reflect credit on those who devised them. An old member of the Society would often tell one of his friends of a mystery which he would disclose to him, if he swore not to divulge it. Curious and expectant, his friend would take the necessary oaths and in a passionate tone, the member would explain to him that there existed a Secret Society, whose noble object was the extirpation of tyranny and the subversion of the absolutist regime and would exhort him in the name of his faith and his country to join the propaganda and be a member of the fraternity. Succumbing to his entreaty his friend would wait for a few days and then unknown messengers would come to him and ask him to follow them. Blindfolded, he would be led to a lonely recess in some remote forest, where the voice of some Young Turk, waxing into a high pitch of impassioned eloquence and hid from his bandaged eyes, would delineate to him the galling wrongs perpetrated on the nation at large by the infatuated band of a sordid palace cabal, how, under its ægis the juvenile blood of the nation was being shed remorselessly and brutally by an ignoble and cowardly spycraft, how the country was being driven to the brink of destruction by rank and ravenous corruption and grievous mismanagement and how it behoved every son of the Ottoman soil to aid in the liberation of his ill-fated native land. Solemnly sworn to

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secrecy and fidelity on his religion and on sword the candidate would now be affiliated to the society, his duties and obligations would be explained to him and with special emphasis it would be impressed upon his mind that until Turkey was liberated, he would have to work in obedience to the instructions of the society, for the success of the Conspiracy, that he belonged body and soul to the Society and that he would have to obey its orders even to the extent, if necessary, of killing his own kith and kin. This ceremony over, he would be led blind-folded back to his home and for months would have to undergo a test of the Society which would send him, through secret channels, peremptory orders and he would have to obey them to the letter. The old member would be answerable for the conduct of the tyro and should he prove treacherous the dagger would be forced into his own hands to terminate the treachery, he had introduced. Having stood the ordeal of the test and shown himself incapable of infidelity, the candidate would be admitted into one of the numerous branches of the Society, there to work in conjunction with a limited number of other members for the fulfilment of the ideal, the Society had set before it.

Thus daily adding to its number, cautious and always on its guard, the Young Turkish Party which was destined to mete out in the long run, a death-blow to absolutism, strained its every nerve and left no stone unturned to gather together the young and exuberant energy of the nation and bring its full pressure to bear upon the rabid excesses of high-handed official violence, which incessantly fell foul of every Ottoman, who smacked of liberalism and enlightenment. Disguised as petty pedlars and humbling themselves to the adoption of many other menial avocations, the scions of noble families, whose hearts ached at the widespread misery of their noble race, itinerated from place to place throughout the length and breadth of the empire and to the unlettered masses, listening agape, administered the enchanting incantations of Ottoman Salvation.

About seven moths before the revolution, all the divers races that people the Ottoman Empire, Arabs, Albanians, Bulgarians and Armenians, forgetting their old mutual animosities decided upon to establish a Central Committee.—"The Committee of Union and Progress"—and to take active measures for pushing on the propaganda with all haste. With its usual

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prescience, the Committee saw that without military intimidation, it would be useless and futile to dictate terms to the powerful and firmfooted opposition, which, under Imperial auspices, could defy anything but universal military upheaval. And when the Committee began its work in the Army, where heavy arrears in pay, and a general lack of " Esprit de Corps " consequent upon the suspicion with which everybody was viewed during the despotic regime, had given rise to great disaffection, it met with unprecedented success. In Macedonia, particularly, the soldiers evinced great sympathy with the Young Turk's cause and the Committee quite correctly set store to their warm and enthusiastic adherence.

In spite of the success that its efforts had so far met with, the Committee contendedly delegated to a distant future the consummation of its hopes; but circumstances soon appeared which necessitated supreme efforts and decisive and finishing strokes to save the propaganda from ultimate frustration. In June last, the intimation of the intended co-operation of England and Russia to introduce reforms in Macedonia, descended upon the Committee as a veritable thunderbolt, because such an action on their part involved a shocking and shattering loss to its cause implying a practical severance of Macedonia, its great stronghold, from the Ottoman Empire. The Committee now felt that with herculean efforts, it must rise equal to the exigencies of the occasion and meet face to face, the encompassing difficulties of the situation.

Events succeded one another in amazingly quick succession and prepared the way for the " Coup de grace ", which with a master-stroke put an end to a restless and uneasy absolutism that was dragging on it its miserable existence amidst perpetual fears and acute disquietude of suspicion aud doubts. In Salonika in the beginning of June, an attempt was made on the life of one Nazim Bey, who was in bad odour with the Young Turks. He escaped and a Commission headed by General Ismail Pasha was despatched from Constantinople to find out and report on the ramifications of the Secret Society that was believed to be at the root of the Assault. The studious vigilance of the Committee baffled its enquiries and erelong, Enver Bey and Niazi Bey at Monastir threw away their masks and openly declared their adherence to the revolutionary party. Shukri Pasha, a creature of the

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Sultan, tried to stem the progress of the revolutionary cause but he was recalled. Later on Niazi with singular boldness, occupied the whole country around Monastir, raised the standard of constitutionalism, liberty and equality, and called on the people around to stand by it. Trampled for centuries under the iron-heel of abject despotism they were awaiting eagerly an opportunity to shake off its domination and effect its precipitate overthrow. To Niazi's trumpet call, the people responded with spontaneous outbursts of frenzied enthusiasm and they thronged round his banner to offer their quota of assistance in the deliverance of the country. The conflagration of rebellion spread like a jungle fire all over the Vilayet, and it would have blazed high and furious, had not the timely abolition of absolutism cooled its smouldering timbers.

Battalions were despatched to Monastir under Shemshi Pasha to quell the rebellion : but the Pasha himself was shot dead and the battalions, who were in the meanwhile won over to the new cause refused to fire on their Moslem brethren. The system of espionage which had stood the Sultan in good stead on many other occasions, now alienated many officers, who were indignant at being suspected and watched by spies. The palace Camarilla felt their approaching doom and were fully conscious that the sombre and dreary clouds overhanging them might at any moment burst into inundating torrents, which, overleaping their feeble barrier would wash away the very landmarks of their existence. Forty-eight more battalions of the Anatolian Army from Smyrna were mobilised. But the order to march into Macedonia to reduce the insurgents could not be given without the sanction of the Sheikh-ul-Islam, because setting Moslems to fight against Moslems, required justification by religious "fatwas" or " responsa prudentum ", which are issued by the Sheikh-ul-Islam. With bated breath, the country awaited the answer of the venerable Sheikh ; the whole issue of the struggle hanged on the nature of his answer. A single word from his mouth, and Sabres and Scimitars would fly thick and fast, the whole country would be thrown into the throes of agony and chronic disorder and the bloodhounds of war would be let loose to spread devastation and desolation. But this was not to be. With true Islamic independence " the chief of Islam " illegalised the war on Moslems and dubbed as reasonable and just the demands of the

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populace for constitution and reforms. Encouraged and supported by the highest dignitary of the Islamic Church, the Committee pressed its demands for the re-institution of the Chamber of Deputies with greater persistence and determination. With a rebellious army backed by a powerful public opinion bent upon abolition of the absolutist regime, the Sultan found himself in an awkward position, the only way out of which involved an unqualified submission to the dictatorship of the odious Young Turk, for whose extirpation his Government had been spending annually the stupendous sum of £ 1,200,000. But despotism had too long an innings, for centuries it sucked the life-blood of the nation and its reckless vagaries and hydra-headed whims systematically emaciated the noble children of Othman: Providence decreed that it should now die its overdue death and struck down by the sharp-edged sword of the re-awakened gladiator of the Ottoman race, it retired from the arena a bleeding and war-wearied lion.

After potracted sittings with his ministers, Sultan Abdul Hamid gave to the Ottoman people constitutional Government and equality of all races. Thus without any actual shedding of blood, this phenomenal revolution, the noblest victory of constitutionalism was effected amidst the gaping admiration of the world. The numerous hosts of underlings who alone reaped benefit in the despotic regime felt that the ground was slipping from beneath their feet and were, almost unawares, precipitated helter-skelter into the bottomless abyss of well-merited oblivion. Ministers and Secretaries fled post haste to foreign lands to avoid the horrible retalliation, which they feared was in store for them for their iniquities.

Driven to ecstasy, the nation rejoiced for weeks together at the triumph of democracy over absolutism and their jubilation knew no bounds. Hoarse and deafening shouts of "Vide la Constitution" and "Vive le Sultan" rent the Sky. Maddened with joy, huge crowds thronged the streets of Constantinople and gilded on to Yildiz Kiosk, clamouring to have a look at the Sultan—their Sultan once more, who would govern them with their consensus and in conjunction with their representatives elected by their own suffrage. To the British Embassy they turned and an eye-witness says "their cheers for King Edward on this occasion.....could not leave an Englishman unmoved."

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Well might the members of the Committee of Union and progress pride themselves upon the wonderful transformation that they have brought about in the Ottoman Empire. Profound and great is our admiration for this band of noble-souled patriots, who forebore from revenge and bloodshed at the moment of their complete triumph ; peerless and unique is the restraint they displayed all along ; and above all the inimitable skill and ingenuity with which they piloted themselves amidst difficulties of dangerous description, are worthy of the highest tribute.

The elections being over almost smoothly, the Chamber of Deputies assembled on the 17th December last. We need not be sceptic about the bright future of the Ottoman race, when the Sultan declares from throne : "My will is definite and unalterable. Henceforth, the constitution will regulate the affairs of the nation." Despotism has died and over its ashes stands, revealed in all its glory, the rejuvenated Ottoman race, commencing a new lease of life and bringing into play its youthful vigour for a better and nobler existence.

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THE TEACHING OF COMMERCE IN INDIA.

By Mr. S. R. Davar, F. C. I., F. S. S., Principal, 'College of Commerce,' Bombay.

THANKS to the efforts of our education department and other private institutions, liberal university education has spread far and wide in India; and as a result we have with us an intellectual, influential and ever-growing class of educated Indians. It must, however, be stated that the zeal for high University training has been carried rather too far, the results of which are apparent in the overcrowding of the learned professions all over India, and the absolute necessity of working Commercial and Technical schools and colleges side by side with the regular University schools, is being felt more keenly year after year, month after month. The backward state of India with regard to its commerce and industries appeals more strongly than ever, to all concerned, with a strong case, in favour of the absolute necessity of introducing these only mediums of educating the people for commercial pursuits and thus arming them with that very essential and the most powerful equipment, that equipment which is an absolutely essential factor to the carrying on a successful and victorious campaign in the world's arena of commerce and industries—I mean commercial education. We have recognised the need of legal education, medical education, and the like and it is incomprehensible why commercial education should have failed so long to attract the notice of the educationalists all the world over. Commercial education is an education of very recent origin and thus it has naturally a brief history. This history, brief as it is, teaches us many a wholesome lesson. England, which has so long enjoyed the glory of being the foremost political community in the world, was also in the early fifties of the last century, the unrivalled commercial country in the world, but it had soon to cope with rivals among its European neighhours, the most prominent of them being Germany. The Germans were the first to see the advantages of imparting commercial education on proper, scientific and systematic basis and with the experiences of the lifetime of great bankers, merchants, etc., collected and compiled in the form of text-books, they proceeded to put their schemes into practice with such undreamt-of and unprecedented success that even the great commercial England had soon to wake up to the necessity of following suit in the interests of its own commerce and industries. Lord Curzon while speaking of commercial education said:—"Commercial education is not that branch of education that only developes the mind and polishes the

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intellect, but it also arms youngmen and women with that knowledge that would be useful to them in life, a knowledge which is quite in conformity with the times, as in modern life the practical everywhere supersedes the ornamental." Without dealing further on the advantages of imparting this education (for want of space), I shall proceed to sketch out as briefly as possible the scheme of teaching commerce on the most advantageous lines according to my ideal and for that purpose I shall divide commercial education in three parts as follows:—

(1) General commercial education such as can be imparted in schools.
(2) General commercial education such as can be imparted in commercial colleges and advanced commercial institutions.
(3) Professional commercial education, that can be acquired partly by a course of studies in advanced commercial colleges and partly by practice in that field of commerce to which it relates.

Beginning with the Elementary schools, all that is desired of them is that Reading, Writing and Arithmetic should be thoroughly taught, having regard to English Grammar, Composition and Spelling; in short, all that can be expected of such institutions is a foundation on which the structure of sound commercial and other educations may be built. Proper care should be given to handwriting, for though since the introduction of Typewriter's good handwriting has fallen to a certain extent from its high position, it still is in account-keeping and other departments of commerce, is indispensable.

In higher schools the course may be distributed over a period of two years and worked side by side the University curricula as optional subjects for those who are desirous of casting their lot in the commercial world. The need for imparting a thorough knowledge of English hardly needs a mention. We shall therefore proceed to deal with the other subjects.

Commercial Arithmetic—a quick and calculating head in a business office is a precious possession, the want of which cannot be filled up by any substitute. In the teaching of Arithmetic in schools and especially in the Commercial departments, the analytic methods and the avoidance of formulas of all kinds throughout the whole course are recommended by experts, one of which emphatically points out that "the fact that the Arithmetic of Business is pre-eminently the Arithmetic of Common Sense should not for a moment be lost sight of in drilling classes in this branch in our schools."

Commercial Geography—Geography is one of the subjects of the University curricula of High Schools which with a little improvement in its mode of teaching, may be made more practical and useful for Students of Commerce. "Tell me the Geography of a country and I will tell you its future", is a saying which in itself speaks of the impor-

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tance of this branch of study. The first year's course may deal only with the ordinary school Geography and in the second year the more practical knowledge about climate, mineral wealth, vegetation and animals, population, race, religion, industries and manufactures, products and commodities, rulers, etc., should be imparted.

Commercial History—In high schools, the subject of Commercial History may be handled side by side with Commercial Geography and a general outline of the History of Commerce of the World may be laid before the students of Commerce, deferring the detailed and advanced teachings to the colleges and advanced commercial institutions.

Book-keeping, Accounts—This subject has proved to be in general favour of the students of Commerce in Europe. Some argue that "it is one of the bread and butter subjects", but its popularity is well-deserved if we consider what an important part account-keeping plays in the successful working of business firms and companies. The precision with which progression or retrogression of the business of a firm is exhibited with the regularity of a thermometer pleads eloquently in favour of a proper system of keeping accounts in all business firms. During the first year a student should be given an idea as what book-keeping is and should be started with a Waste Book, Journal, a ledger in the easiest set of transactions taking him through posting of the accounts. During the second year, a more advanced set of transactions should be taken in hand and the students should be taught here how to close the Ledger by means of closing entries, to make out the Profit and Loss account and the balance sheet. The Stock Book, the Bills Book, Returns and Advanced book ought to be added to the set used during the course of the first year. The advanced study of account-keeping may well be left alone for colleges and specialization of accountancy may be taken up under the third division as given above, with which I shall deal presently.

Economics—This subject in an elementary form could only be introduced in High Schools and only Primary notions as to the Division of Labour, Production, management of Business, markets, credit, etc., could be aimed at. This subject should be handled and taught in a way to so impress the student that a desire may be created in his mind to read and think over the subject after leaving school, at the same time that it may prepare the way for commercial college work.

French and German—the introduction of these two important commercial languages in the curricula of the High School which aims at possessing a model department for imparting Commercial Education hardly needs an apology. Our Indian merchants when travelling

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in Europe, experience great difficulty in expressing freely their views and wants before French and German manufacturers; even the assistance of an interpreter does not much improve the situation. Besides, catalogues, price lists, Commercial directories, etc., published in German and French languages, cannot be made use of by them to advantage, and often private and confidential correspondence has to be left in charge of departmental clerks. Under the circumstances it is plain that students wishing to enter the commercial arena on completion of their education should take up French and preferably German as their second language. The Schools and Colleges of England have recently taken up this question in earnest and every encouragement is given to the study of these two important languages that are second in importance only to the English language in the commercial world. The method of imparting those languages also plays an important part in bringing about good results and it ought to be borne in mind that the two principal attainments aimed at for commercial purposes are (*a*) the ability to translate a commercial letter correctly and to the point, (*b*) the ability to write the same without risking the unpleasant and often expensive eventuality of a misapprehension on the part of the addressee. Conversation with classes in foreign languages are also essential.

II. The subjects of Commerce that should make up the curricula of a College of Commerce, are:—Advanced accounting and book-keeping, commercial correspondence and Precis Writing and Filing and Indexing of letters,—Methods and machinery of Business—Commercial law—Banking and currency—Commercial Arithmetic—Commercial Geography and History—Shorthand and Typewriting—French and German. Besides the above, there ought also to be a Commercial Bureau worked in connection with these colleges to impart education in Commerce more practically under the "Bureau System."

The standards of the above subjects ought to be necessarily very high and expert knowledge of each of the subjects ought to be aimed at in every branch laid down above. For want of space I cannot detail the methods of teaching each of those subjects and their importance is, evident to all. A brief reference to the "Bureau System" course is however, necessary.

"Bureau System" serves the same purpose as the laboratory does in case of the study of Chemistry; or the dissection room or Surgery does in case of medical students. Here the student applies practically and sees actually worked the various phases of business he reads about in the course of his education in the theory of Commerce. In this Bureau, the students are divided into different groups to represent Mercantile Offices, Banks, Shipping companies, Insurance Companies, etc., each group is formed into a firm or a company with an

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assumed name and is supplied with separate sets of books, printed stationery, printed cheque and paying-in slip-books, printed forms of invoices, Bills of Exchange, Bills of lading, insurance policy and with a specially framed set of transactions. They are made to work as if actually in business. Correspondence is started, purchases and sales effected; the various documents filled up, prepared and sent out, transactions are recorded in books and finally the books are closed at fixed intervals. At fixed dates mock meetings of shareholders are held where specially arranged balance sheets and final accounts bearing with mistakes and irregularities are placed in the hands of students taking part of shareholders, who are asked to dispute these statements, item by item, whereas the other group playing its directors is asked to defend itself. Mock share and stock markets are held where students work as jobbers and brokers on the lines explained in their text-books, the final results of their dealings being criticised by their teachers in full class.

III. The third branch of my division is for those who aim at specialization of some of the important branches of Commerce, the most prominent of them being Accountancy. This branch has developed itself to such a high pitch that accountancy to-day is recognised as one of the learned professions. The great conquest of science in the modern times, among which steam and electricity are the most prominent, has revolutionized the world to an extent that seems miraculous to an average student of History, giving such an impetus to the world's commerce and bringing about unthought-of competition in the train through the advent of Joint Stock Companies with capitals of millions sterling on the scenes—feats far beyond the limits of single individuals. These gigantic enterprises have brought about with them an unending demand for men of rare capabilities and the best educational attainments as specialists either to be placed at the helm of affairs or to act as expert supervisors who can be looked for direction and advice on conflicting points. There are two special examining bodies for accountants in London, *viz.*, Institute of Chartered Accountants and the Central Association of Accountants. Candidates for these examinations ought to be matriculates to begin with, or should have passed the Entrance test of any of the boards. They then join a firm of qualified Accountants in Public Practice as articled clerks and after serving for three years take their intermediate and on completion of the five years of articled service they take the Final. The Final examination is made up of the following subjects :—

(1) High Accountancy (2) Auditing (3) Adjustments of Partnership and Executionship accounts. (4) Law of partners (5) Law of Executors (6) Mercantile law (7) Company law (8) Right and duties

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of Liquidators, Trustees and Receivers (9) Bankruptcy law (10) Law of Arbitration and awards.

An expert knowledge of each of the above-named subjcets is absolutely essential looking to the professional duties that would devolve in actual practice, on our friend, the accountant. In case of the floating of Joint Stock Companies his services are requisitioned at the opening of the books and to arrange the proper System of Accounts, his expert guidance are also required all along the work of the Company, besides he, as an auditor, has to keep a constant check on the accounts and to see that the directors and officers of the company do not exceed their authority or dabble in speculation without the knowledge of the shareholders. In case of Liquidation, his services are necessary as a Liquidator, in case of Bankruptcy he is generally appointed a Trustee on behalf of creditors, in case of disputes in party suits he is appointed as an Arbitrator, in case of an Executor's handing the administration of large Estates he is given the Supervisor of accounts, in case of law court cases he is availed of as an expert for evidence or report.

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THE "LANGAR" FESTIVAL OF HYDERABAD.

By Mr. N. Rajaram, B.A.

NOWHERE else in India is the fifth day of Moharam celebrated with such enthusiasm as in the Capital of the Deccan. On this day is held the great Langar festival when all the subjects of His Highness the Nizam participate to make it a unique event. That it is not observed by Mohamedans in other parts of the world tends to show that it is an institution having a local origin. To enquire into the significance of this festival, it is necessary to go back to the times of the Kutub Shahi dynasty of Golcondah—the fall of which was the signal for the rise of Hyderabad into a great Mahomedan centre in the Deccan. The Golcondah Kingdom was founded in 1512 A.D. by a Turk of noble descent, named Sultan Kuli Kutub Shah. His dynasty continued to rule till 1687 A.D. when Golcondah fell into the hands of Aurangazib after a memorable and historic siege of eight months. Sultan Mohamed Kutub Shah, the fifth King of the dynasty, founded in 1591 A.D. on the south bank of the river Musi, seven miles from Golcondah, a city known as Hyderabad. One of the first acts of this wise ruler was to construct a bridge over the river to connect the new city with the old hill fortress. This bridge still exists and is known as the Purán Pul (old bridge).

It is stated that on the 15th Zilhaj 1003 Hijri (1594 A.D.) Prince Abdulla, son of Sultan Mohamed Kuli Kutub Shah, left the city of Hyderabad for Golcondah with a large number of nobles and attendants. Soon after passing out of the Purán Pul gate, the elephant, he was riding, became *musth* (mad) and, in its wild way, charged the party compelling all to flee for their lives. It then fled into the adjoining jungle with the Prince still on its back. The Prince's mother, Hayath Baksh Begum, having heard what had occurred was greatly alarmed for the safety of her son. She caused food to be placed in several localities for both her son, and the elephant, and vowed that if her son returned safe and sound she would make a chain of gold as thick and as heavy as the one generally used for tethering elephants, called "Langar."

After some time the Prince returned on the same elephant that had carried him away; the mother remembering her vow, collected all the goldsmiths in the city, and directed them to make the required gold chain. When it was finished, the Prince took it, and followed by an immense crowd repaired to the shrine of a Shiah Saint and

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offered it up as a thanksgiving for his marvellous escape. The chain was then cut into pieces and distributed among the Fakirs and other religious beggars.

This legendary incident is commemorated in Hyderadad every year with great enthusiasm; and the festival has now become purely military in character and consists of a review of the regular and irregular forces of the Nizam, the Police, and the armed retainers of all noblemen who have such in their services.

A seething crowd fills the whole length of the streets through which the great procession passes on its way to the Palace of His Highness the Nizam, and that of his Prime Minister whence it is viewed by a select party of Europeans and high officials of the State. The procession which commences to defile past the palaces about noon continues to do so till dusk.

Foremost appears on an elephant the city Kotwal with his force of Police in their yellow-striped turbans, black suits, and buckled shoes—a luxury which some of them evidently like to dispense with. Among the group may be seen two or three hard-faced, severe-looking men in their red garments, and with naked swords glistening in the sun. These are the State executioners, and here, unlike the procedure adopted in British India, criminals who have to undergo the extreme penalty of the law, are decapitated with scimitars. Next come in quick succession the Rohilla Police, the Arab Police and the Suburban police.

The city irregulars, dressed in any uniform, some with boots others with none, but all armed with blunderbusses, matchlocks or other crude weapons, march along shouting and singing to the accompaniment of tom-toms and huge drums. Each party is led by a few excited individuals who hold out their swords and strike one against the other in the manœuvres of a war dance. Next come the tall sturdy Sikhs with sharp quoits hidden away in their huge turbans. Then march past the Deccani Arabs in their strange costumes armed to the teeth, running rather than walking along, and performing strange and uncouth antics. They shout out at the pitch of their voices, the great and good deeds of their chiefs, besides enumerating their titles and virtues.

After looking at this confused body of men making a discordant but yet a martial din, it is a welcome relief to gaze on persons in picturesque Zouave uniform walking with a preternatural air of solemnity. These are the men belonging to the Myseram Regiment, which had its origin in that period of Deccan history, when French influence was ascendant at the court of the Nizam. Myseram is merely a corruption of "Musa Rahim" the name by which Monsieur Raymond,

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the originator of the corps in the 18th Century is still remembered by the Deccani Arabs and Rohillas.

In the procession there are also seen the Sidhis or Mussalmans of African descent, with their muscular frames, thick lips, and crisp black hair. Here and there among the faces we miss the well known type. The protruding lips give place to more delicate mouths, the shapeless nose to the slightly acquiline, for these are the half breeds born in India. Though rough-looking they are yet genial in their disposition, and appear to be exceedingly smart in their khaki uniforms and red fez caps. Next come the Regular Troops comprising the Cavalry, the Artillery, and the Infantry, the Bicycle boys and the mule transport. The smart soldierly appearance of these splendidly trained troops excites much interest and evokes a great applause from the assembled crowds. Then appear in monotonous succession the retainers of the various paigah nobles of the State. They are parcelled out into rough regiments and brigades for the occasion, and consequently they appear to be quite innocent of military drill or discipline. "It is probable," writes an early historian, "that no national or private collection of ancient armour in Europe contains any weapon or article of equipment which might not be traced in this motley crowd; the parthian bow and arrow, the iron club of Scythia, sabres of every age and nation, lances of every length and description, and matchlocks of every form; metallic helmets of every pattern; simple defences of the head, a steel bar descending diagonally as a protection to the face; defences of bars, scales, or chain work descending behind or on the shoulders, cuirasses, suits of armour or detached pieces for the arm, complete coats of mail in chain-work, shields, bucklers and quilted jackets, sabre-proof."

Towards the end, comes the Surfi-Khas or the crown pageant. Arabs, Sidhis, personal attendants walk along, and the handsome and valuable horses of His Highness the Nizam are brought out, caparisoned in cloths of gold with chains of silver ornaments hanging about their necks and bodies. There are also elephants richly ornamented with a complicated network of coloured patterns, painted on their bodies, and strings of camels decked in gay accoutrements.

The spectacular effect of the show which is essentially oriental, is very striking, and it charms our imagination with the suggestion of the state of Indian native troops before the advent of European methods of warfare.

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AS AN INDIAN SEES AMERICA.—VI: THE "YELLOW" PREACHER.

By Mr. Saint Nihal Singh.

SCOFFING at any man's religion is not a part of my creed. These comments on American churches and clergymen are not inspired by the fact that I am a non-Christian; nor is what follows written in the spirit of levity. The "yellow" preacher is a pure and simple *genus Americanus* and as such deserves being written about in the present series.

When in New York I went into a church on Fifth Avenue. I was given to understand that this was the temple frequented only by the very wealthy, and so I found it to be. I was somewhat late in arriving. When I entered the church the choir was singing a psalm. The pews were somewhat overcrowded, but the usher, finding me a stranger and from a far-off land, conducted me to a seat which commanded an excellent view of the whole church. I stealthily took a hurried glance at the building and its contents. A multitude of well-dressed men and women occupied sumptuously upholstered seats. When the service was over, I slowly worked my way to the door. In the aisle I was stopped by a benign-looking, middle-aged man wearing a fifty-dollar (150 rupees) suit and gold-rimmed pinc-nez.

"Glad to see you," he said.

"Thank you", I replied.

"You are a stranger here, ain't you?"

"Yes Sir."

"Have you been in this country long?"

"Quite a little time."

"You come from China—don't you?"

"India."

"They don't have such magnificent churches in your country?"

"Well."

"Well? You see, we spend money like water on this institution. Our aim is to keep it *exclusive*. Our effort is to make this church look the swellest in the world. Only very wealthy people attend the church services. They do not care how much expense is incurred. It cost us nearly a million dollars to put up the building. Half a million was spent in furnishing it. Look at the artistic, stained-glass widows; at the magnificent upholsteries and draperies; at the carpets, imported from Persia. We employ a large force of men to keep the church immaculately clean. The choir is made up

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of the best talent available in the city—the musicians, mostly, are imported from the stage. The organist is a high-salaried man—way up in his profession. The poster of the church is paid what would appear to you to be a fabulous salary."

The man talked glibly and fast—and for a time I felt he would never come to a full stop. But finally he did stop, leaving upon my mind the impression that he was like a clock wound up to a certain pitch, which did its work for a specified length of time without further winding but at last became exhausted. During all this talk, which I noted almost *verbatim* in my journal, not a word was uttered which did not revolve around the dollar mark. The pivotal point of that man's life, and of the lives of the other members of this church—and other churches—meseemed was $.

Much has already been written regarding the materialism of America and the disposition of Americans to be swayed by the almighty dollar, and this obviates expatiating on this point. I merely allude to it since it develops the point that this is the exigency which has in a measure given birth to the "yellow" preacher—the subject of this sketch.

The average American is so immersed in the business of money-making that he has little or no inclination to go to church, even once a week. He has, therefore, to be coaxed. Various devices are employed—multifarious attractions provided. Good music is the bait used with a great deal of success in the case of many. I know a number of churches where the people go merely for the sake of excellent choir singing and splendid organ music. In a large city in a Middle-Western State, I was present when the poster announced that Miss————, the regular singer, a music teacher in the University, was unable to sing that day. Immediately following this announcement, almost half the congregation filed out of the door, and the chagrin and pain on the clergyman's face could be plainly read yards away. Some churches make the social end of membership attractive—"pink teas" are engineered to enlist the sympathy of the women-folk and the pastor exhorts them to use the art of gentle suasion to keep their male relatives and friends out of the dread grip of the Demon of Doubt ; which, of course, means to lead them to the church every Sunday and encourage them to lend their assistance toward the maintenance of the church. Concerts, illustrated lectures and many other kinds of entertainments are

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provided. Judged by the Oriental code of ethics, these methods appear to be questionable; but in America both the pastors and the congregations are so used to these practices that on the church bill-board, good singing, attractive music, *et la*, are usually mentioned as prominent features, and the designers of these notices always are confident that the congregation will "bite" at the bait they offer. Many American women of my acquaintance have confessed to me that they were brought up as Protestants, belong to no church of any denomination, in fact, are free-thinkers in every sense of the word, but attend a Catholic cathedral almost every Sunday for the sake of listening to "good music." These people betake themselves to God's house in much the same way as we go to a theatre in India. I know of many mothers who look upon the church socials and Sunday gatherings in the light of matrimonial bureaus. They encourage their daughters to go to the church as it is likely to afford them the opportunity of making the acquaintance of some "desireable" young man, eventually leading to matrimony. Young men and women from the country, without friends in the city where they have come to make their fortune, look upon the church as a sort of club, where they may become acquainted with young people of their own age, and thus form friendships that will help them to pass away the time and keep them from becoming lonesome and homesick. There is no religious sentiment of any sort connected with church-going in these instances.

Almost every church of any size in American cities bears, outside the door, a sign prominently placed, which reads, "Strangers welcome." If a stranger enters the church, however, he is apt to conclude that this invitation is somewhat of an anomaly. He discovers that, invariably, the hat is passed around, and everyone is expected to contribute something. If he fails to add his mite the look in the eyes of the usher shames him and makes him wish he had not availed himself of the invitation to enter. The pastor of any church in America, if he is at all honest, will testify to the correctness of the statement that the average American looks upon a religious service as too much akin to prosaic drudgery to be attractive, and therefore arrangements have to be made to enliven the proceedings. Some honest Christians, realizing this trait, peculiar to an age which is notoriously materialistic, have organised clubs and associations all over

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the United States, professedly of a religious character, but which devise scientific plans to draw into their membership the young men and women of the community. These associations provide reading rooms and libraries, desks where letters may be written, stationery and writing materials, evening classes, employment bureaus where positions are secured for members who are out of work, gymnasiums, bath-rooms, etc. The young folks in the large industrial centres of America usually live alone, their parents far away, and are cooped up in small rooms, poorly lighted and in many cases having no facilities for bathing. They are glad enough to patronize these clubs. Religion, however, does not attract them to the associations, nor do they pay much attention to it during their membership. The social side alone appeals to them.

I am not decrying these associations with the word "Christian" tacked to them. As an economic factor in the lives of the American people, they are splendid institutions, doing a world of good to the young men and women by improving their temporal condition; but their religious department, which is given such prominence, appears to me to be shoved into the background.

On the doors of many of the churches in the United States often the inscription is found: "Come in. Rest and Pray." Some men and women, weary and footsore, poverty-striken and longing for a quiet place where they can gather together their wits and establish themselves on a firmer foundation, do frequent these places; but usually their stomachs are too hungry and their brains too busy evolving plans for warding off the uncanny wail of the hunger-wolf to permit their being able to concentrate their thoughts on God. Likewise many poor people patronize the coffee-kitchens attached to some of the churches, where they can purchase a sandwich and a cup of coffee or tea at an extremely low price; but, to a person who has come in contact with the grade of people who take advantage of these institutions, it is patent that poverty is the magnet which draws them to such places, and not religious zeal; nor when they are in these institutes do they, from the bottom of their hearts, pay heed to prayers, though, for economic reasons, they may pretend to do so.

Many times I have sat in my study (after spending hours of my time visiting these institutions, usually dressed in a working-

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man's overalls, shabby evening cap or worn-out, hard-felt hat of the type worn by people living from hand to mouth), revolving in my mind what a lesson of honesty it would be to the world if philanthropies of this kind boldly threw away the trade-mark of religion and represented themselves as merely endeavouring to palliate the wretched plight of people who live submerged in poverty on account of unequal opportunities for making money. During the coldest weather of the winter that has just passed, a petty bank official of a large city of the United States, not a Christian, and by no means financially well-off, out of his own pocket paid the expenses of a coffee-wagon which dispensed hot coffee and bread to everyone who asked for it. The banner on the wagon read: "Come on boys and get a cup of coffee. No QUESTIONS ASKED." To my mind, this man did more genuine good than ten churches might do which would insist upon the poverty-stricken, hungry person making a mawk of religion by temporarily professing it for the sake of securing food for his empty stomach.

The world would be all the better if there were, in large cities in America, music halls and places of innocent amusement where citizens could have free access, without being made to feel that they are criminals because they are not rich in lucre. Such places, denuded of the supercilious, religious atmosphere, would permit the lovers of music and singing and those who desire healthy social intercourse, to have these things which their natures crave, without resorting to duplicit devices.

However, many decades will undoubtedly elapse before the American nation, as a whole, wakes to the necessity of calling a spade a spade—and until then, many things will be done in the name of religion, which are inconsistent from an ethical point of view. Until the American conscience makes provision for "neighborhood centres"—places of innocent amusement and social centres—the drink shops and saloons, which supply well-lighted rooms, convivial company, free lunches and warm, pleasant sitting places for poor people for a nickel, which not only buys a drink of beer but includes all these things that, in their cases, are bare necessities, will be well patronized, and the gentlemen who button their collars behind their backs and depend for their living on church attendance, will continue to exploit the social and artistic natures of the men and women who fill their pews.

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The "yellow" preacher is the product of the present-day economic conditions. He is as essential an entity in America to-day as the "yellow" newspaper man and the "yellow" advertising man. In fact, the yellow preacher is the first cousin of the "yellow" ad-man; as the success of the pastor of an American church hinges, in a great manner, on the way he is able to use his advertising talent and make the most of the so-called "attractions" he can offer.

It is not only in regard to the exploitation of social and other features of the church that the average American pastor of a city church appears in a false position to a Hindu; but some of his pulpit methods impress an Oriental as being far from legitimate—much less capable of being associated with such a sacred thing as religion. The clergyman speaks in a patronising, demagogic style—he is theatrical in his poses and gestures—and his face and form appear more like an acrobat's going through an uncanny and weird performance than that of a religious devotee, leading the people to God. To be perfectly frank, in the presence of such a religious leader I have found myself listening and gazing at an actor, who was paid for appearing on the rostrum, remaining there for a certain number of minutes and performing his act to the satisfaction of the spectators assembled. The general run of pastors make free use of slang and their language is far from refined. Some of them even go the length of employing strong terms which, in all decency, are interdicted from the realm of genteel society. Recently in an American city, one of these "yellow" preachers was arrested and heavily fined by the judge who heard the case, for using objectionable language in the pulpit.

It will be hard for the people of India to understand that the ordinary American city church has come to be merely a theatre, to which people go for the purpose of having their emotions roused into activity—and for the satiation of their hunger to hear good music, and to see and be seen. I will therefore describe the methods of an American pastor—or revivalist, as he is called—who is considered to be a very "successful" worker in the religious sphere. This man's name is William A. Sunday—usually shortened into "Billy Sunday." He attaches to his name the prefix "Reverend." He proudly shows to the reporter his achievement of having "saved" a

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million sinners from migrating into infernal regions, and claims that any week of his life he is capable of "converting" ten thousand reprobates. Here is a sample from his religious preachment :—

The Devil isn't anybody's fool. Lots of men will tell you that there isn't any Devil. That he is just a figure of speech, a poetic personification of the sin in our natures. People who say that—and especially the time-saving, hypocritical ministers who say that—are liars. Liars! Liars! They are calling the Holy Bible a lie. I'll believe the Bible before I believe old Mother Eddy (the Founder of the so-called Christian Science church and hated by all other Christian denominations) and a lot of time-serving, tea-drinking, societified, smirking ministers! No Sir! You take God's word for it. There is a Devil. Oh, but the Devil is a smooth guy! He was in the lifetime of the Savior and he is now. He is right on his job all the time. Just as he appeared to Christ in the wilderness he is right here in this tabernacle now running around up this aisle and down that, trying to make you sinners indifferent to Christ's sacrifice for your salvation.

Here is another excerpt from one of Sunday's sermons, as reported in the press :—

To-night, when the last song is sung, the last prayer said, and we have all passed out into the night and Fred has switched off the lights and the place is dark, your chance, sinner, will be gone. If your heart is not soft before then it is hardly likely that it will ever be so nearly won again. You say in your heart, 'To-morrow.' But to-morrow at daylight the Doctor's buggy may be standing at your gate, the family may be standing around with handkerchiefs at their eyes. The doctor will turn to them and say 'He is gone.' The undertaker will come and do his work. The friends will gather and listen to such kind words as may decently be spoken of you, and then, as Mr. Moody once said of a man who died in spite of his prayers, they will take you, a Christless corpse in a Christless coffin, and lay you in a Christless grave. My God, my friends, if the Lord would only draw back the veil which is between you and your coffin, you would leap back in horror to find it so near that you can reach out and touch it. But you say, 'To-morrow'.

Here is still another gem :—

I understand that a young woman is going about this town, into your homes and business houses, peddling that low-down, infamous, malicious, premeditated, damnable, dirty, black-hearted lie that at a town or some town at which I was holding a meeting I noticed two young ladies in the audience who were wearing red hats, and that I shouted that if there was a cowboy in the audience I would like to have him lasso those two red heifers. If I ever said such a thing I deserved to be tarred and feathered. I don't very often pay any attention whatever to the stories about me, but I will stand up for my good name. If you see her to-morrow, give her my love.

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And here is the concluding extract—a prayer made by the Rev. Bill Sunday while closing the revival meetings at a city in Illinois:—

We pray thee that thy blessing will be upon the homes of these people in the days to come, in the store, office, factory, and shop, in school and upon the street, in the fields and on the road.

Lord, Lord, we pray that thy richest blessing may graciously rest upon the churches in this community and the surrounding towns, Libertyville, Ottumwa, Birmingham, Richland, Eldon, Batavia, Mt. Pleasant, and O God, especially bless Brighton. These towns and this section of the state have been stirred as never before.

O God, soon Fred will pull down the lever and the lights will go out for the last time; he will fasten the ropes that control the ventilators and the door will be locked. To-morrow on the street and in the stores the people will say, 'Well, the meetings are over; didn't we have a great time?

O Lord, Jesus, bless Fairfield. Bless Mayor James, Lord, bless the city marshals, both the day and night marshal, and the rest of the officials. Bless the country officers, and the doctors and lawyers, bless them, and the grocers and dry goods merchants, the bankers, the livery men, the barbers, O Lord, bless them. The blacksmiths and newspapermen, the Leggett House and the other hotels, Prof. Power, the teachers and all the scholars. Bless the restaurant keepers and the newsdealers. Bless our friend Denison, who has come all the way from New York for the American Magazine. Bless the choir, and the ladies at the pianoes—how well they have worked.

And Lord, bless the newspapers, the *Daily Journal* and the *Courier*. Bless the periodicals all over the land which are so freely giving space for thy cause and the advancement of thy kingdom.

Bless the newspapers, especially the *Courier*, Lord. Give thy blessing to the reporter that has come over from Ottumwa to get these meetings and has reported them so proficiently. Be near the proprietors and employes of the *Courier*, Lee and the rest of them—we learned to know some of them, Lord, twelve years ago.

If we have said or done anything that was not to the honor and glory of thy name, we pray thy earnest forgiveness. We know we have made mistakes, but they have been of the head, not of the heart.

All these things we ask in the name of Jesus Christ, thy son, whom never having seen, we yet love. Amen.

Characteristic and rugged as the language undoubtedly is, the gestures and theatrical postures assumed by the reverend gentleman, which play even a more important part in the text of the preacher, can not be depicted to the readers. The only way this could be done would be by combining a cinematograph and a gramophone. Such a contrivance would, perhaps, give a clearer idea of the startling methods of this religious preacher. But, since these are not forthcoming, I will content myself with

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saying that on one occasion Billy Sunday became so excited that he threw off his coat and waist-coat and, in shirt-sleeves, assumed the position of a cricketer who stands behind the wickets and by bending extremely low endeavours to catch the ball just as it is going past him with great velocity. A reporter who is well-acquainted with Mr. Billy Sunday's tactics deposes:

He began by slapping every church tradition of procedure in the face. In the course of his sermon, becoming over-warm, he ripped off his coat and then his waist-coat and then his tie and collar. And even then, his gestures, more vehement than even his words, caused the drops of sweat to fly from his brow and ears as he beat the pulpit and tossed his head until he was hoarse in execration of the Devil and the hardness of the human heart.

Nineteen years ago Mr. Sunday was a "professional" base-ball player. To-day he is employing base-ball methods to the work of an evangelist. Mr. Sunday, it may be admitted, is an extreme type of the "sensational" preacher in America—his methods are criticised by men in his own profession, but he is regarded as singularly successful in his *business*, and his tactics, therefore, are being copied by a multitude of imitators. Not long ago a Reverend gentleman declared:

He has outraged every ideal I have had regarding my sacred profession. But what does that count, as against the results he has accomplished? My congregation will be increased by hundreds. I didn't do it. Sunday did it. It is for me to humble myself and thank God for his help. He is doing God's work. That I do know!

These are the sentiments of most of the clergymen and religious workers in the American cities. The American seeks results—with little or no regard for means. And, so long as this characterisation of the people of the United States holds true, there will be a vast field for the "yellow" preacher, and men and women will always be forthcoming eager to attract crowds to the church by sensational methods and endeavour to deliver souls from the devil's custody by the use of theatrical and base-ball methods.

The new preacher in America isfast coming into the belief that "stagnation" is "damnation." He is, therefore, making a special spurt to employ the most vituperative language. His ideal is, to quote an American new-fangled preacher, "to beat the Devil at his own game." He aims to use diabolical terms with a view to defeating the machinations of the Infernal One. Passion, ardour, and zeal are made to work in unison to keep the world good. The scathing sermons of Evangelist Dan

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Shannon have aroused members of the churches throughout the State of Indiana as well as non-church goers. His methods in Terrehaute, Indiana, resulted in a demand that he be compelled to leave the city, and he met a similar experience in Garrett, Indiana. At Hammond, Indiana, the members of the First Baptist Church were aghast at his sulphurous talk. Three minutes from the time he first entered the pulpit in that city twelve feminine members of the choir hurried from the church, an angry, chattering group, and a few minutes later an equal number of male choir singers joined in the exodus. The first words the evangelist spoke were addressed to the members of the choir. He said:

Before we start I want to say that if you have any of that dancing, card-playing bunch who pretend to be church members up there, I don't want them on this platform. Let them go home where they belong. They are bound for hell and have no business here. No dancer can be a church member. I know of one convert who wanted to join the Baptist church and be allowed to keep up his dancing. He was told he could not and said the Presbyterian church was full of dancers. 'Yes,' I told him, 'and hell is full of Presbyterians with their feet hanging out of the windows.' Some of these men members of the choir are as bad. I have seen some of them—brainless, white-livered apes, whiffing on their cigarettes, a strip of tobacco with fire on one end and a fool on the other. I know them—half-back fellows, dancing and drinking, who pretend to be church members. They ought to be in an insane asylum.

Later on he said:

I am going to get out of Hammond Sunday. I am tired of the beer-guzzlers and beer swillers of this place. The only difference between hell and Hammond is that there is a river in Hammond. I have heard of your poor people starving about here. Who are they? Beer swillers who spent all their money for beer and now demand charity. It is the same all the way through here. You license the saloons to rob the poor man and then turn around and tax decent people to keep their victims from starving. There is no use in patting a rattlesnake on the head and telling it to be good; hit it on the head with a club.

Other sentiments expressed by the fiery-tongued evangelist which made the people who listened to him breathe hard were:

For two-thirds of the people in Hammond the proper text will be 'In hell they lifted their eyes to God.'

You want a wide-open town. Hell is wide open. Pack your valise and go there in the morning.

A den of polecats is as naught compared to most of your clubs.

Progressive euchre (a card game)—progressive hellward at the rate of sixty miles an hour.

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A conservative is a man too cowardly to fight and too lazy to run.

In spite of the opposition to his methods, it is declared that Evangelist Shannon's uncensored comments upon his audiences and hosts have stirred up much church activity in cities he has visited. Those members of his profession who are anxious to increase their congregation lists, and who are seeking to save the souls of men and women from eternal damnation, hold pastors of the stamp of Rev. Billy Sunday and Dan Shannon before them as an ideal whose methods of proselytism and evangelisation are to be emulated. The young men and women who are in theological seminaries in various parts of America are being inspired to walk in the footsteps of these new-fangled American pastors. The voice of the people who denounce the tactics of the "yellow" preachers is being drowned in a tumultuous passion for conquering the onslaughts of free-thought and Asiatic systems of religion on America and throughout the land of the stars and stripes men and women are fast coming to the conclusion that the future of the religion of Christ, so far as the United States is concerned, at any rate, hinges on the "yellow preacher."

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THE "NEW" OLD THEOLOGY: AN INWARD GLANCE.—II.

By Frederick Barr, M. A.

A STAFFORDSHIRE doctor called on an old man suffering from influenza. "Well, John," he asked, "What's amiss?" "Well, doctor, I think I've got a touch of the New Theology," said John. "Indeed. What are the symptoms? Tell me how you feel?" "Well, it's like this—there's a swimming in the head, a muddle inside, and you don't know where you are." John's definition can hardly be improved upon. 'A swimming and a muddle, and you don't know where you are.' And if Mr. R. J. Campbell himself knows where he is, he lacks the ability to locate his site. That he camps with the Philistines I suppose he would deny, but where else is he when honest John diagnoses him as "influenza" on the one hand; and Father Ignatius ascribes to the teaching of the New Theology "our desecrated Sabbaths, our empty churches, our scorned Bible, our Divorce Court revelations, our lessening birth-rate, and our commercial mistakes and misdeeds," on the other? He, however, while not explicit as to where he *is*, is clear enough as to where he is *not*. He is not in the district of the Deists, let alone their city, for God, he assures us, "does not exist." He is not a Unitarian, for he refuses to acknowledge Jesus Christ as the Son of God. He is not a Trinitarian, for God, he tells us, is an "immanence," and "when I name the name of Christ I name righteousness only." The New Theology, you see, are far above needing either Father, Son, or Holy Spirit.

It follows of course that by no means is he a Christian. Nor is he a pantheist, for if you worship the All "you worship the evil as well as the good." Nor is he in the locality of Comte, for he says "he does not worship Humanity with the Comtists." Further, he denies he is an agnostic, though he represents God as a moral scheme. And, emphatically, as said above, he is not a Christian for he denies the Divinity of our Holy Messiah.

If, then, he is in none of the above denominations, where or what is he? A Jesuist? The Jesuists would reject him, for they glory, as their name implies, in the Divinity of Jesus. A free-

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thinker? The free-thinkers would disown him, for they have the honesty to confess their convictions.

This namby-pamby "new" Theology, without either God or devil, soul or body, blood or bone, has received more notice than it deserves. Like a jelly-fish it slithers in the grasp and leaves nothing solid to the mind to hold by. The poor human souls cry out for *God*, the living God. A sentiment, however soothing; an ideal, however pretty; what are they? No more than the smoke of the cigar you puffed last night. Pleasant in the passing, pretty in its wreathing curls spreading upward as they go. But in the stern combat of life, in the hand-to-hand conflict of inexorable realities, I maintain the "new" theology is as thin, as your pipe smoke. But the 'sensation' his preaching has caused, appears to have been too much for Mr. Campbell's balance. He imposes upon himself. I do not doubt his sincerity, but I do doubt the soundness of his judgment. If a number of people believe in us, even if they are, as Carlyle said, "mostly fools," we begin to believe in ourselves, to become conceited, and, if we have the opportunity, 'we pose as apostles.' Mr. Campbell had the opportunity—and he has posed. To make a 'sensation' is by no means difficult. The common world is like a flock of sheep and follows a leader. In crossing a field or a jungle when the leader stops to nibble or to drink, the flock behind him does the same. And the ethical *pot-pouri* of dropped straw and sugarcane laid down by Mr. Campbell wherewith to feed his following, has been nibbled at by his flock so vivaciously simply because the pulpit is so seldom entertaining. Let a pulpit utterance be but novel, anything out of the humdrum, however shallow, it suffices to evoke remark.

Now a great deal of the "new" Theology, as we endeavoured to show in a former article,* is no more than the tritest twaddle of the schools 'formed into a *rechauffe*.' It has adopted an idea or doctrine here and there from various sources and centuries, and posing as the "articulator of the modern mind," Mr. Campbell by some moulding of cultured carve and novelty of form has won it a brief attention. For a moment it has 'made a sensation,' but to the student of literature it is at its best but the twaddle of the quasi-transcendentalist's lingo. One also at times encounters in Mr. Campbell a certain self-satisfac-

* The *Hindustan Review*, September, 1907.

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tion, a presumptuousness—as, *e. g.*, when he says, "I also am God"—which is unutterably repulsive. If he believes this charming arrogance to be "suited to the modern mind," I venture to say he pays it no compliment. Again, he says "I am Christ." We are reminded of a certain man who was sane on all points but one. One day to a friend who visited the asylum in which he was confined he bemoaned the sad case of a fellow-lunatic. "Such a sad delusion," said he, "possesses him, he believes he is Christ." "Perhaps he is," said the visitor to draw him out. "O no, of course not," was the answer, "for *I* am Christ."

Do not imagine I misunderstand such words in Mr. Campbell, or take them literally. Not for a moment. I believe he means them to be taken in a transcendental sense. Yet at the same time they manifest an arrogance of attitude, a snug self-confidence that is imsufferably repugnant. The 'mystic' is out of place in the City Temple. The mantle of St. Augustine does not fit Mr. R. J. Campbell at all.

Let us now glance at some of his doctrines to see what they contain. He has himself failed to give himself a site, he has only said what and where he is *not*, and from his doctrines only can he be localized. At the outset we find that Mr. Campbell, like many preachers, has a favourite catch-word. Of this he makes a fetich. What is it? His word is "immanent." This is his fetich. It seems to haunt him. Over and over again it is set up before us like the fish-god of the Philistines, over and over again we see him fall down and worship it—if indeed "worship" of anything is not a word expunged from the "new" vocabulary. Take, for example, his following sayings:—"The starting point of the New Theology is belief in the *immanence* of God." "The fundamentals of the Christian faith need to be rearticulated in terms of the *immanence* of God." Again, "The starting point is a re-emphasis of the Christian belief in the Divine *immanence* in the universe and in mankind." Again, "It is the *immanent* God with whom we have to do." And so on. Now I don't deny but the word has a nice, elegant, superior air about it. A 'catching' air for the superfine and the eclectic. But what does the man in the street think of it? What meaning does it convey to his mind? For after all, he too, poor fellow, has a "modern" mind, and a soul to be saved, and a God to glorify. The Love of God; the Fear of God; the Justice

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of God; these words in plain English he can understand. But what vague and terrible being is the "immanent" God with what we have to do? After all, the man in the street, who is much guided by sound, will, we dare say, take the word as some form of the *eminent* God; and his mistake will do him no harm. Our blessed Lord spoke of God in terms easy to understand as Our Father, and our friend of the street may be well content. But if we might we would humbly suggest to Mr. R. J. Campbell's immanent deity that when he wants to say "immanent God" he would use the plain word in-dwelling God. It might not sound so superfine, but it would possess the modest quality of being intelligible. Now then, *The starting point and fundamental truth of the New Theology* is, says Mr. Campbell, *belief in the immanence of God.* It is like throwing cold water on this to say that no belief is more common! The announcement is made by the New theologian with a flourish of trumpets. As we all know, the doctrine of the immanence of God is exceedingly venerable. Why make such a flourish as if it were new, or as if a belief which is the special monopoly of the 'new theology' Union? Truly defined, it is the belief of every Christian, and and of most theologians. We believe with St. Paul that *Christ in us* is the hope of glory. To call this *New*, therefore, is of a piece with the whole pretence of the Union. But while we believe that Christ *in* us is the hope of glory, it is a very different matter to assert that I, myself, you, yourself, are the identical Christ or God. God within us, Christ within us, it is our glory to claim, but God forbid that in so doing we claim, like Mr. Campbell, that *we* are God. Not that such a claim rules out the conception of a Creator. Without Creator or creation there can be no coherent creed. It has been well said that to assert *the identity* of the creature man with the Creator God "is opposed root and branch to the accepted teaching of the churches and would be condemned by any of them as a dangerous heresy." We find then that the 'New' Theology is destitute of any novelty in such a belief as the 'immanence' or in-dwelling of God and that where it diverges from the Christian belief it merges into self-exaltation.

To the "New" Theology, God is an algebraic symbol. "When I say God," says Mr. Campbell, "I mean the mysterious Power which is finding expression in the universe and which is pre-

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sent, in every tiniest atom of the wondrous whole. I find that this Power.....whatever else it may be.....is myself." Here we are taught that "God" stands as the symbol of a Power which ultimately is no power—"it is myself." He takes us further into his confidence and tells us—"if I can only get down to the truth about myself I shall find I am God too." One word will suffice to make plain our position here, *viz.*, while I believe there is a God within each one of us, to crucify or to glorify, I believe there is a God Almighty beyond and besides this. God breathed into every son of Adam the breath of life, and he became a living soul; but He Himself is the Living Breath, the Life. God is indeed immanent, but He is more, infinitely more, He is transcendant. It is written that a Royal psalmist of the Old Theology declared—"The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God." At the opposite end of the pole we find a wiseacre amending this saying us: There is no God but *me*.

At one of his sermons Mr. Campbell said—"believe me, my friends, if you do not see God there (in a noble human life) you need not look for him anywhere else, for *He does not exist*." In another place he says, "I also am God." Such declarations I repudiate as a Christian with utter loathing. A fine god" is the man who takes the pay of a Christian officer, and slanders Christianity!" Long ago we were warned of those who would "strain at a gnat and swallow a camel." We wish them joy of the gulp!

Seeing then that Mr. Campbell declared himself, the embodiment of the first commandment, Thou shalt have *no other gods before me*, we are not surprised to find that Christ is to him an abstraction also. The Holy Bible is but a handbook, an Algebra; words are symbols, no more. "When I name the name of Christ," he says, "I name righteousness only." "Jesus was God, but so are we." And with the charming modesty habitual to him, he adds "what God is, that I am."

Indeed so marked is this modesty that more than once the effeminacy of the New Theology doctrines has struck us. Mr. Campbell has apparently taken two modern women as his sources of inspiration. Like Mrs. Humphrey Ward,* he vouchsafes to Jesus a sentimental respect as "a dreamer and philanthropist." While from Marie Corelli,† he seems to copy the very

(1). In *Robert Elsemere*. (2) In *The Soul of Lilith*.

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words of Gl. Rami " Christ divine? No! save as we in our highest moments are divine." " I grant him, the holiest man who ever lived on earth...but there is divinity in all of us. We are all Divine." But it is fair to Miss Corelli to say these words are put in the mouth of an Arab magician; in her own person in noble words she says :—

When we reject Christ we reject the Gospel of Love and Universal Brotherhood, without which the ultimate perfection and progress of the world must ever remain impossible.

In short the "New" Theology eliminates God, except what is "immanent" in man, from the religions of the world; eliminates Christ, Heaven, Hell, asserting like Walt Whitman, that there will never be "more Heaven and hell than there is now." In this the "New" preacher on the last point has but borrowed from the old oriental poet who expressed the same thought better :—

I sent my soul through the invisible
Some letter of the after-life to spell:
And by-and-by my soul returned to me
And answered, 'I myself am Heaven and hell.'

We had meant to show in contrast to Mr. Campbell's 'Fundamentals' those of the churches of Christendom and compare them side by side, but it would require another paper to do that. Meantime it can only be said that the Christ of history and the Christ of the Bible stand or fall together. The Christ of history and of the Bible was Divine in a pre-eminent sense, or He was an imposter. Without the Cross of Christ the religion of the Bible becomes barbaric. No other Christ (including Mr. Campbell) has been the moral force in the world that the Crucified Christ has been. When the "New" Theology has reformed society, has ennobled empires, has won victories, has righted wrongs, has cared for women, has built hospitals, has broken the chains of lust and freed the slaves of drunkenness, has given us saints who are ready to die for the faith that is in them—when it has done any of these things we may listen to it—but not till then.

Until then, for us
We are content to take the Cross for Glory and for Guide.

* * * * * * *

The Man of Sorrows—and the Cross of Christ
Is more to us than all His miracles.

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THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

Mr. E. B. Havell's Indian Sculpture and Painting.*

By Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswami, D. Sc. (London.)

"You cannot know a people's mind, if you do not understand their art."

THIS is, for Indians, the book not only of the month but also of the year. It is the first serious attempt to understand and appreciate Indian Art. The work is professedly artistic, and not archæological, but it is all the more on that account refreshing as a contrast to such works as Grunwedel's "Buddhist Art in India," where every fact is balanced by a corresponding misconception. Hitherto, the self-centred attitude of the European student, has led to a concentration of attention upon the insincere and un-Indian art of Gandhara, an art that has no more interest for the artist, than any other phase of decadent classic art.

"Nothing," says Mr. Havell, "is more firmly rooted in the mind of the educated Englishman than the idea that civilisation was a peculiar product of Greece; that the Greeks established æsthetic models for all times and for all peoples, and that those who depart from them must be classed forthwith as decadents and degenerates. Because Indian painters and sculptors, after coming into contact with debased Graeco-Roman art, formed their ideals upon a different art-philosophy, their work is treated by most Europeans as indicating a corrupt and depraved taste which places them beyond the pale of criticism."

This habitual reference to Western standards and ideals with their criticism of oriental work frequently leads European critics astray, and generally makes them constitutionally incapable of doing justice to Indian art. It is always unsafe to assume that the Indian point of view is the same as the European: the probability is that it will always be different.

For Mr. Havell, on the contrary, Indian fine art is "an opening into a new world of æsthetic thought, full of the deepest interest and worthy of the study of all Western artists."

The philistine attitude of the English Government receives its well-deserved meed of condemnation:

We no longer desecrate and destroy the masterpieces of the Moghuls and the great monuments of ancient India: we patch them up and try to admire them. But there is still that insidious form of vandalism in our departmental system—much more cruel and deadly than active iconoclasm, because it acts through mind instead of matter—which continues to crush out the means by which India might yet surpass the greatness of her ancient art.

Not less deserved is a criticism of the attitude of 'educated' Indians:

When Great Britain's responsibility in this matter is recognized, the grievous wrong we unthinkingly do to Indian art and craft will command the

* John Murray, London. 1909. Price £3. 3s. *net*.

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attention it deserves. But my main object is to help educated Indians to a better understanding of their own national art, and to give them that faith and pride in it without which the wisest measures that any Government could devise will always be thrown away. After all, the future of Indian art is in their keeping, and they have dealt with it more cruelly than any Europeans have ever done.

It is absolutely true, as Mr. Havell has elsewhere stated, that the educated Indian to-day is behind the rest of the world in artistic comprehension. It is one of the legacies of that arch-philistine, Lord Macaulay; but it is not a thing for Bengal to be proud of that when the system of teaching in the Calcutta School of Art was reorganised on an Indian basis by Mr. Havell himself some ten years ago, the most violent protests came from the leaders of the National party, and the students themselves!

The leading events in the history of Indian art have long been generally known, and classified; but their relative importance has not been realised. The great period of Indian art includes the centuries from the 4th to the 9th, when the Indian ideal, emancipated from the insincerities of foreign formulas, found expression in a national art of extraordinary sincerity and power. This expression reached its highest level at Ajanta, Elephanta, Elura, and above all at Borobudur in Java, the Parthenon of India, as Mr. Havell justly names it. It is as a contribution to an understanding of this period that Mr. Havell's work is primarily significant. The most significant and constructive chapters are those which treat of the Divine Ideal in Indian art.

Nature, to the European, is always an obvious reality, which must be studied exploited, and analysed, so that the exact composition of every organic and inorganic element in it may be ascertained and explained. In the degenerated popular art of to-day, which exists only to amuse and distract an uncultivated and unthinking section of the public, and art which is also affected by those Indians who put on European culture as they put on a new suit of clothes, this scientific study of Nature's facts has led to the common view that imitation is the real and only end of all fine art.

Realism to the Indian artist has a different meaning from what we attach to it; for Indian philosophy regards all we see in Nature as transitory, illusive phenomena, and declares that the only reality is the Divine Essence, or Spirit. So, while European art hardly concerns itself with the unseen, but limits its mental range to the realm of nature, and thus retains, even in its highest flights, the sense and form of its earthly environment, Indian art (like the Egyptian, of which it is the living representative), is always trying to realise something of the Universal, the Eternal, and the Infinite.

The Greeks, and the artists of the Renaissance who followed in their footsteps, attempted to arrive at the highest type of beauty by selection of what appeared to them to be most admirable in various types of humanity, and in natural forms and appearances...The Hindu artist has an entirely different starting point. He believes that the highest type of beauty must be sought after, not in the imitation, or selection, of human or natural forms, but in the

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endeavour to suggest something finer and more subtle than ordinary physical beauty. Mere bodily strength and mundane perfections of form are rarely glorified in Indian art. When the Indian artist models a representation of the Deity with an attenuated waist abdomen, and suppresses all the smaller anatomical details so as to obtain an extreme simplicity of contour, the European draws a mental comparison with the ideas of Pheidias and Michael Angelo, and declares that the Indian artist is sadly ignorant of anatomy and incapable of imitating the higher forms of nature.

But the Indian artist in the best period of Indian painting and sculpture was no more ignorant of anatomy than Pheidias or Praxiteles. He would create a higher and more subtle type than a Greek athlete or a Roman senator.....The artist is both priest and poet. In this respect Indian art is closely allied to the Gothic art of Europe—indeed Gothic art is only the Eastern consciousness expressing itself in a Western environment. But while the Christian art of Middle Ages is always emotional [we doubt if Mr. Havell is here quite fair to mediæval art in Europe,] rendering literally the pain and mortification of the flesh, the bodily sufferings of the Man of Sorrows, Indian art appeals only to the imagination, and strives to realise the spirituality and abstraction of a supra-terrestrial sphere. There is, and always will be, a wide gulf between these ideas and the naturalistic, materialistic view of the Renaissance, or the eclectic, archæological art of modern Europe—the cult of the studio, the lay figure, and the nude model.

It is perhaps unfortunate that is was necessary for Mr. Havell to explain the evolution of Indian art so largely by the method of comparison and contrast: the arts of two races so temperamentally different as the Indians and the Greeks cannot be profitably compared and judged by one and the same standard. But the comparison was necessitated by the character of nearly all previous studies on the subject, and this being so, it suffices to say that it is well done, and at any rate it is to be hoped that we shall hear no more from archæological quarters of the statement that "the ideal type of Buddha was created for India by foreigners" or that the Gandharan types were accepted as models for ineffectual imitation by all later Indian imagers, Hindu and Buddhist alike. To make such errors as do the archæologists, especially Grunwedel, on this matter, is indeed, as Mr. Havell says, to confuse archæology and art, and the assimilative power of a living national art, with the spiritual inspiration of that art. Errors die hard; but we venture to think that no one who in future bases his views on this particular error (whatever he may think as to the value of true Indian art) can be regarded as a serious student of the subject.

In a chaper on Borobudur, 'The Parthenon of Asia,' Mr. Havell writes in a manner calculated to infect any reader with his own wise enthusiasm.

The colonisation of Java was probably a sequence of the final collapse of the Saka power in India at the beginning of the fifth century, when the Saka kingdom of Sarashtra, or Kathiawar, was conquered by Chandragupta II... .....The Buddhist art traditions went with the Saka immigrants into Java,

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where they reached their highest expression in the magnificent sculptures of Borobudur...The building of the splendid shrine of Borobudur, the most magnificent monument of Buddhist art in the whole of Asia, is ascribed to *Circa* A. D. 750-800, but the decoration of it must have spread over several centuries...The whole of the great building, from the basement to the seventh story, was adorned with a series of magnificent sculptures and bas-reliefs, extending in the aggregate for a length of nearly three miles, and expounding in ordered sequence the history, mythology and philosophy of the Buddhist faith. For the devout Buddhist pilgrims who paced these sculptured galleries they were illustrated scriptures, which even the most ignorant could read, telling in living words the life story and message of the master...The great charm of the Borobudur sculptures lies in their absolute truth of expression, a truthfulness which is the more conspicuous because the artists have not tied themselves to the petty rules and regulations on which the modern dilettante critic so often bases his judgment of works of art.

The artists who conceived these sculptures were not aiming at the applause of their fellow men, but trying to tell the story of the Master in the way they conceived He had told it, offering their labour and skill as a devout gift to His shrine. Art seems to reach its highest and to go deepest when all that is small and common is excluded, when the effort of the artist is invisible, and when Nature, purified by the God-given powers of the man, is, as it were, reborn. The simple life these men led, left them in peace to concentrate their whole soul on their work, and kept their minds free and able to listen to the voices of Nature and of their own inspiration—the soul of Nature speaking to the soul of man.

They loved and reverenced the Buddha with all their heart, and through the strength and directness of this feeling, and because there was nothing to jar upon it in their life and surroundings, they, with the great gifts they had, could show what they felt without faltering. The spiritual power of their art has broken the chains of technical rules, risen above all thought of what critics call right or wrong, and speaks with divinely inspired words straight to the heart of the listener. In this heaven-born quality of inspiration European art has rarely equalled, and never excelled, the art of Borobudur.

Just as we have seen in the Indian ideal type, the smaller anatomical details of the figures are suppressed, but the real spark of life...the essence of feeling...is wonderfully manifested. Every group and every figure are absolutely true and sincere in expression of face, gesture, and pose of body and the actions which link the various groups and single figures together are strongly and simply told, without effort or striving for effect—it was so, because so it could only be !

The study of these sculptures of Borobudur is a liberal art-education in itself. Is it too much to hope, when at some future time a reasonable and intelligent artistic policy is established in India, both as regards school of art work and general education, that reproductions of these classics of Indian art may be put before Indian students instead of European casts from 'the antique'; and that the libaries of every college and high school may have illustrations of them, to teach coming generations of Indians that they too have an art for which they should feel proud and reverently thankful. despised and neglected though it may be in the ignorance and folly of the present one ?

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Quite apart from its purely artistic aspects there is in an art like this an ethical value which modern India seems unable to understand and utilise. It is just in this ethical principle that modern education on classical lines misconstrues the spirit of classical culture and art. Every national art is an expression of national character, and when we compare the devout and reverent outlook upon Nature shown in these Borobudur sculptures with the utter vulgarity of modern India, as we have made it, it is only too evident that in one respect our education falls immeasurably behind that of Greece and of ancient India, in the neglect of Plato's injunction "to use the beauties of the earth as steps along which we mount upwards."

India, vulgarised by modern education and by the ideals of modern commercialism, will never compensate humanity for India with its knowledge of beauty...the perfect law of Nature, in which science and art are one.

From Buddhist and Hindu sculpture Mr. Havell turns to painting still of the religious schools. In connection with the frescoes at Ajanta, it was again necessary to defend their originality. A significant contrast is drawn between the nature of Classic influence on Indian, and the nature of Indian influence upon the rest of Asia.

Indian art was inspired by Indian nature, Indian philosophy and religious teaching, and no one, I imagine, would go so far as to say that all these were imported from the West. The little Greeco-Roman art that came into India went there in the ordinary way of commercial and political intercourse not as part of any intellectual or religious propaganda. It was assimilated by Indian art in much the same way as a great deal of oriental art became incorporated in Italian art, from the time of building of Saint Mark's at Venice down to the palmy days of the Renaissance; but we do not say that Italian art was 'inspired' by the East.

When Indian art went into Ceylon, Java, Tibet, China, and the Far East, it went with Indian missionaries as part of their philosophy and religion, and so vital was the influence of Indian thought upon the art of those countries that it remains evident after the lapse of two thousand years. India truly inspired the art of the rest of Asia, but neither at Ajanta nor anywhere else in India can the influence of Western art be called inspiration.

For the first time the paintings at Sigiriya in Ceylon, contemporary with many of the best of those of Ajanta, receive adequate notice in a work on Indian art. Mr Havell remarks their 'Botticellian grace' and the important suggestion that they are after all true frescoes, executed in old Indian manner, of which he gives full details in a vaulable appendix.

We have heard too long of Western influence in the East. It is likely that scholarship in the future may have to concern itself with the other side of the matter.

"It is curious," says Mr. Havell, "that archæologists, who are so concerned in trying to prove that nearly all Indian art was derived from the West, should seem to be only dimly aware of the immeasurably greater debt which European art and science owe to India, for they rarely dwell upon it.....when we find a perfectly oriental atmosphere and strange echoes of Eastern

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symbolism in the medieval cathedrals of Europe*, and see their structural growth gradually blossoming with all the exuberance of Eastern imagery, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Gothic architecture and Gothic handicraft owe very much to the absorption by the *bauhutten* of Germany, and other Western craft-guilds, of Asiatic art and science, brought by the thousands of Asiatic craftsmen who entered Europe in the first millenium of the Christain era ; a period which in the minds of Europeans is generally a blank because the 'Great Powers' were then located in Asia instead of in Europe".....

The spirit of Indian idealism breathes in the mosaics of St. Mark's at Venice, just as it shines in the mystic splendours of the Gothic cathedrals; through the delicate tracery of their jewelled windows, filled with the stories of saints and martyrs ; in all their richly sculptured arches, fairy vaulting and soaring pinnacles and spires. The Italian Renaissance marks the reversion of Christian art to the pagan ideals of Greece, and the capture of art by the bookmen, leading to our present dilettantism and archæological view of art.

It is profoundly true, as Mr. Havell continues, that "when a new inspiration comes into European art, it will come again from the East."

The greater part of the half of the book devoted to painting, however, treats of the Moghal secular painting. Mr. Havell's view contrast to some degree with those of another recent and able writer on oriental art, according to whom Persian painting, in any case of less significance than Chinese, ultimately dies away in India. According to Mr. Havell—

It was not until the time of Akbar and of his son Jahangir, that the Moghul court painters of India began to make an effort to shake off the swiftness and formality of the old Persian school and to draw fresh inspiration from the study of Nature which the Muhammadan law, as interpreted by the Caliphs, had denied them. It was, no doubt, the practice of direct study from nature, re-introduced by Akbar, which brought about the very remarkable development in the power of artistic expression which is evident in the best drawings and paintings of Jahangir's time. But 'drawing from the life' is never taken in the same sense as it is in modern European academies. It did not mean that the student sat down by the side of his model and commenced to reproduce as closely as possible its reflection on the retina of his own eyes ; but that, after a most careful observation of the model, he went away and recorded his mental impression of it, returning occasionally, if necessary, to refresh his memory. In this way the artist's powers of memory were developed to an extraordinary degree.

Of the portrait miniatures Mr. Havell gives wonderful examples, some finely drawn pictures bearing enlargement to three or four times the original size, and still appearing finely and delicately drawn. The reproductions, as he says,

give some idea of the wonderful distinction, delicacy, and charm, and withal masterful strength of this Indian outline-drawing...Apparently without

*To recall the Eastern origin of heraldry alone, enables one to realise to some degree how greatly the life of the East is re-expressed in that of mediæval Europe.

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effort, and with the most simple means, his unfaltering line flowing in a never-broken rhythm, the Moghul artist gives us a perfect totality, full of form, character and life. There is no weakness, no hesitation or attempt to shirk difficulties, so that one can share the artist's full delight in the perfection of his technique. With all the sincerity, truthfulness, and perfect finish of the old Dutch and Flemish masters, these drawings have a delicate flavour of their own, a subtlety and sensitiveness which suggest the music of the Indian *vina* or the sonnets of Hafiz and Omar Khayyam. And though they are only shaded outlines, with an occasional discreet touch of gold or colour, they are perfectly complete and satisfying as works of art, for the strength of the drawing gives them all the relief of a finished cameo.

Such art was made for, and appreciated by, an educated public. Such a public can hardly be said to exist at the present day, either in India or Europe.

Since the pernicious principles of the Italian Renaissance, the bigotry of Puritanism, and the pedantry of pseudo-classical education combined with modern commercialism to destroy the national art of Europe, the public has demanded from the artist not imagination and ideas, but facts—archæological, historical, biographical or otherwise, relevant or irrelevant—only facts which it can understand. When an imaginative artist appears he must now address an unimaginative public through a go-between, an art-critic, who explains as best he can in words what the artist intends to explain with his pencil, brush, or chisel, so that society which does not like to confess itself philistine, may talk glibly of what it does not know or feel...

The curse of our false classicism, so utterly inconsistent with the true spirit of ancient culture, now hangs heavy upon the national art of India; trained in the sordid and squalid atmosphere of Indian universities, becomes completely out of touch with his own national artistic thought, and attributes to Indian art the defects which should properly be ascribed to his own lack of artistic development.

In truth, it takes two to make a picture, and of these the artist is only one. An early Italian painting, an Indian bronze, the statue of an Egyptian goddess, are utterly different things as beheld by one that has eyes to see, and by one himself devoid of imagination.

For the uncultured public of to-day in India and in Europe, it is enough that these things do not fully explain themselves at once; away with them! and so the public demands realism, that is, would limit the artist to the representation of that little half-understood bit of reality that they themselves have seen with their physical eyes. To this is due the over-realisation of modern art; nothing is, nothing can be, left to the imagination of the spectator, but art must be detailed, photographic, and indeed, bourgeois, if it is to be appreciated by a materially minded and commonplace public. It was otherwise in ancient India; there was a harmony between artist and spectator, which has been largely destroyed in modern India by false education and insincere thought, and of which no trace is to be seen in the ordinary European attitude in

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approaching a foreign art. The fact that modern Indians do not understand Indian art, is but another proof that they do not understand themselves: even as in the first centuries after Christ, there were Scythian rulers in the North-West, patrons of decadent classic art, so now there are foreign rulers, patrons of decadent European art; and now, as then, there are Indians to imitate and fawn upon them.

What happened then may happen now. In the course of a few centuries, the Indian spirit reasserted itself, and under the Guptas attained perhaps its fullest expression in national life and culture. The first essential in art is sincerity, and for this, sincerity in life is needed. That harmony and unity which are to-day impossible, may be attained through the national idealism which is stirring the dry bones in India from north to south, and east to west.

The last chapter of Mr. Havell's book is called 'The Nature of Indian Art.' The importance of art (and music) in the national synthesis has as yet been realised by very few; and yet it is ultimately by its creative power, its contribution to the world of things imaginative that a nation is judged. An India, economically and politically free, and merely assimilative in literature, art and music would not be justified, and were that the end of nationalism, the effort needed for that attainment of freedom might well seem disproportionate to the result.

Until very lately, the outlook has been of the gloomiest:—

Artistic taste in India, like artistic taste in Europe, has degenerated from a high intellectualf aculty into a common fashion; and in India the fashion is not dictated or influenced by the preferences of a specially cultured class, but by certain conventional canons founded on the pride of the ruling race and on the assumption that Indian art has always been inferior to European.

The unreasoning belief in the efficacy of European processes for reviving Indian art is still so strong among educated Indians, that when, a few years ago, a miscellaneous collection of European pictures in the Calcutta Art Gallery was sold to provide funds for purchasing Indian pictures and sculpture, the journal which is the chief spokesman of the so-called *Swadeshi* (or national) party in Calcutta with sublime inconsistency assailed me for nearly a week in the best Bengali journalese for my share in the transaction, and, *more suo*, attributed to the Government a sinister intention of suppressing higher education in art.

Even at the present day, when the Government *has* quite obviously modified educational schemes with a view to suppressing freedom of thought and independence of action—by partially reverting to national history and literature as a means of education, and forbidding European history and literature—it appears to the present writer that it shows great lack of faith in India to suppose that any process of nationalising her education can check her true development. Not so indeed. The great needs of to-day are the development of the peoples' intelligence and character through the

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medium of the national culture, for this will lead inevitably to a realisation of the unity that everywhere informs that culture.

The political aspect of the national movement has hitherto largely obscured its deeper issues. But it is significant, and full of hope for the future, that in Bengal, the centre of the political movement, is to be found the first modern re-expression of the Indian spirit in art.

New India has at last found an artist, Mr. Abanindro Nath Tagore, to show us something of its real mind, and it is significant that it is revealing itself in a continuity of the old artistic thought, a new expression of former conviction...a real artist has come to pick up the broken threads of Indian pictorial tradition.

Four of Mr. Tagore's pictures are reproduced. Not the least interesting and impressive is the fresco of Kacha and Devajani. We hope that Mr. Tagore will have the wish and the opportunity to do more of this kind of permanent and important public work.

Mr. Tagore is no longer to be regarded as an isolated phenomenon in Indian art, for in the last two years, since he has been in temporary charge of the Calcutta School of Art, the latter has become the centre of a new school of Indian painting, founded on the traditions of the old, which already gives fair hopes that a real renaissance in Indian fine art is beginning...If neither Mr. Tagore nor his pupils have yet altogether attained to the splendid technique of the old Indian painters, they have certainly revived the spirit of Indian art, and besides—as every true artist will—invested their work with a charm distinctively their own.

It need not be thought that their work is purely archaistic. It is, says Mr. Havell,

That happy blending of Eastern and Western thought, from the full realisation of which humanity at large has so much to gain.

There is a world a difference between this result and the superficial eclecticism and vulgarity of the usual Indian School of Art result of Western influence!

Change there must be in Indian art; that is both inevitable and necessary, for there is no real life in an art that never changes. But that change must come from the quickening, not from the deadening of the creative faculties; from the stimulating of thought and the strenuous upholding of higher ideals, not from the substitution of one academic ideal for another. The strength of a living art is shown in its power of assimilating foreign influences; but when it is weak such influences kill it.

And so the hope of the future is indeed alive. Already has Awakened India realised that it is hers rather to give than to receive. The new life is, as was inevitable, already the mother of new art. It is fitting that the recognition of this should have come first from an Englishman, for upon English shoulders rests a heavy responsibility for a complete misunderstanding of Indian culture and the problems of Indian education during the whole of the last century! Remembering the limitations of an ordinary academic training, we cannot but feel that Mr. Havell has shown a quality

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near akin to genius in understanding and interpreting, as he has understood and interpreted, the art of India. The services which he has rendered to the Indian people—his advocacy of the cause of hand-loom weaving at a time when he was almost alone in its support, the reformation of the Calcutta School of Art, the formation of the collection of Indian bronzes and paintings there, and lastly the present volume, modestly described as an "attempt to vindicate India's position in the fine arts"—are not slight, and should not be quickly forgotten. We can at least recommend all who can possibly afford it, to buy the book, and failing that to demand it of the nearest library.

In concluding, it is impossible to refrain from mentioning a few defects of detail in the volume before us. One of these has to do with the spelling of Indian words. The distribution of long vowel sounds is most erratic: in many cases one such mark is indicated and another omitted in the same word, as Gitâ for Gîtâ, *maya* for *mâyâ*, etc., in others, the long sign is entirely unnecessary as in *sâkti* for *sakti* (*sâkta* means the worshipper of *sakti*): there are also such spellings as vurma for varma, and Datha Gâmani for Duttha Gâmanî. In the list of illustrations, bronzes are sometimes described as copper. The descriptions of the plates are insufficient, and page references are not given. The Index is one of the most inadequate we have had occasion to use: such names as Nanda Lal Bose, Sukrâcârya, *silpa sâstras*, are omitted, and other notices are misleading or insufficient. We presume that of these mistakes, a majority are due to the publisher. Our principal quarrel with the author is that he has not given us more, and more detailed information; but we look forward to the other books on which he is engaged with eagerness. He has laid the foundation of great work, may he long be spared to continue it.

A word of praise must be given to the coloured reproductions. Some of them are excellent, though few if any are so good as those to be found in the pages of the 'Kokka.' Possibly nowhere in Europe could that standard have been attained. We regret that it has been found necessary to reproduce the half-tones on heavy shiny paper.

The value of the work is but little affected by such minor defects. It will be essential to every student of Indian art in the future, as well as to all who wish to understand the ideals and culture of the Indian people.

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VIEWS AND REVIEWS.

Prophets, Priests and Kings*.

By Mr. H. Osman Newland.

If I were disposed to envy other poople's brains, and wanted power and not imagination I should envy Mr. Asquith's. It is incomparably the most powerful intellect in the House of Commons to-day, not the finest, nor the subtlet, nor the most attractive, but the most effective. It has none of the nebulous haze that invests Mr. Churchill or Mr. Lloyd-George, none of the speciousness and moral exhilaration of Lord Morley. It is dry and hard, lacks colour and emotion; but it has weight, force, power. It is a piece of faultless mechauism. It works with the exactness of mathematics, with the massive, unhesitating sureness of a natural force. 'Go and bring the Sledge-hammer' said 'C.B.' to one of his colleagues in the midst of an attack by Mr. Balfour. And Mr. Asquith duly appeared.

SUCH is the nutshell sketch of Britain's Prime Minister in an interesting and remarkable volume just published, under the title of *Prophets, Priests and Kings*, which gives us lightning glimpses into the life and character of many of Britain's greatest sons, and includes perhaps some who are only great in their own estimation. The title is, of course, a trade-mark rather than a strict inventory of contents; for brave women like Florence Nightingale, and prominent politicians, like the various members of the present cabinet, can be classed under none of the three categories, while personalities like G. B. Shaw and Philip Snowden merely represent phases of life or contemporary history, although both may ape at times the prerogatives of the prophet, priest, and king.

Each character-study is vivid in its presentation, illuminative in its critical analysis, and fascinating by its literary charm; but some are fired by enthusiasm and glow with sympathy and political predilection while others are wrapped in a half-mystical shroud and are tinged with a distinct political or social bias, which nevertheless increase rather than diminish the reader's interest. Examples of the former may be found in the sketches of most of the liberal cabinet ministers, and, strangely enough, also in that of the Kaiser. Contrast these with the delineations of Arthur James Balfour, the Tsar, and Lord Morley, with each of whom, though from quite different points of view, the author is evidently wanting in sympathy—or is it a difficulty of understanding. Here are some extracts from the sketch of Mr. Balfour to illustrate what I mean.

* *Prophets, Priests and Kings* by A. G. Gardiner, Editor of the *Daily News*. Alston Rivers—London, 1908. 7s. 6d. nett.

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"He looks out on life with a mingled scorn and pity—scorn for its passionate strivings after the unattainable, pity for its meanness and squalor. All our schemes are futile, for we do not know the end, and that which seems to us evil may serve some ultimate good, and that which seems right may pave the path to wrong. That is the political philosophy of Mr. Balfour. What then brings him into the world of affairs? . . . He enters parliament to protect the privileges of his caste and to taste the joys of intellectual mastery. In all his career, Mr. Balfour has never lifted his hand or raised his voice on behalf of an oppressed people. It is not that he is wanting in sympathy. It is simply that he is on the side of the aristocratic authority. . . . It is not the animus against the mob that governs him, but the passion to hold the one priceless thing. . . . Mr. Balfour is the supreme debater, the incomparable swordsman. His spirits rise with the combat. The worse the case the more desperate the attack, the more formidable he becomes. He twists and turns with diabolical elusiveness. He clouds the issue with the dust of his dialectics, and with a sudden flank movement, changes the whole face of the battle. He is at once the hope and despair of his party, a man of emotions without a moral. . . . He smiles upon his friends and leaves them to the wolves."

To the people of India, the character studies of Lord Morley and Lord Curzon will perhaps be of greater interest; the first undoubtedly stands out as one of the most memorable figures of our time for he touches politics with an emotion which is almost spiritual, and his inflexible veracity,—the rarest and possibly the most precious virtue in politics,—makes his lightest word weighty and respected by friend or foe. It seems like a jest of Fate to place such a man in the gilded chamber of the House of Lords or at the India Office over a vast population dimly struggling towards freedom. Perhaps it is this that causes our author to see in Lord Morley 'a man of the past.' "He looks out on politics with reverted eyes. He is not a pioneer. He points to no far horizons. He stands icily aloof from all the eager aspirations of the time. . . . Lord Morley has the hesitation of the man of thought. Lost in reflection, weighing all the delicately balanced factors, he sees with wonder the whirlwind go by." And all this apparently because Lord Morley's ideal of progress and Indian government are not the same as that of the author, because he will have nothing to do with "the gospel of social justice heard at the street corners."

The sketch of Lord Curzon is truer to life, but all the same it is exaggerated:—"He has dwelt in a house of mirrors. Wherever he has turned he has met the dazzling vision of himself. India had no

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access to him and he always underrated the Indian intelligence. Many of his reforms were excellent, many of his practical schemes admirable. His hand was everywhere. Nothing was too microscopic to escape him; but the people were dying of famine and plague and he gave them a circus, (the Durbar)." The most faithful of all these character-studies, however, is that of His Majesty the King. "King Edward is above everything else, a human man. He is not deceived by the pomp and circumstance in the midst of which it has been his lot to live, for he has no illusions. That he is chief by heredity and not by election, does not qualify his view of the realities of the position. His common sense and sense of humour save him from exalted and antiquated assumptions. Nothing is more characteristic of this sensible attitude than his love of the French people and French institutions, and his genuine liking for John Burns. . . . He prefers plain breezy men who admit him to the common humanities rather than those who remind him of his splendid isolation. . . . He has leaned to no party, uttered no 'blazing indiscretion.'"

Other character-sketches are those of General Booth, George Meredith, the Kaiser, John Redmond, Keir Hardie, the Bishop of London, Lord Northcliffe (of the *Daily Mail*) Mrs. Pankhurst, Count Bülow, Rudyard Kipling, and Thomas Hardy, and the principal ministers in the cabinet. There is one notable and remarkable omission from this gallery of celebrated men—Joseph Chamberlain. Surely such a man represents not only a phase of life, and a personal influence but also an aspect of contemporary history, to a degree far exceeding many of those accorded a place in this volume.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

NEW BOOKS AND NEW EDITIONS.

1. *Courses of Study*: By John M. Robertson, M. P., 2nd edition, Watts & Co., London, 1908, 6s. net.

2. *Man*, Volume VIII, No. 11, November 1908. British Anthropological Institute. 1s.

3. *The Inner Life of the Navy*: By Lionel Yexley, Editor of the *Fleet*, 8 vo. cloth gilt with 16 illustrations; Sir Issac Pitman & Sons, London, 1908. 10s. 6d. net.

4. *The Century Shakespeare*. To be completed in 40 volumes. Edited by Dr. Furnivall, M.A., and John Monro. Cassell & Co. London, 1908, cloth 9d. net per volume.

5. *Cardinal Beaufort*: By L. B. Radford, B. D., Rector of Helt, Norfolk. Pitam & Sons. London 3s. 6d. net.

6. *Oriental Astrology, Darwinism and Degeneration*: By Janardan Joshi, B.A., Pioneer Press, Allahabad.

7. *A Grammar of Modern Hindi*: By Rev. Edwin Greaves, London Mission Society, Benares. The Medical Hall Press, Benares, 1908. Price Rs. 4.

8. *The Civil Procedure Code*, Edited by Harakumar Mitra and Saratkumar Mitra Dash & Co., 85 Grey Street, Calcutta, Rs. 3.

9. *An Indian Study of Love and Death*: By the Sister Nivedita. Longmans Green & Co. London 1908. 2s. net.

10. *A Brief Exposition of the Sankhya and Vedanta Systems of Indian Philosophy*: By E. C. Woodley, M. A., M. R. A. S., Principal London Missionary Society's College, Calcutta, 1908.

ANYTHING from the pen or encyclopædic mind of Mr. Robertson is always full of interest, and redolent with research. He has often been charged by many of his opponents, for the severely critical or destructive nature of his books, and even his friends have sometimes lamented that the negative position should occupy so much space in some of his writings. Both friends and foes are alike silenced by this volume which should be on the library shelves of all for constant reference. Here, in concise form, and arranged on an excellent plan are references to all the great works on anthropology, mythology, Hierology, mental and moral Philosophy, Æsthetics, History, National, Regional and Racial Sociology, Economics, Geography, Literature, the Drama, Mathematics, Religion, Natural Science, Law, Medicine, and the Fine Arts. The aim of the author is primarily to assist the ordinary unlearned man to avail himself of the stores of knowledge which lie around him in books. He recognizes that men may learn much without having been at a University, and that even a university training leaves men ill-informed on some important branches of human knowledge. All of us may waste time over unprofitable works, or in almost

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hopeless search of indexes at the great reference libraries, while missing perhaps the research which would have helped us most. Mr. Robertson saves us much trouble and gives us great illumination. There are strange omissions, it is true, such as the subject of citizenship, to which so much attention is being given to-day, and upon which there are many excellent volumes in England and America. The index to authors is also rather faulty, and, now and again the personal predilection is very apparent. But such little peculiarities are inevitable in a work of such a comprehensive nature and universal scope, and there is no book of recent publication which we can more cordially recommend to our readers than this cyclopædic work of Mr. Robertson.

The excellent monthly, *Man*, for November 1908, contains several original articles on Australian canoes and rafts, and upon Totemism in New Guinea; also an excellent sketch of Assam and the Mikirs.

A book describing a seaman's life with all the intimate knowledge of one who has himself lived it, is as rare as it is desirable. In view also of the paramount importance of Britain's supremacy on the sea, the well-being and efficiency of the "Jack Tar" ought to be a concern of every son of the Empire. Few men can tell us as much about admiralty methods, of the relations between officers and men and of actual life between decks as the author of *The King's Navy*. He spent twenty years on men-of-war and in the Coast's guard service before he became editor of the *Fleet*. The torrent of invective levelled at Sir John Fisher because of his numerous reforms and the danger of the British public being lulled into a false sense of security with the cry "all's well with the navy" and roseate sketches of naval life, first induced the author to write this volume. He confesses that it is a picture which reflects more shadows than light, but he is convinced that a fearful waste of public money takes place in the navy without benefitting either itself or the public, and while he unhesitatingly exposes this waste, he supports the reform policy of Sir John Fisher. The book is clearly written, interesting to the student, and, in many chapters, of dramatic interest to the casual reader. His description and explanation of the recent so-called "mutiny" at Portsmouth is excellent reading. We can cordially recommend the volume.

The *Century edition of Shakespeare* is admirable for the student. It slips easily into the pocket, is extremely artistic in form and binding, and is excellently annotated and prefaced by the well-known Shakespearian scholar, Dr. Furnivall. From the specimen volume before us, The Merchant of Venice, it is difficult to determine what are the main differences of interpretation in the general Shakespearian text, but we confess that we do not take kindly

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to the reformed spelling,—one of Dr. Furnivall's crazes—and one or two slight alterations will have to be made in the Glossary. The term "Count Palatine," for instance, was not applied to noblemen generally as the editors affirm. Even in mediæval England counts palatine were ranked above ordinary earls, were usually of royal blood and enjoyed rights of life and death over their subjects; while the Elector Palatine of Germany, to whom the remarks of Portia undoubtedly refer was a distinct and very important personage. Apart from these small blemishes, this new edition of Shakespeare is to be commended to our readers.

Cardinal Beaufort is the first of a series of volumes which is intended to commemorate important men whose share in the making of national British history seems to need a more complete record than it has yet received, the principal aim being to illustrate the importance of individual contributions to national development. The public life of Cardinal Beaufort for nearly half a century was one of the main threads of continuity between three Lancastian reigns. Shakespeare has painted Beaufort in no favourable colours and it has required all the genius of Dr. Stubbs to reverse or modify the popular verdict of that mediæval statesman. The author of this volume goes further. He aims only at doing justice, but there is evident personal predilection. Nevertheless the picture of Beaufort is presented to us in a most interesting and instructive manner, and considerable light is thrown by the author of some of the more remote corners of that period of English history.

Oriental Astrology, Darwinism and Degeneration represents the view taken by the majority of our educated countrymen towards the so-called 'Science of Astrology'. In writing this book the author has been actuated by the praiseworthy motive of freeing his countrymen—and counrtywomen—from the thraldom and terrorism of the present day *practitioners* of the art of divination. We are glad to notice that he does not discredit the science entirely; in fact he recognises the purely scientific nature of the earlier attempts at tracing some connection between the stars and planets and the occurrences upon the earth. It is the later and unconscionable misuse of the science against which our author raises his voice. We are sorry to find, however, that this voice is raised only against the foreign elements imported into the older science from the West. We do not pretend to be conversant with the subject; but we feel that there have been many undesirable developments of the 'science of the stars' in this 'holy land' of India itself, apart from what has been due to the influence of the "yavanas." But we suppose the 'sanatanadharma' proclivities of our author prevents him from pushing his thesis to its logical conclusion and makes him declare that "the astrology of the

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the Hindus died," long before the Christian era, with the classification of men into 27 classes in accordance with the position occupied by the Moon at the time of their birth.

Greave's Hindi Grammar does not call for much comment. Ever since it came out in 1895, it has deservedly been recognised as the *standard* grammar of the language; and we are glad to find that the second edition is, on the whole, an improvement on its predecessor. We specially commend the two Prefaces and the First Chapter to the careful attention of our modern Hindi writers, some of whom are trying to impose upon the elastic 'vernacular' the artificial rigidity of the later day 'classics? If the book under notice fails to attact many readers, it is due to the high price; and in view of the useful character of the book we hope the enterprising publishers will see their way to placing the book within easy reach of the Hindi-reading public, which is by no means in very affluent circumstances.

Sister Nivedita's attractive booklet is written with all the grace and charm of which the gifted author has thorough command. The excellent ideas in which it abounds, presented as they are in sweet melodious English, and containing profound Logic and metaphysics, are calculated to bring lasting consolation to many a bereaved heart; and the last chapter—upon 'some Hindu Rites for the Honoured Dead'—will, we trust, present, in a new and favourable light, to the mind of the modern Hindu, the rites upon which, in his much-vaunted 'superior culture', he has come to look down with unspeakable abhorrence.

The Civil Procedure Code, edited by Harakumar Mitra and Sarat Kumar Mitra, is a handy and cheap edition. The editors have rearranged the Orders and Rules under the appropriate Sections so as to correspond very closely with the order in the old and repealed Code familiar to the members of the Bench and the Bar. The footnotes also indicate all literal changes and additions so that one can at once have both the old and the new Code side by side. The value of such an arrangement is undoubted. We also find explanatory notes given throughout of the alterations in the old Code and cases that may be said to have led to the changes or have some bearing worth noticing have all been noted. We may add that the chief recommendation of the book is that it is not made cumbrous with the host of old cases on the old law with which every lawyer is or may be quite familiar, and some of which may not have much value perhaps under the new law. This edition in short is just the thing wanted in this period of sudden transition and we have no doubt, it would prove extremely useful to the Bench and the Bar alike.

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Mr. Woodley's is a useful little book providing much useful information on two systems of Indian Philosophy. The exposition of the Sankhya system is based upon the Tattva-samasa and that of the Vedanta on the Vedantasara. The language is simple, and the abstruse truths of philosophy are here presented in a form in which they are easily comprehended. In the Sankhya portion, we expected a much fuller treatment of the doctrine of the 'three Gunas', which forms the distinctive feature of that philosophy. In connection with the Vedanta section also we notice that the learned writer has not very clearly expressed the relation of the Purva-Mimamsa to the Vedanta. There are some serious misprints *e. g.*, '*Vashishta-Advaita*' for (we believe) '*Vishitha-dvaita*; this however appears to be an inevitable feature in an Indian publication.

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Announcement.

Messages of Uplift for India by Saint Nihal Singh, with an introduction by Mr. B. O. Flower, Editor, *The Arena* Boston, U. S. A.

Messrs. Ganesh & Co., Booksellers, Madras, will bring out shortly a collection of the writings of Mr. Saint Nihal Singh under the above title.

The work is divided into three parts. The first will appeal to the reading public of India who wish to know more of the great world beyond the boundaries of Hindustan and to be able to compare the differing characteristics and conditions of foreign lands with those at home, and to the young, because of its effective appeal to the ambition of youth and the felicitous manner in which the author emphasizes his thought with practical illustrations drawn from Western history or from his personal observations.

The second division, or Educational Essays, will be especially attractive to earnest friends of progress who are working for a brighter and happier day for India. These essays are messages of great practical value, written in a popular style. Their value is enhanced by numerous illustrations showing the practicability of educational and advance steps which while they might be innovations to the people of Hindostan, are warranted because of their excellent results.

The closing division of the work, devoted to "Critical Essays" is of general interest and value. They fitly complement the other more important divisions of the work, making in all an extremely important volume that cannot fail to contribute much for the uplift and onward march of India.

The price of the Book has been fixed at Re. 1 so as to be within the reach of all.

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CRITICISMS AND DISCUSSIONS.

N.B.—The contributions under this heading refer to matters previously treated in the *Hindustan Review*. Criticism of any article will, as a rule, be limited to a single issue. The discussion ends with a reply from the original writer.—ED.

(a)—"Indian Unity:—A Rejoinder."

BY A "BENGALEE HINDOO."

MAULVI Mujibar Rahman of the *Mussalman* has had a long and thoughtful article on "Indian Unity: as evidenced by Hindu-Mussalman relations in Bengal" in the issue of the *Hindustan Review* for November last, and grateful thanks of both the Hindu and Mussalman communities in Bengal are due to the writer. The learned Maulvi Saheb begins his long paper with "that the political and economic salvation of India depends on the co-operation and the united efforts of the different communities inhabiting this vast continent, is now recognized by all" and he expresses his sense of gratification "to note that, there has been, of late, a tendency on the part of our responsible political leaders to bring about a rapproachment between the different sections of the people." He complains, because, "unfortunately profession and practice are generally very divergent" and goes on to explain as to how "what is done by the conscientious few is often undone by the unscrupulous many." The Maulvi has tried to shew that these "unscrupulous many", are, mostly the Hindus.

The writer has brought so many charges, of offences, of omission and commission, against the Hindus that it would be difficult, even in one *Hindustan Review* article, to discuss all of them. He has complained that Hindus in Bengal, generally, give wanton offence to their Mussalman brethren; Hindu Zamindars oppress Mussalman ryots in various ways and means and in short, the lives of Mussalmans in Bengal have been unbearable for the odious Hindus,—specially of the orthodox class. At first it appears that he has nothing but praise for the England—or Europe-returned Hindus but a second reading dispels that erroneous idea when one comes to his description how "the young wife of a District and Sessions Judge had to address a young barrister as her husband and the idol of her heart," &c. The writer forgot that this incident had nothing to do with his article and he had no business to poke his nose where he had no place.

Fortunately for me, nay, for all the well-wishers of the country, the December issue of the *Review* has in it a paper contributed by Mr. Justice Tyabji of the Baroda High Court which has been a

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general rejoinder to Maulvi Mujibar Rahman's paper, and I am particularly grateful to that eminent Muhammedan gentleman for the trouble he has saved me from. I humbly request Mr. Rahman to carefully read and study Mr. Justice Tyabji's paper and, I hope, he will be convinced that faults do not lie solely with the Hindus.

I, however, take his one charge for consideration and reply. He says that "the mischief that the literary lawlessness of Bankim Chandra has created in the country far outweighs that committed by some lawless people in Eastern Bengal and elsewhere," and he points out "the literary barriers that stand in the way of our unity." Thus Mr. Mujibar Rahman asks Educated India to accept his *dictum* that the literary lawlessness of Bankim Chandra has created a mischief in Bengal which *far outweighs* the mischief created by the lawlessness of some low class Musalmans in Eastern Bengal and elsewhere. We all know what havoc was created in Eastern Bengal by some lawless men. They—the ignorant and misguided low class Mussalmans—defaced and demolished Hindu gods and goddesses, defiled their sacred places, looted their houses and shops and ravished their women; in many cases, these charges were brought home to the guilty men and they were judicially punished. Englishmen of the purest impartiality and the highest integrity, like Messrs. Keir Hardie and Nevinson, have given us descriptions of these outrages in faithful language and our blood does not boil but curdles in our veins to go through them. Our friend, Mr. Rahman, says that these are nothing in comparison with the literary lawlessness of Bankim Chandra! "Because," says Mr. Mujibar Rahman, "in *Durges Nandini*, Ayesha, a highly respectable Moslem girl, is alleged to have fallen in hopeless love with a Hindu Commander by whom she is discarded and with whom the very idea of marriage is absurd" and adds the writer, with all the seriousness that he can command, that "in *Rajsthan*, deliberate offence is given to the Musalmans, &c." I leave it to the readers of "*Durges Nandini*" to judge if Bankim is really to be blamed for this. So far as I know, and Mr. Rahman also does not deny, the character of Ayesha is the noblest of all in the book and I fail to understand how Bankim could give offence to the Mussalmans. A most enlightened Bengali Hindu writer has made, in one of his dramas, the daughter of Maharana Pratap Sinha of Mewar, fall in hopeless love with a Mussalman prince; Bankim himself has introduced a depraved *Kayastha* widow in his famous novel "Krishna Kanter Will (कृष्ण कान्तेर उइल); Shakespeare also is not free from such faults if these are faults at all; but nobody has ever complained of such things. On the other hand, it exposes the lack of humour and the very grossest form of punctilio in the reader who pretends to

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find fault with the novelists for such things. In *Raj Sinha*, Bankim has had unfortunately to do with a Moghul Emperor of whom the less is said the better. I own that Bankim could not bestow much praise on him; but why blame Bankim for this? Blame rather Colonel Tod, Messrs. Wheeler, Hunter and Co., blame History itself. Even Mr. Romes Chunder Dutt is not free from such a blame. Mr. Rahman has selected out Bankim amongst many; why, he knows best. One of the reasons, it may be, that he is dead and can not retaliate. Damoder and others of the same type also come under the category of Historians. I do not see the reason why the whole Mussalman community should take offence if a tyrannous monarch should be held up to ridicule. Do they approve of the conduct of the Emperor who demolished all the Hindu temples, imposed Jeziya upon his Hindu subjects and oppressed the Hindus wholesale—princes and peasants alike? Is it a matter of glory that there exists not a single monument of Hindu art in the whole of *Aryavarta*?

Assuming for the sake of argument that Bankim and other Hindu writers exceeded their province in these matters and they are to be blamed for this, it may be safely asserted that none of them used their talent or pen to abuse the Mussalmans or their religion on purpose. This was reserved for our Mussalman literary men in whom "Courtsey" is said to be "ingrained." Books like **अग्निकुकुट, विधवागञ्जना, वेदरहस्य,** &c., give ample evidence of the literary activity of our Moslem brothers which surely does not come under the name of "lawless men" in the opinion of the learned Maulvi Saheb. **मिहिर ओ सुधाकर**, the only influential organ of the Bengali Mussalmans advertises these books. The advertisement of **वेदरहस्य** contains these words: **वेदरहस्य, इहाते हिन्दूर कल्पानिकधर्मेर ३३ कोटी देवता रहस्ये परिपूर्ण। अधिकन्तु ताहाते देव देवी मुनि ऋषिर पैशाचिक चरित्रेर अभिनय चित्रित करा हइयाछे।** I refrain from giving a translation; it is too strong for me. Mr. Rahman well knows the fact that *Mihir O Sudhakar* or such Mahomedan papers can have no Hindu subscriber or reader although the subscription lists of all Hindu papers contain the names of Hindu and Mussalman subscribers alike. Why is this difference? Simply because no Hindu *can* read any Moslem paper.

To give a concrete instance of the tone and policy of such papers, I beg to give here a paragragh from the said precious **मिहिर ओ सुधाकर** of the 6th November last which came to my hand rather accidentally. I believe such paragraphs are very cheap in that paper; the reader is likely to find its like in any issue of it. I must apologize for the rather long quotation:

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एखन देखितेछि, हिन्दुभ्रातदिगेर जातीय विद्यालयगुलि डाकातिर आड्डा हुइया दाँड़ाइल। हुगलो जेलार ओ मालदह जेलार डाकाइतिते जातीय विद्यालयेर शिक्षक ओ छात्रगण डाकात वलिया धृत हइयाछे। एइरूप घृणित कार्येर अनुष्ठान द्वारा याहारा एदेशे स्वराज्ज प्रतिष्ठा करिते चाय, भारतमातार मुखोज्ज्वल करिते चाय, ताहारा कोन श्रेणीर जीव, पाठकगण ताहार विचार करिबेन। इहारा दस्युराज शिवाजी मारहाट्टार पदानुसरण करितेछे। ताहाते अणुमात्र ओ संशयनाइ। वंकिमवावू आनन्दमठे ताँहार स्वजातीय भ्रातागणके एइ शिक्षाइ दियाछिलेन। ताँहार संन्तान सेनादले ओ एइ शिक्षित दस्युदले कोनइ प्रभेद नाइ। आजकाल देशे यत चुरि डाकाति हइतेछे ताहार अधिकांशइ इहादेरई काज। मालदह जातीय विद्यालयेर शिक्षकगण एक भीषण दस्युतार आसामी वलिया धृत हइयाछे। आमरा वलि, एरूप पापानुष्ठाने भारतेर उन्नति हइवेना वरं भारतेर उन्नति वहु युग पिछाइया याइवे। प्रिय मुसलमान छात्रगण! एरूप पापानुष्ठानेर छायाओ येन तोमादिगके स्पर्श करिते ना पारे।

Cemment upon it is not necessary. I have quoted it in full, on purpose, so that nobody may question the *bona fides* of the quotation. Is not Mr. Mujibar Rahman aware of these things? These are only a few instances of the literary *highwaymanship* on the part of our Mahomedan brethren.

Enough of this. I shall no more take any space of the *Hindustan Review* nor any time of the reader. I humbly request Mr. Mujibar Rahman and men of his type not to employ themselves in finding faults only. I admit freely that Hindus have many faults; but then, the Mussulmans are not angels of perfection either. In these critical times, we should not try to look for others' faults or the points where we disagree; on the other hand, we should all try to find good and the points of similarity in our neighbours. "Bear and forbear" is the golden rule which we should all bear in mind and try to act up to it. Above all, we should always remember that "United we stand and divided we fall" and let us not forget the truth that "Unity is the path of our salvation" and **नान्यः पन्था विद्यते अयनाय।**

(*b*)—Secularity and Religiosity in India.

BY AN "INDIAN NATIONALIST."

In the February number of this review "Aryavarma" takes exception to certain remarks of mine on the above subject. With the permission of the Editor I beg to write these few lines, not by way of controversy but by way of explanation.

(1) When in reviewing Acton's *Modern Europe* I wrote that "to the European during the Middle Ages, as to millions in India

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to-day, religion was all in all" I was really thinking of religions professed by "the millions," and not of Vedic Hinduism or Esoteric Buddhism. I was thinking of religion as it makes and mars the lives of the mass of my countrymen day by day in this work-a-day world and not of the religion of the Rishis and the Mahatmas.

(2) I do not believe that Christianity is entirely bad and false. I hold that, in spite of 'glaring contradictions' and 'fanciful myths,' the Bible contains many deep spiritual and ethical truths, and I think that notwithstanding certain defects, Christianity during many centuries of European history was the most beneficent force making for civilization. Neither do I believe in the infallibility of the Vedas. On the contrary, I regard Hinduism (including Vedism) as a human institution, and consequently containing the necessary admixture of human error with much that is lofty and noble. Even the vehement dogmatism of "Aryavarma" has failed to convince me and therefore it is no good throwing the Vedas again and again at my head.

(3) Secularity, by which I mean the exclusion of religion from spheres which are not directly subject to it, is very necessary in this country of many castes and creeds. To people who believe that they will yet convert the whole world to their form of religion, I have nothing to say. But those, who believe that the days of mass conversions have gone by, must recognise that secularity is very necessary for the evolution of the different sections of the Indian people and their growth as one nation. If Indian nationality is a desirable object then the secularisation of political and social spheres of life is very necessary. As there is no such thing as Hindu mathematics and Mahomedan mathematics, so there should not be Hindu politics and Mahomedan politics. This will not necessarily weaken the spiritual side of life—I am using the word 'spiritual' in its normal not in its Theosophical sense—for it is possible to be spiritual without professing any particular religion. The interesting and instructive experiment which is being tried by the ruling classes of Japan in this direction deserves our serious attention. This is one of the chief reasons why I regard secularity as a most desirable thing in India.

(c)—A Reader on *Hindustan Review* Editorials.

We gladly make room for the following which a constituent has been pleased to send us and to which we think it right to give publicity. No comments are necessary.

I venture to offer a frank expression of my opinion on the *Hindustan Review* and of the policy guiding it, and I do so with a full sense of responsibility. I have been reading the review for the past 5 years and more and I have been a regular subscriber to it as well for that period. I am bound

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to say that it is one of the most ably conducted Indian Journals and, if I am permitted to say without any the least tinge of exaggeration, that it occupies the forefront in the ranks of Indian Journalism. I have got the greatest admiration generally for the manner and method of the treatment of subjects dealt therein but I would like to take some exception to the editorials. You have been in season and out of season unduly harsh upon a section of our politicians and exhibiting an intolerance for difference of opinion which, I fear, might develop into a cant with the Journal. I belong to the school of moderates and pardon me for the frankness of expression, I am an invertibrate in that respect; I mean, I am an out and out loyalist moderate believing in the slow, steady and orderly progress of events only under western direction and control. I am not an impatient idealist precipitating the settled order of things. I would only wish your adoption of more tactful and conciliatory weapons in your political warfare on the field of your pages instead of perpetuating the cleavage. A judicious dole of caustic at one time and the employment of the gentle art of persuasion at another will heal many a sore. The gospel of compromise is the best balm of the hour and the truly oriental balm for soothing and steadying the warring elements of the different schools of political thought. The present condition of unrest in Indian political mentality has come to stay and the helmsmen and the oarsmen must pilot the barge to a successful haven of repose and rest without allowing the bearings to be lost. I am only a fly in the huge wheel and yet this is my well-reasoned conviction and I give it for what it is worth. Please extend to me the hospitality of your columns for this note and oblige.

P. V. VASUDEVA ROW.

PUDUKOTAH STATE.

Our Last Issue.

A periodical quite worthy of European patronage is that well-conducted monthly, the *Hindustan Review*, published at Allahabad and edited by Mr. S. Sinha. It is an eminently readable publication and will in matter and get-up compare favourably with the best reviews in any quarter of the globe. The February number now before us is most interesting and almost every contribution in it is from the pen of gentlemen of the highest intelligence and culture; there are also reviews and comments from English sympathisers with those working loyally for self-government in this country.—The *Indian Planter's Gazette.*

There is some exceedingly clever work in the current issue of the *Hindustan Review*. Perhaps the most piquant thing this month is "A conversation on current Indian topics," by a "Parsee Publicist," which presents a discussion between an Englishman, a Scotsman, a Christian Turk and an Indian, on the self-government for Indians. There has been much criticism in the Indian Press of recent measures in Mysore, and one cannot do better than recommend critics of this type to read the splendid defence of the Dewan of Mysore, contributed to these pages by "A Mysorean." Apparently, Mysore is quite satisfied with a rule which is described by this writer as "not democratic in form, but democratic in purpose." Mr. Saint Nihal Singh writes on "the seamy side of American politics," and a large portion of this issue is given over to reviews of the latest books, including recent legal literature.—*The Indian Daily Telegraph.*

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The February number of the *Hindustan Review* as usual contains several articles dealing with important current topics in a very informing way. In Mr. S. Sinha's hands the review has achieved a high degree of success and popularity, and takes rank with some of the best written periodicals of the day. For the comprehensive discussion of current topics the *Hindustan Review* affords an excellent medium ; and it is being increasingly utilised for the purpose by competent writers and publicists. The present number opens with an article of great interest and value on Indian Higher Education by the Rev. Professor C. F. Ardrews, M.A., dealing with what the writer calls "improvements of methods." This is followed by an article on "Modern Organisation of Industry" by Manohar Lal, M.A., Principal, Randhir College, Kapurthala. The third article is entitled "Indian Mussalmans and Indian Politics." The writer is an Indian Mussalman, possibly one of those whom the Muslim League would exclude from Muslim representation ; for the views he expresses are more the views of Tyabji, Sayani and Nawab Sayid Mahomed than of those who profess to be exclusive guardians of Muslim interests. He traces the origin and development of present-day Mahomedan political thought, how they, giving up indifference to politics as enjoined by Sir Syed Ahmed, entered the political arena. The ferment of the new political spirit, he says, "worked until the Aga Khan as the spokesman of the sixty-two millions of Indian Mahomedans, Œdipus-like, raised a new flag inside the entrenchments of Syed Ahmedian toryism. If this safety valve had not been provided, the enlightened Mahomedans of India would eventually have either joined the Indian National Congress or set up a Congress of their own." A "Mysorean" in another article enters upon a vehement defence of the Dewan and a bitter criticism of the Mysoreans. He seems to suggest that the Mysoreans have been making an invidious distinction between the Maharajah and his Minister giving credit for every thing good to His Highness while throwing the blame for everything bad on the Dewan. He flouts the patriotism of the Mysoreans which he says is selfishness. He defends the Press gagging Regulation which has the approval of all except a few lawyers and teachers, and says one member of the Representative Assembly welcomed executive action and compared the judiciary to the mother-in-laws' house and the executive to the mother's; and the writer on his own responsibility adds that "the forms of legal administration now current in Mysore are far beyond what our present stage of culture can profitably employ, and they have on the whole done more harm than good," and that "civilized forms of Government are not in all cases a blessing to people, the more personal type is often the better." According to this view modern Indian polity has a good deal to be changed. Other articles of interest are on Indian Polytechnics by Mr. H. Subba Row, the "Seamy Side of British Rule in India" by Mr. Kesari Prasad Singh, and the "Seamy Side of American Politics" by Mr. Saint Nihal Sing.—The *Indian Patriot.*

As usual, the *Hindustan Review* for February, is full of valuable articles by eminent writers.—The *Hindu.*

The February number of the *Hindustan Review* is welcome. As usual, its articles and editorial comments deal with subjects of practical interest. The *Hindustan Review* is a periodical with the help of which the serious reader will be able to understand the Indian problem in its many aspects. We congratulate the editor upon the success of his patriotic literary venture.—The *Madras Standard.*

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THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I.—"*I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard.*" (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Liberator*).

MOTTO II.—"Minds may doubt and hearts may fail, when called to face new modes of thought or points of view; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange." (From Dr. Illiugworth's *Reason and Revelation.*)

———

The Kayastha Conference.

THE announcement that the twentieth session of the Kayastha Conference will be held at Allahabad during the Easter holidays has been followed by unpleasant rumours of troubles ahead. We may have something to say on this subject in our next issue, when we hope to have more definite information. In the meantime, we associate ourselves in the following observations of our esteemed contemporary of the *Advocate*, in regard to the shortsightedness of the Pathshala authorities in refusing to allow the Conference being held in the Pathshala premises or compound :—

We have heard with surprise and regret that the authorities of the Kayastha Patshala are going to refuse the use of the Pathshala building for the holding of the Conference. We hope that this piece of news is not true. But if it be, then we will most earnestly ask Munshi Gokul Pershad to reconsider his decision. The Patshala authorities ought to welcome such an opportunity and should do their best to make the Conference a success. The holding of caste conferences may be objectionable on certain grounds from the broader national standpoint, but when such a conference has been invited and is going to be held, it is extremely unwise for the educated people of that caste to throw impediments in its way. It is the one opportunity for the hundreds of young men in the Pathshala to rise above self and think noble thoughts and do unselfish deeds. What will be the effect of such an unwise course of action on them? How can we expect these young men to develop the sense of national patriotism, when they see their elders refusing to rise to the height of even communal patriotism? We are told that the reason assigned for this curious proceeding is that the Kayestha Conference is expected to discuss some social reform questions like the sea-voyage. We did not know the authorities of the Kayesth Patshala were going to dispute the championship of orthodoxy with the Bharat Dharam Mahamandal. But even granting that they represent the *crema de la creme* of Hindu orthodoxy, yet we

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contend that their action is indefensible. They can not claim to be more orthodox than the late Pandit Ajodhia Nath or the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Neither is the Kayestha Conference so radical in the matter of social reform as the All-India Social Conference. And yet in 1888 as well as in 1892, the use of the Congress panda was freely allowed to the Indian Social Conference. We, therefore, hope that the use of the Kayesth Pathshala premises will be allowed fully and freely to the Kayesth Conference. If this is not done, then we have not the least hesitation in saying, that the authorities of the Pathshala will write themselves down in the estimation of all right-thinking men.

"Let Dogs Bark"

It does one's heart good to find that the *Advocate* should have so much faith in "moral suasion," as to expect that its appeal to the Pathshala authorities—based, we suppose, on considerations of "Justice, Equity and Good Conscience"—will have the desired effect and that they will see the desirability of doing what expediency, policy, common sense and public opinion, all alike demand. We do most sincerely hope that our Lucknow contemporary will succeed in its efforts to get the Pathshala authorities to realize their duty on the present occasion. But speaking frankly, we have no such expectations and it will be a very agreeable surprise to us to find ourselves mistaken. It is long since we gave up writing of the Pathshala affairs, ever since we were told that the *de facto* "Governor" of the institution, was of opinion that no attention need or should be paid to criticisms of the Press. With *nonchalance*, worthy of the Great Napoleon himself, he is reported to have said, with reference to criticisms of the Press on Pathshala affairs :—"Let dogs bark." Since we came to know this from a very reliable source, we thought it was best to keep a quiet tongue in the mouth, even though it may cost us no little pain to do so. Perhaps we are wrong or we lack sufficient courage. Perhaps so. We are glad, however, to notice the spirit of hopefulness and optimism of our contemporary of the *Advocate*. We wish we had the same, but we confess we have it not. And no one can have it, who possesses in any degree a knowledge of the true inwardness of things in the present management of the Pathshala. If the *Advocate* knew a fraction of what we know, it would have long since turned a morbid pessimist. It is because our contemporary's "ignorance is bliss," that it seriously endeavours to reason with the Pathshala authorities and "earnestly" asks "Munshi Gokul Prasad to reconsider

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his decision." "His" decision, indeed! There are "wheels within wheels" of which the *Advocate* is blissfully ignorant; there is "in the lowest depth, a lower depth." The *Advocate* is wrong in its surmise that the Pathshala authorities have no ambition "to dispute the championship of orthodoxy with the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal." Of course, they have, or they would not have deliberately kept out of the Executive Committee a cultured and energetic gentleman like Babu Iswar Saran, in spite of his repeated assurances in his speeches on the Social Conference platforms—assurances which are absolutely true—that he is an "orthodox" person. But the "orthodoxy" of the Pathshala authorities is "my doxy," that of others is "heterodoxy." Verily, we live in strange times. We assure the *Advocate* and the public at large that but for the "gigantic pillars" of Hindu "orthodoxy" among the Pathshala authorities, who support the fabric of the Hindoo religion, this ancient faith would long since have disappeared from the face of the earth, like the religions of Egypt, Assyria and Babylon. Long may these "pillars of faith" flourish!

A Defence of the Pathshala Authorities.

The *Indian People* prints the following defence of the Patshala authorities. The italics in the extract are ours:—

Of all the caste Conferences whose proceedings we have from time to time taken note of, the Kayastha Conference is the most important in these provinces. By number, education, liberal views and practical works of utility the Kayasthas of these provinces form a very advanced community. The Kayastha Pathshala of Allahabad is one of the noted monuments of the self-sacrifice and the practical and advanced ideas of some of the most remarkable leaders of this important community. The next Kayastha Conference, it has been settled, will meet at Allahabad during the Easter holidays. Our esteemed townsmen, Munshi Govind Prasad and Munshi Gulzari Lal are respectively the President and the Secretary of the Reception Committee this year. All the educated and respectable Kayastha gentlemen of this place have taken it upon themselves to make the ensuing Conference a success. *We are, however, surprised to learn that a rumour has been circulated that the authorities of the Kayastha Pathashala have refused to co-operate with the Conference Committee and have not placed the buildings and the resources of the Pathsala at the disposal of the Conference Committee.* We regret our esteemed contemporary of the *Advocate* of Lucknow has in its issue of the 21st instant lent its support to this *baseless rumour*. It is *within our knowledge* that there was an *informal meeting* held here during the last Muharram holidays in which both the President and the Secretary of the Reception Committee of

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the Conference as also Munshi Sohan Lal Sahib and Babu Sanwal Sahai of Aligarh, Babu Jaswant Rai, Octroi Superintendent, Allahabad, Babu Ram Das Gaur, Professor, Muir Central College, all of whom we are told are members of the Reception Committee, were present. With them were also present Chowdhury Mahadeo Prasad Sahib, patron, Kayastha Pathsala, Munshi Gokul Prasad, president, Kayastha Pathsala Committee, Munshi Murli Dhar, Vakil, Sitapur, Babu Ganeshi Lal, Head Master, Kayastha Pathsala and several other local gentlemen. It cannot therefore be said that any resolution passed by this meeting could in any way be detrimental to the interests of the Reception Committee. *It ought to be remembered that the Conference will be held at a time when the University examinations will also be going on.* Then, it is expected that a *very large number* of gentlemen will this year assemble at the Conference. It was, there, *wisely resolved, and unanimously too*, that the Pathsala Hall could not afford sufficient or suitable accommodation for the Conference to meet. Some gentlemen then proposed that the Conference be held under an open *shamiana*. But the proposal was given up as it was thought that the weather will be too hot to allow a meeting under a *shamiana*. It was then unanimously resolved that the Mayo Hall be hired for the meeting of the Conference. The Pathshala authorities, however, resolved that delegates coming from outside would be accommodated in the Pathshala premises—certain suitable rooms of course being set apart for the students who will be staying at the institution for the examinations. We cannot see how more convenient arrangements could be made. It would be doing injustice to the Pathshala authorities to say that they have not placed themselves at the service of the Reception Committee. The decision as to these matters did not at all rest with these authorities. Responsible members of the Reception Committee were present at the meeting where the Resolutions were arrived at after due deliberation. *It is absurd to attribute any motive to any particular person, or to say that the Pathsala authorities shrank from their responsible duty for any controverted social or political questions.* The Pathsala must rise or fall with the prosperity or woe of the whole Kayastha community.

Munshi Govind Prasad to the rescue!

The following letter appears in the *Advocate* over the name of Munshi Govind Prasad, the President of the Conference Reception Committee :—

My attention has been called to an editorial paragraph which appears in the issue of the *Advocate* for the 21st February, and I am bound to say that I have read it with surprise and regret. I doubt not that if the correct facts had been known to you, you would not have allowed the paragraph to appear. The fact of the matter is that an informal meeting was held at Allahabad during the Moharrum holidays at which the following gentlemen were present :—Chaudhri Mahadeo Prasad, Munshi Gokul Prasad, Munshi Gulzarilal, Babu Ganeshilal, Babu Sohanlal of Aligarh, Babu Sanwal Sahaya of Aligarh, Babu Jaswant Rai, Babu Ramdas Gaur, Munshi Murlidhar, others and myself.

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That meeting unanimously resolved that as a very large number of delegates were expected to attend the Kayastha Conference at Allahabad, and the Kayastha Pathshala Hall was not spacious enough to accommodate the gathering, and the season would not permit of the Conference holding its session under a *shamiana* in the Pathshala compound, it was desirable that the Conference should meet in the Mayo Hall, but that arrangements would be made for putting up the delegates in the premises of the Kayastha Pathshala and the buildings appertaining thereto (except the boarding house which would then be in the occupation of boys preparing for the coming examination.)

There is no foundation therefore for the suggestion that "the authorities of the Kayastha Pathshala are going to refuse the use of the Pathshala building for the holding of the conference" or that Munshi Gokul Prasad is responsible for any decision which he should reconsider, or that there is any objection to the Kayastha Conference because it is "expected to discuss some social reform questions like sea-voyage, etc., etc."

Truth—No kun our.

It is a pity that the *Indian People* and. we regret to say, also Munshi Govind Prasad have been the medium of communicating to the public absolutely wrong information on the point at issue. Apart from the information "within our knowledge"—to adopt the language of our local contemporary—we have, through the courtesy of Munshi Gulzari Lal, Secretary of the Conference Reception Committee, been able to look into the reports of the proceedings of the several meetings of the Reception Committee held since it was constituted in November last. We are much beholden to Munshi Gulzari Lal for his kindness in supplying us with the authoritative version of the Resolutions passed by the Reception Committee. Prior to the formation of the Reception Committee—or rather Reception Committees (in the plural number) as the sequel will show—a preliminary meeting of some members of the Kayastha community was held on the 13th of September last, under the presidentship of Rai Sahib Binda Prasad at which a Committee was formed with a view to convene a representative meeting of the Kayastha community of Allahabad at which the Reception Committee may be organised. Pursuant to the above resolution a meeting was held on the 30th November last at the Kayastha Pathshala at which *two* Reception Committees were formed under two distinct resolutions, one (the Kayastha Educational Conference Reception Committee) moved by Munshi

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Jang Bahadur Lal, Secretary, Kayastha Pathshala and seconded by Lala Sham Kishore, late Temperance preacher and the second ithe Kayastha Social Conference Reception Committee) proposed by Munshi Gulzari Lal and seconded by Akhoury Jageshar Prasad. Munshi Govind Prasad Sahib, Munshi Gulzari Lal Sahib, B. Kishen Chand Sahib and Munshi Sheo Narayan Sahib were appointed the President, the Secretary, the Joint-Secretary and the Treasurer, respectively, of both the Committees. It is to be noticed that with the exception of the office-bearers and the following four gentlemen, viz., B. Shanker Lal, Dr. Ranjit Singh, B. Maheshwar Prasad and Mr. Sinha,—who are members of both the Committees—each Committee consisted of a different set of people. It is further noticeable that neither Choudhri Mahadeo Prasad Saheb, the Patron, nor Munshi Gokul Prasad, the President, nor Rai Binda Prasad, the Financial Vice-President, nor B. Jang Bahadur Lal, the Secretary of the Pathsala —practically all the powers that be—is a member of the Social Conference Reception Committee ; and this fact in itself is, we think, amply significant. On the 8th of December last there was a joint—as on all subsequent occasions—meeting of the two Committees at which the following resolution, moved by B. Kishen Chand and seconded by Dr. Anant Prasad, was adopted : —"That in as much as the Kayastha Pathshala premises will *probably*(?) not be available during Easter the Secretaries be requested to place before the next meeting of the Committee proposals regarding other suitable places where the sittings of the Conference may be held." We may state in passing that at the meeting at which the above resolution was passed there were present, among others, Munshi Gokul Prasad, Rai Binda Prasad and B. Jang Bahadur Lal. We will ask our readers to interpret for themselves the above resolution. It is sufficient to note that no reason is assigned in the resolution as to why the Pathshala premises could not be *made* available. The fact that they have now been made available for putting up the delegates and visitors can leave no manner of doubt that they could have been made available even then, as now, for the sittings of the Conference as well. The plea set up by the *Indian People* that "it ought to be remembered that the Conference will be held at a time when the University Examinations will also be going on" therefore falls to the ground, and as a matter of fact the

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statement would be wrong in any case, as the examinations which will then be going on will be those for degrees with which the Pathshala as a second-grade college has absolutely no concern. The truth of the matter is that the above resolution is but a typical instance of what is known in northern Indian as *darogh-maslehat-amez* (expedient untruth), an i which is allowed on occasions to prevail over *rasti fitna angez* (mischievous truth)—this on the well-established authority of the great Saikh Saadi of *Gulistan*-fame, the patron saint of the Hindustani Kayasthas.

That the view we take is correct will be established beyond doubt by a further reference to the proceedings of the Reception Committee. At a meeting held on the 25th of December—at which again Munshi Gokul Prasad, Rai Binda Prasad and B. Jang Bahadur Lal were present—the following resolution was passed:—"That efforts be made for securing the Mayo Hall for the sittings of the Conference, and the Durbhanga castle for putting up the delegates, and that failing to secure these, efforts be made to secure the Kothi of the Maharaja of Benares for the sessions of the Conference, and the Kothis of the Rajas Bara and Bijaypur for putting up the delegates." Comment on this resolution would be an act of super-arrogation, for it is obvious that the President, the Vice-President, and the Secretary of the Pathshala could think of every place in Allahabad for the Conference Sessions and the delegates' accommodation EXCEPT, of course, the Kayastha Patshala—which could have been secured for either or both the purposes much more easily than any of the places referred to in the above resolution by a mere nod of the President's head. But no! there was the great stumbling block of the *Shoshal Refarum* difficulty and none knows it better than Munshi Govind Prasad himself, though he has, with his usual good nature, lent himself to deny it in the *Advocate*, to save the face of the Pathshala authorities. At the next meeting which was held on the 29th of January there happened to be present Munshi Sanwal Sahay and Babu Sohan Lal of Aligarh—both of whom with some others were elected members of both the Educational and Social Reform Reception Committees. These gentlemen on coming to know that the Pathshala authorities had not placed the Pathshala premises at the disposal of the Reception Committee for any purpose whatsoever rightly took strong exception to the conduct of the President, and Babu Sanwal

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Sahay therefore proposed the following resolution—which was seconded by B. Jaswant Rai, Octroi Superintendent, Allahabad, and supported by Mr. Mahesh Charan Sinha and B. Ram Das Gour:—"As a resolution to the effect that arrangements for the sessions of the Conference be made in a place other than the Kayastha Pathshala, *because there would be no Easter holidays in the Pathshala*, was adopted at a previous meeting of the Reception Committee, it is now resolved that the President of the Kayastha Pathshala be requested to close the Pathshala during Easter this year as a special case in view of the session of the Conference—the great communal institution—being held in Allahabad, and to allow both the Educational and the Social sections of the Conference to hold their sittings in the Pathshala premises, and, in case the closing of the Pathshala during Easter be not practicable, to allow a pandal to be erected or a Shamiana to be pitched in the playground." Dr. Anant Prasad opposed the motion on the ground that the matter having been once settled, in a meeting at which the President of the Kayastha Pathshala was present, it was not desirable to re-open the subject. Dr. Anant Prasad, to do him justice, frankly admitted that the reason why he was opposing the adoption of the resolution was that there was absolutely no chance of the Pathshala authorities consenting to the social reform section of the Conference being held in the Pathshala premises, a matter which he added, they had more than once made perfectly clear. On this Mr. Sinha remarked that, while fully sympathising with B. Sanwal Sahay's resolution and prepared to support it, if it went to voting, he shared to some extent the objection of Dr. Anant Prasad and that, it being a matter of public notoriety that the Pathshala authorities were totally opposed to social reform propaganda, it would be simply courting a snub to approach them again with the prayer embodied in the resolution. But the sense of the meeting was against Dr. Anant Prasad's view of the matter and the resolution was carried by a large majority. It was thereupon resolved on the motion of B. Sridhar Prasad, seconded by Dr. Anant Prasad himself, that a deputation composed of Babus Gulzari Lal, Sohan Lal, Sanwal Sahay, Jaswant Rai and Ram Das Gour, should wait on the President with the previous resolution. Judging, however, from the previous attitude of the Pathshala authorities, the committee thought it necessary to have a second string to

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their bow and so they further resolved to depute Mr. Sinha to personally wait upon the Maharajah Bahadur of Durbhanga with a request that he should be pleased to allow the use of the Durbhanga castle both for the Conference sessions and the putting up of the delegates.

The Deputation waited the next day on Munshi Gokul Prasad and Munshi Govind Prasad, though not a member of the Deputation, also accompanied the members to the President's house. The resolution of the Committee was formally placed before the President. He was taken aback. He was not prepared for it. Having solved the difficulty to his own satisfaction at the previous meetings, he had not cared to attend the meeting of the previous evening at which the "bomb" was hurled by B. Sanwal Sahai. For the same reason perhaps Rai Binda Prasad and Babu Jang Bahadur Lal were also absent at the meeting. The President, we dare say, gave the resolution his very best consideration, but unfortunately, as is often the case with him, he could not make up his mind. He therefore suggested that the Deputation should adjourn to Choudhry Mahadeo Prasad Saheb's house, and finding no other alternative the members of the Deputation agreed to go there, and so they wended their way to Choudhry Saheb's house, led by the President himself. There were present at this latter place Munshi Murli Dhar and some other gentlemen. It is what transpired between Choudhry Saheb, Munshi Murli Dhar and the President of the Pathshala on the hand and the members of the Deputation on the other that has been dignified by the *Indian People* into a "resolution" passed at an "informal meeting." As a matter of fact it was no *meeting* at all, formal or informal, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, nor was any "resolution," for the matter of that, formal or informal, either adopted or could have been adopted. The Deputation had gone with a specific request contained in the resolution; how far they succeeded will appear from a resolution passed at the next, and hitherto the last, meeting of the Reception Committee, held on the 7th February: "that the thanks of the Committee be conveyed to the President of the Pathshala for having kindly consented to close the Pathshala during Easter and allow the use of the premises for the accommodation of the delegates and the visitors." In other words, the Deputation failed in their object to secure the Pathshala premises or even the

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Pathshala grounds for convening the session of the Conference. It was obviously impossible to hold the meetings of the two sections of the Conference at two different places and as the Pathshala authorities would not allow the Social section of it to be held either at the premises or even in the grounds, the Committee had, on the principle of half-a-loaf being better than no bread, to be content with what they could get. It may be observed that the Reception Committee never apprehended that the Pathshala Hall would not be large enough to hold all the delegates, and the request in B. Sanwal Sahay's proposal "that in case the closing of the Pathshala during Easter be not practicable" permission be given to erect a pandal or pitch a shamiana on the Pathshala play ground, is proof conclusive of the fact that the Reception Committee "with whom rested," to quote the *Indian People*, "the decision as to these matters" never "expected that a *very large number* of gentlemen will this year assemble at the Conference"—the Provincial Conferences of the United Provinces and Behar, the two provinces from which almost the entire body of delegates is expected to come, will be held during the same Easter holidays. We feel sure that if the facts stated above were "within the knowledge" of our local contemporary, it would not have tried to justify, in the way it has done, the conduct of the Pathshala authorities in this matter, or accused the *Advocate* of having "lent its support to" a "baseless rumour." Truth is no "rumour" and much less "baseless," and excepting those who will either throw dust into their own eyes so as not to be able to see the true inwardness of the matter, all reasonable persons will agree with us that the conduct of the Pathshala authorities in tabooing the "Shoshal Canfurens" cannot be too strongly condemned. The greater pity, therefore, that Munshi Govind Prasad, who is in possession of all the facts, should have tried to whitewash the President's conduct in the matter.

Dr. Lakshmi Narayan at Allahabad.

On the 27th of the last month a public meeting was held in the Kayastha Pathshala. It was presided over by M. Govind Prasad Sahib and was mainly attended by students. Dr. Lakshmi Narayan addressed the meeting in Hindustani and justified the action of the Kayastha Conference held at Aligarh last year in having changed the name of the Kayastha Conference into Kayastha

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Educational Conference. In his opinion, remarked the Doctor, education was of paramount importance for the Kayastha community and questions of social reform must not be seriously grappled with at the present moment. He exhorted the audience to carefully select the president and other office-bearers of the Conference. He emphatically asserted that in past years selection has not been made with due care and caution. In conclusion, he very modestly declined the presidentship of the Conference and begged the audience to select men more competent than he was (*en passant*, one might remark that the Doctor's modesty and self-effacement are really commendable for without the offer having been made to him, he has patriotically undertaken to decline it). He was followed by M. Iswar Saran, who frankly deplored the action of the Aligarh Conference in having changed the name. He said that what was wanted was a change in the spirit and not in the name. He repudiated the theory that social reform could be relegated to a subordinate position in any programme for the elevation of the Kayastha community. He said that for the improvement of the Pathshala money was not so necessary as good management. He also appealed to the audience to elect such men as office-bearers as had given practical and substantial proof of their zeal and earnestness for the good of the community. Babu Sri Dhar Prasad deplored the absence from the meeting of the president and vice-president of the Pathshala.

The Mathur Education Fund.

There was a very good gathering in the McLean Hall, Meerut, on the 19th February, under the presidency of Mr. Louis Stuart, District and Sessions Judge, Meerut, on the occasion of the prize distribution ceremony of the Mathur Moral Education Maktab. Munshi Bankey Behari Lal, Munsif, in his report said that in December 1907, on the occasion of the annual session of the Kayasth Social Conference, a meeting was held at Aligarh of the entire Mathur community of the country, to consider the question of the education of their youths with special regard to their morals and character. The "Mathur Education Fund" was founded, the scheme of work being the supplementing of the education ordinarily given in schools. It is proposed to found Maktabs at every place where practicable, and to carry on the

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work by means of the voluntary services of the members of the community. After distributing the prizes, Mr. Louis Stuart presented a silver medal to the school. He then delivered the following speech :—

Gentlemen,—Education is something more than a training of the memory and the reasoning faculties. Above and beyond assimilation of knowledge is formation of character and unless the character be formed true, the acquisition of knowledge is not only a doubtful good, but too often a potential evil. The ancients for this reason considered that the office of instruction should be permitted to the religious teacher alone, and although this restriction tended to make in the end for the aggrandizement and the encouragement of superstition, and the cramping of thought, many of us in these latter days are beginning to think, that in the divorce of instruction from religion we have lost more than we have gained. It is not necessary to look far for the danger of such disassociation. Everywhere in India and elsewhere may be seen the occasional morbid product of the modern system. Left to work out his own salvation, too many a weakling has, incapable of the task, found his moral nature atrophys and then become perverted His slender stock of knowledge further unbalances his weakened nature. The result we know. But even where the case is not so extreme, the consequences are too often displeasing. Who does not know the blatant self-sufficient product? Shallow, vain, intolerant of criticism, the prey of catch words, and the slave of imperfectly understood dogmas, with no depth, no strength, no reverence, no self-respect. Is that not also an easily recognizable type?

True such are the failures of the modern system. The majority rise superior to the system by dint of home influence and some inherent force of character. But why should we allow these pitfalls to exist, and these insidious influences to be present to sap the characters of the young? Why, instead of protecting the plant, should we leave it to the mercy of the canker and the blight? This movement, whose beginning we inaugurate to-day, endeavours to provide the necessary protection. Its main object is the building up of character. It aims to make not only educated men, but good citizens. To such a movement we should all wish well. It provides for religious teaching, but the religionist is not predominant. It provides for moral teaching, but the moral teaching is not to be an empty thing of text-books and platitudes. It is to be a practical instruction given by the elders of the same community. Manners, which are a minor branch of morals, are not to be neglected. The scheme has thus everything in its favour. Its theories cannot be improved on, and it remains for its originators to see they are put in practice. I see no reason why they should not be so put. The very smallness of the beginnings, and the denominational character of the scheme are in its favour. With a few young boys, all in the same community, with elders and teachers all in the same community and actuated by the same common desire for the improvement of the boys, the interest should not flag, and the control should be effective. We do not appreciate sufficiently the valuable motive power in denominationalism. Such a scheme

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might well be followed by other communities and castes. The keynote to success will be constant and unremitting effort. The interest should never be allowed to flag, or the objects of the scheme forgotten, and that the objects may be effectively attained, that the scheme will realise the brightest hopes of the founders is my very sincere and earnest wish. I trust that before I leave India I shall be able to see the result in well-ordered, self-respecting, self-controlled men, who will be able to look back at this institution in giving them the best in their possession. I thank you, gentlemen, for giving me the privilege of addressing you to-day.

Mr. William Jesse, Principal, Meerut College, confirmed the opinion of the President and said that the Maktab would have a very wholesome effect on the Mathur community, and that others also should try to follow the example.

"A Voice from Muttra."

The Manager, Shanti Ashram, Muttra, has issued a pamphlet called *A voice from Muttra* giving a *resume* of the work done by Swami Shivguna Acharya and his co-adujtors during the last 23 years. Self-sacrifice, earnestness, extreme tolerance of contending sectarian views, publication of easy literature on physical, mental, moral and intellectual culture and reclamation of a number of Sadhus from a life of laziness to that of usefulness, are, we are informed, to the credit of the institution. The *Sadharan Dharma* published in 1896 is a standard book "which has since been translated into several dialects and made a moral *vade macum* by many societies and introduced in the Mayo College, Ajmer, as a *text-book* on moral education for the three higher classes." The Ashram of Gujrat (Panjab) was opened in 1897 and that of Muttra in 1901. These Ashramas, we are told, are store-houses of moral literature, are a constant source of incentive and encouragement to the Sadhus, of placid satisfaction to the *grihastas* and of practical help to the social reformer. The rays of light emanating from them, it is said, have penetrated into almost all parts of India and also in Europe and America and given solace to many souls. Not possessing any permanent endowment the energetic Sadhus have kept the work agoing mainly by constant tours and collecting money from place to place. "But touring is not desirable now, hence the appreciators of the work are desired to send their quota (however small it be) to continue the work." The movement seems to have claims over all the wellwishers of the country.

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INDIAN ADMINISTRATION AND ARTS AND CRAFTS :—A RESPONSE TO LORD MORLEY.

By Mr. E. B. Havell, Author of *Indian Sculpture and Painting*.

SOMETIME ago Lord Morley, replying in the House of Commons to general criticisms of Anglo-Indian administration from the ministerial benches, declared that if any one with experience of Indian affairs would lay his finger on any specific defect in the working of the governmental machinery, he would exert all his power to remove it. After many years of ineffectual efforts to convince officialism of some of the most patent and serious of departmental shortcomings, which play a not unimportant part in the growing dissatisfaction and discontent in India, I will endeavour to avail myself of this opportunity for discussing them.

Twenty-five years ago I entered Government Service in India as an expert adviser in matters which, though they play a most insignificant part in the official machine, are matters of vital importance for the moral, intellectual and material progress of India—art and industry. Coming back to Europe with a fresh eye, after struggling with artistic and industrial problems in India, I am forcibly impressed, perhaps more so than my fellow-artists here, with the immense progress which has been made in England in restoring art to its legitimate place in national life and thought. The teachings of Ruskin and of William Morris have begun, on the one hand, to arouse the interest of the more intelligent of our working classes, and, on the other, to widen the somewhat narrow and pedantic artistic views of the University graduates. Art as a moral and intellectual

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educative force is beginning to be recognised, both in our elementary schools and in secondary education. There is a deliberate effort towards the nationalising of art teaching in the revolt against the academic, archæological routine, which has formed the basis of our artistic methods since the 18th century. In the revival of hand-loom weaving and in the re-organisation of guilds of handicraft, we can recognise a serious attempt to save the last remnants of our traditional craftsmanship and to bring art back to the villages, where the foundations of a living national art must be relaid. Even the most philistine manufacturer begins to find it to his interest to bring in some pretence of æstheticism to help to advertise his wares, and though, as Sir Squire Smith said, at a Mansion House meeting last year in support of the third International Art Congress, we still lag a good way behind our continental competitors in all that concerns art, yet "in our national industries that are affected by the blending of beauty with utility—whether in the working of the precious metals; in the forging, casting and shaping of the commoner metals; in decorative work in wood, stone or plaster; or in furniture, pottery, textiles and pictorial art—we have a register of commanding progress."

So here, in England, though the forces of philistinism which overwhelmed our national art in the last two centuries still hold the field; though we still have to deal with the appalling evils of modern industrialism and the ever-pressing problem of unemployment; yet there is at least some recognition of past mistakes and an earnest endeavour to build up a sounder system of industrial organisation on the foundation of a national art.

Let us now turn to India and see how far our administration there—which from its highly centralised organisation controls all educational and industrial movements to a much larger extent than Government departments do in Europe, and thus incurs a much greater responsibility—has given the much needed impetus to Indian art and industry, and sought to profit from the lessons afforded by the developments of industrialism in modern Europe.

To understand the situation we must first of all realise the essential differences, economic and artistic, between the situation in India and in Europe. India has even now an immense advantage over Europe in having a still living national art.

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The wave of commercialism which in the last two centuries has swept over Europe, carrying away all but a few feeble remnants of the splendid traditional craftsmanship of the Middle Ages, has not yet entirely overwhelmed Indian art. Art in India, especially in the North, is much more real and living, less artificial and exotic, than it is in the great art centres of Europe. India needs no art schools, museums, picture and sculpture galleries. The descendants of the architects who built the Taj Mahal, of the court painters who executed the exquisite miniatures which are the delight of modern connoisseurs, of the craftsmen who decorated the palaces of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and of the engineers who constructed their great public works, still carry on the traditions of their forefathers. And throughout the villages of India there are still handicraftsmen—weavers, cotton-printers, potters, goldsmiths, brasssmiths, wood and stone-carvers, etc., whose skill of hand and inherited craft traditions represent a natural source of immense industrial wealth, which in Europe is being revived artificially by an elaborate and costly system of teaching in art schools, by museums, art galleries and schools of handicraft.

What a magnificent opportunity, one might think, for the art administrator to foster and develop a great national art tradition; or for the statesman with sufficient foresight and grasp of modern industrial problems, to help India to avoid the frightful social evils which modern industrialism has brought into Europe, and to build up an industrial system which might be a pattern for the world. And so indeed it is—but it is an opportunity to which British administrators for the last fifty years have been completely blind, or indifferent.

For where do the Indian master-builders who uphold the splendid traditions of Agra and Delhi find employment and encouragement? Not in British India, where we have made architecture practically a Government monopoly; but in the few "unprogressive" Natives States, which still value their past artistic traditions. Whereas in England, an architect, like Mr. Ashbee at Campden, cherishes with loving care every trace of the medieval mason's craft, which he may find lingering in the remote hamlets of Gloucestershire or Yorkshire, in India the Public Works Engineer, who takes up architecture as a special subject with a view to official promotion, can find no use whatever for

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the living traditions of one of greatest architectural schools the world has ever known.

It may be true that (through our official boycott) the skill of the Indian master-builders is not what it was, and that through lack of opportunity they are no longer capable of attempting without supervision the great constructive achievements of their grandfathers. Yet James Fergusson wrote of them, 30 or 40 years ago, that he had imbibed more from them of the true principles of architecture, as practised by the great master-builders of Europe, than he had learnt from all the books he had read. And I myself in recent years have watched and admired their skill, and found evidence, which would convince any but a "sun-dried bureaucrat", that India could still rival her great architectural triumphs in the past, if the cruel and senseless official boycott which our administrative system imposes upon her master-builders were removed. For, let it be understood that under our stupid University and Public Works system the Indian master-builder finds all approaches to lucrative employment barred to him, throughout British India and in many of the Native States, unless he abandons all the traditions of Indian craftsmanship and becomes a mechanical copyist of the regulation European, departmental designs.

Anglo-Indian administrators continually pride themselves upon the solicitude they have shown for the preservation of Indian art in eminent architectural monuments. But I have never, in the whole course of my official experience, met one who realised that it is of infinitely more importance for Indian art to maintain and foster the living architectural traditions than it is to preserve the monuments of antiquity. Even Lord Curzon, who has earned the gratitude of all orientalists for his admirable work for Indian archæology, only went so far as to endeavour to raise the standard of modern Anglo-Indian architecture by reviving the appointment of a consulting architect to the Government of India, and by building imitation Rhine castles at Simla.

This policy, so far from helping Indian art, distinctly makes matters worse for it. As long as our official architecture is hopelessly bad, from the European point of view, there is no æsthetic excuse for Indian princes and plutocrats neglecting the Indian master-builders and attempting to imitate the official models. When it is relatively good they have some show of

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are the foundation of India's social and economic system. But when, some eight years ago, I propounded this theory and asserted that if Indian hand-weavers had efficient apparatus they could double, treble and quadruple their output and supply the greater part of India's textile requirements, the engineers and scientists, who are the technical and artistic advisers of the Government of India, scoffed at the suggestion as the sentimental dream of an idealist. Even some years later when, through the instrumentality of the Anglo-Indian and Indian press, the idea was being keenly discussed throughout India, and a popular movement for the revival of hand-loom weaving had been started, in which Indian undergraduates, *Swadeshi* politicians, English and American Missionaries and the Salvation Army joined hands, Lord Curzon administered a cold douche to it at the Delhi Durbar by declaring that it was inevitable that the hand-loom should be superseded by the

I could enlarge upon this point, and show how the unintelligent, make-believe system of architectural training in Anglo-Indian Engineering Colleges, the utter indifference of Indian Universities to æsthetic culture, and the impossibility under present conditions of the official art experts gaining the ear of Government—these are all links in a long chain of administrative inefficiency and incompetence — all combine to hasten the extinction of Indian art. I could show, as I have already many times shown, how the Public Works system with regard to architectural works, so far from promoting economy, is recklessly extravagant and wasteful; and I could prove that our spasmodic and amateurish attempts to arrest the decay of Indian art by means of international exhibitions are even worse than useless. But I think it will be obvious that a system so radically unsound and inefficient, and so completely out of touch with all that is progressive in artistic thought in Europe, cannot possibly be otherwise than extravagant, inept and wasteful.

India looks to its Government for the best European light and leading; but in all artistic matters our Anglo-Indian administration is fifty years behind Great Britain, and much behind the best artistic thought of the people it rules. Under present circumstances I see no hope of a radical improvement, unless Lord Morley addresses himself to the task, which should

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the living traditions of one of greatest architectural schools the world has ever known.

It may be true that (through our official boycott) the skill of the Indian master-builders is not what it was, and that through lack of opportunity they are no longer capable of attempting without supervision the great constructive achievements of their grandfathers. Yet James Fergusson wrote of them, 30 or 40 years ago, that he had imbibed more from them of the true principles of architecture, as practised by the great master-builders of Europe, than he had learnt from all the books he had read. And I myself in recent years have watched and admired their skill, and found evidence, which would convince any but a "sun-dried bureaucrat", that India could still rival her great architectural triumphs in the past, if the cruel and senseless official boycott which our administrative system imposes upon her master-builders were removed. For let it be understood this simple fact stands revealed in the official statistics of Indian industry enshrined in the *Encylopœdia Brittanica*, which declare that the greatest of India's industries after agriculture is the manufacture of textile fabrics in steam-mills. The statement is a gross error, for the output of hand-looms in India is still three or four times that of all the steam-mills put together; but it expresses correctly the industrial policy of the Government of India for the last fifty years—to treat as a negligible factor in economic progress the millions of handicraftsmen who represent the greatest of India's industries, *viz.* textile manufacture. And what is the logical consequence of this policy? To convert the skilled handicraftsmen of India into mill-hands; to force upon India a system utterly opposed to the civilisation and the genius of the Indian people; to reproduce on a gigantic scale all the social evils which European statesmen have now to combat—the extremes of immense wealth and the most abject poverty, the depopulation of villages, the foul slums of great European cities and their utter moral, spiritual and intellectual depravity.

And what is the alternative policy? To make India industrially self-supporting by developing her own magnificent resources of industrial skill to the utmost—by bringing European science not to crush out handicrafts but to fortify it, and thus bring back prosperity to the decaying village communities which

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are the foundation of India's social and economic system. But when, some eight years ago, I propounded this theory and asserted that if Indian hand-weavers had efficient apparatus they could double, treble and quadruple their output and supply the greater part of India's textile requirements, the engineers and scientists, who are the technical and artistic advisers of the Government of India, scoffed at the suggestion as the sentimental dream of an idealist. Even some years later when, through the instrumentality of the Anglo-Indian and Indian press, the idea was being keenly discussed throughout India, and a popular movement for the revival of hand-loom weaving had been started, in which Indian undergraduates, *Swadeshi* politicians, English and American Missionaries and the Salvation Army joined hands, Lord Curzon administered a cold douche to it at the Delhi Durbar by declaring that it was inevitable that the hand-loom should be superseded by the power-loom, just as the hand-punkha was being superseded by the electric fan!

To compare the process of weaving with the mechanical working of a punkha is to ignore altogether the fact that, for aristic purposes, hand-labour is just as essential in textile manufacture now as it was in the Middle Ages; and so it will always be. But even admitting for the sake of argument, the fairness of this analogy, the policy of exploiting the skill of the Indian hand-weaver only for the purposes of the capitalist would not be less unsound and detrimental to India's best interests. It may be conceded that to a large extent mechanical power will be substituted for hand-labour in ordinary textile manufacture, as in other lower grades of industry; but those who have followed recent developments in Europe cannot be blind to the fact that within certain limits (in which most branches of textile manufacture are included) the progress of applied science is rapidly tending to extend to the small workshop and the individual craftsman the advantages which, since the introduction of steam-power, have been the monopoly of the capitalist. These developments all tell in favour of the Indian hand-weaver and the village industry. It is not at all improbable that within a few years the application of electrical power will be as easy and economical for three or four looms in a small village workshop as it is now for a thousand looms in a large city factory.

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When that consummation is reached, weaving will again become a flourishing domestic industry as it was before the introduction of the power-loom. Surely, then, the right official policy for India lies in the direction of original research aiming at the perfecting of electrical storage and its application for the purpose of domestic industry—towards the utilisation, for instance, of the vast store of electrical energy in the heat of the tropical sun—rather than to hasten the decay of village industry by the barbaric methods of early 19th century industrialism in the interest of the large capitalist.

Recently the Government of India, convinced to some extent of the errors of its former industrial policy has begun to assist the popular movement for the revival of hand-loom weaving, which I initiated in 1901. It has now among its technical advisers one weaving expert (where fifty could be all too few) and enquiries and experiments are now being actively prosecuted by some of the local Governments. A large hand-weaving school, for which I drew up a scheme five years ago, has been opened this year by the Government of the Lower Provinces. But even now the main issues of the industrial problem have been singularly misunderstood. Official efforts have been mainly directed towards building up a system of large hand-loom factories in place of those worked by steam and electricity—that is, instead of lifting up the traditional Indian weaving craft into a better economic state, to create a new type of modern commercialism to compete with it.

The Indian Government has still to take lessons from the Government of Roumania which, in a few years by the aid of textile experts, has built up a most prosperous domestic industry of over 12,000 looms, which holds its own most successfully against power-loom mills. It has got to accomplish what the Congested Districts Board has done for Irish village industry. It has yet to realise that the best famine insurance policy is not to dole out "special relief to weavers" for keeping body and soul together when harvests fail, but to assist village handicraft when the harvests are plentiful. A good many crores of rupees must have been distributed in these unproductive doles within the last fifty years, but if half the amount had been spent in improving the village looms and organising village industry in times of plenty, the hand-weaving industry in India might now be as

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prosperous as it is now in the Balkan States, which are commonly regarded as the most backward States of Europe. For the fact is indisputable that by a capital expenditure of ten rupees on simple mechanical improvements, used in Europe for a century and a half, the ordinary village weaver in India can double his out-put.

I have dealt at length with the weaving industry because it is by far the most important, commercially speaking, of all Indian industries; but its neglected condition is typical of nearly all movement. Yet the Government has done great [illegible] and the impetus it could give to the revival of Indian art and craft by organisation, by educational means, and by the reform of the Public Works system would add enormously to its credit. Will it wait for these matters also until the Indian Nationalists have taken the wind out of its sails, and the rising tide of public opinion drags the Ship of State with it?

Lord Morley would add greatly to his reputation for constructive statesmanship by taking the initiative in remedying our grievous blunders in art administration in India. The remedies hitherto employed, the appointment of more European art experts—architects, sculptors and art-masters—are altogether futile. Nor will Indian art gain much from European engineers and architects adopting a pseudo-Indian style in the design of Anglo-Indian buildings. The things wanted are radical reforms of our educational and public works system, but chiefly more sympathy with and a better understanding of Indian art in its relation to Indian life. For art in India is still a living, intellectual and spiritual force, by the aid of which statesmen may learn to know better, and to rule more wisely, the Indian people.

There are uses for the idealism of the artist even in the art of Government. Our Indian administration may be, and probably is, the most perfect machine of its kind; but it has the defects of all machines—it is too mechanical.

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so indifferent as the Anglo-Indian official to the moral and intellectual loss which the degeneration of national artistic traditions connotes. And if bureaucracy were not so blind, Anglo-Indian administrators would feel and understand that beneath the political causes for the present discontent in India, which now absorb official attention, there are deep-seated and more keenly felt economic causes, exsisting for long years, which political reforms will never touch. Twenty-five years ago, when I was deputed by the late Sir M. E. Grant-Duff to investigate the [illegible] of the large capitalist.

Recently the Government of India, convinced to some extent of the errors of its former industrial policy has begun to assist the popular movement for the revival of hand-loom weaving, which I initiated in 1901. It has now among its technical advisers one weaving expert (where fifty could be all too few) and enquiries and experiments are now being actively prosecuted by some of the local Governments. A large hand-weaving school, for which I drew up a scheme five years ago, has been opened this year by the Government of the Lower Provinces. But even now the main issues of the industrial problem have been singularly misunderstood. Official efforts have been mainly directed towards building up a system of large hand-loom factories in place of those worked by steam and electricity—that is, instead of lifting up the traditional Indian weaving craft into a better economic state, to create a new type of modern commercialism to compete with it.

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The Government of India, convinced against its will, has lately, as I have said, begun to join half-heartedly in the popular movement for the revival of hand-loom weaving, but the opportunity for adding to its prestige by leading public opinion in this matter has been lost. The *Swadeshi* leaders of Bengal, always keenly alive to political opportunities, opened a National Weaving School five years before the scheme drawn up by myself had run the gauntlet of departmental criticism. Whatever the Government may do now, will only add to the credit of the *Swadeshi* movement. Yet the Government has still great opportunities and the impetus it could give to the revival of Indian art and craft by organisation, by educational means, and by the reform of the Public Works system would add enormously to its credit. Will it wait for these matters also until the Indian Nationalists have taken the wind out of its sails, and the rising tide of public opinion drags the Ship of State with it?

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THE MUSLIM LEAGUE'S DEMANDS EXAMINED FROM A NATIONAL STANDPOINT.

By Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

THE topic of the day which has most exercised the public mind of late is the agitation set up, not by the Mahomedan community as a whole (for there is no proof that this is so), but by the Muslim League, against a vital portion of Lord Morley's Reform scheme and for securing the special representation of the Mahomedan community by means of separate electorates and in a greater measure than their numbers would justify. In noticing the proceedings of the conference of the Muslim League held at Amritsar the *Hindustan Review* stated its views briefly regarding the validity of these claims, but since then the matter has assumed much greater importance and requires to be dealt with in a plain-spoken manner. We have had the letter addressed by Mr. Syed Ali Imam to the Government of India and the statement presented by Mr. Ameer Ali to the Secretary of State, with the pronouncement made by Lord Morley in reply thereto. We have had too, the letters addressed to newspapers in London by retired Anglo-Indians who, unfortunately as Lord Morley himself said last year, keep to the habit of discussing public questions long after their day is done, and we have had the benefit of Lord MacDonnell and Mr. R. C. Dutt's letters in support of Lord Morley's original scheme and Lala Lajpat Rai's letter pointing out with marked ability, lucidity and cogency the absolute one-sidedness of the Muslim League's representation. And lastly we have had Lord Morley's speech on the second reading of the India Councils Bill, in which he made an unsuccessful attempt to explain why he thought fit to concede the League's demands.

The demands of the Muslim League were categorically put in the statement presented to Lord Morley and we shall examine their validity and feasibility. We need not say much on the last of these, that a Mahomedan as well as a Hindu should be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General, as it met with a rebuff at the hands of Lord Morley, the more so as it is no longer a moot question—the appointment of Mr.

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S. P. Sinha as Law Member having closed the controversy. If the Moslem League had asked, however, for the appointment of two Indians instead of one, we would have sympathised with the request as, notwithstanding Lord Morley's opinion to the contrary, we hold such a concession to be perfectly feasible and just. Including the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief the Executive Council now consists of seven members and we have a greater faith in the stability of British rule in India than to regard the bestowing of two of these seats on Indians as perilous to its safety. The moment, however, the Muslim League based its demand on communal grounds, that moment it gave an opening to Lord Morley to read it a little homily and to flout the demand. If the choice of the Secretary of State had fallen on a Mahomedan, could one in every way qualified to fulfil the arduous responsibilities of the position and at the same time possessing the confidence of all the communities be found (we by no means suggest that one was not available), the non-Muslim Indians would have rejoiced equally with the co-religionists of that gentleman at such an appointment. This we are happy to notice has been made perfectly clear by three such leading papers as the *Bengalee* of Calcutta, the *Indian Patriot* of Madras and the *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay. Of all things we are most anxious about is that the members of the Progressive party in India—particularly the Hindus among them—should avoid even the semblance of opposition to Mahomedan claims as non-Muslims: their attitude ought to be determined entirely and absolutely by the bearing these have on the progress of all Indians as a nation.

Next we have to consider their demands for the constitution of exclusive Mahomedan electorates and for an amount of representation to which they are not entitled by the mere test of numbers. They want both not merely in regard to the Legislative Councils but district and taluka boards, municipalities and village unions. Mr. Ali Imam explicitly disclaims the intention of having the Hindus and Mahomedans divided into two water-tight compartments and even says that he looks forward to a time when the two communities will become one for all practical purposes. But impartial men will, we fear, be forced to exclaim that it is by strange methods that he seeks to compass this most laudable end which, we are sure, he is sincere in

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wishing for. Hitherto all the communities have been acting together in the exercise of such civic rights as it has pleased the Government to confer on the people. And despite occasional differences, we are bound to say that much harmonious co-operation has prevailed and the existing good relations have been further improving. It has been repeatedly pointed out that wherever qualified Mahomedans enjoying the public confidence have come forward to seek the suffrages of the people they have found no greater difficulty than the Hindus in getting themselves elected. True some worthy Mahomedans have sustained defeat, but, so have equally esteemable Hindus and Parsees. But, says the Muslim League, it is only pro-Congress Mahomedans—this in plain language is what it means—that have a chance at the hands of a mixed electorate. No doubt the Congress as a national institution is an exponent of opinions which are shared by the vast majority of the people—in most matters even by Mahomedans represented by the Muslim League, as Mr. Ali Imam himself made clear in his address at Amritsar—and other things being equal, a popular constituency prefers a candidate who supports the Congress to another who does not. This is so not merely as between a Mahomedan and a Hindu, but as between a Hindu and a Hindu. Is it, however, a fact that non-Congressmen are invariably defeated? In these very United Provinces, the Nawab of Pahasu was elected as a member of the Supreme Legislative Council in 1898 and the Rajah of Mahmudabad last year. Neither of these is a Congressman and they both have been elected by a constituency the majority of which are Hindus, and supporters of the Congress or, at least, persons who profess the same opinions which it holds. It is an unfounded complaint which the Muslim League makes, and as such it does not merit serious attention.

Assuming, however, that there is some truth in it, the Mahomedans will secure what they want by the claim for proportional representation being conceded. It goes against the grain of a true and consistent Indian nationalist to admit the soundness of even this proposition of proportional representation, but for the sake of unity and the pleasure and satisfaction of the Mahomedans, expediency has been preferred to principle and the position conceded. The Muslim League, however, refuses to accept anything which is not unreasonable. It does not want

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a non-Muslim—plainly meaning a Hindu—to have anything to do with the representation of Mahomedans. Its distrust of and contempt for the poor Hindu is so complete that it cannot imagine a constituency composed in part of Hindus to elect a Mahomedan after its heart, albeit Mahomedans are also there in the constituency to safeguard the interests of that community. Why have not other important minorities put forward a similar claim? There are the Parsees in Bombay, the Sikhs in the Punjab, the Hindus themselves in Eastern Bengal, the Indian Christians in Madras. Then again there are the Jains, and there are the Burmese Buddhists. And do all Mahomedans themselves affect this unwarranted and not very creditable distrust of the Hindus? We are happy to say not. Eminent representatives of the Mussalman community, who by virtue of their status, educational attainments, character and past public services have not become less of Mahomedans by the gross sin of not sharing the aggressive sectarian prejudices of the two-years-old Muslim League, have expressed decidedly opposite views, and it is a great pity that the Secretary of State and the Government of India have been so unjust as to disregard the views and wishes of these gentlemen. Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan, Bar-at-Law, the scion of a noble family, of Oudh said last year at Lucknow:

> The principle of class and religious representation is a most mischievous feature of the scheme. Nobody, I hope, will doubt my sympathy with everything that may be conducive to the good of my community. But I do not believe that the provision for Mahomedan representation and the principles upon which that provision rests, will at all be to the advantage of the Mahomedan community. It is not good for Mahomedans to be taught that their political interests are different from those of the Hindus. We have common interests and for many generations we have pursued those common interests in friendly co-operation. * * * From a Mahomedan standpoint, too, in my humble opinion, that principle is fraught with mischief. I as a Mahomedan specially oppose it. An undeserved favour degrades us in the eyes of everybody and specially in those of our rulers. * * * A healthy emulation will do all of us good, but jealousy will harm us all. I oppose the special provision for my co-religionists also because it creates mischief and it is sure to injure us more than our Hindu brethren.

Another Mahomedan speaker said on the same occasion:

> If the words, Hindus and Mahomedans, convey any meaning, they are distinguished by their religious beliefs and not their political professions. The interests of Hindus and Mahomedans are one and there is only one nation in India. It is sometimes alleged by Indian Mahomedans that they

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belong to a Semitic race, but it is a bare falsehood. All the Mahomedans of India are pure Indians, and Indian blood runs in their veins. In order that we may not succeed in our efforts to unite India into one nation, it is suggested that there must be separate Mahomedan electorates. This will promote disunion between us, but if we were elected by a common electorate we shall come into closer contact.

What fairness is it, it may be asked, that would lightly lay aside such expressions of opinion and attach a representative character to the opinions of the Muslim League alone? Lala Lajpat Rai puts the same question in his letter to the *Times*. By the partitioning of Bengal, however, and by the Fullerian methods of administration favoured by the administrative bigamist with whom Eastern Bengal was punished by Bengal's great friend Lord Curzon, the Government have succeeded in creating a Hindu-Mahomedan problem in Bengal, where there was before 1905, the pure milk of brotherhood between the two communities. The Government may think that by conceding the Mahomedan demand at present they will make things easy for themselves in more ways than one, but we desire respectfully to warn them that if they sow the wind now they will assuredly have to reap the whirlwind in future, that the difficulties they will create for their successors will not exactly induce the latter to bless their shortsightedness.

The Mahomedans represented by the Moslem League are not content with even the demand for separate electorates. They ask as of right for an amount of representation to which they are not entitled by their numerical strength in the whole population. A similar proposal was made at the Bombay Congress in 1889 by one of the Mahomedan delegates who, however, had not diplomacy enough to conceal his real meaning under a cloud of words. He went straight at the question and asked that an equal number of Hindus and Mahomedans should be appointed on all Councils. This outspoken gentleman hailed from Lucknow. He was followed by a compatriot from Moradabad who would be content with nothing less than three Mahomedans for every Hindu. These proposals of theirs, backed up as they were by speeches of an uncommonly violent and inflammatory character, drew forth indignant opposition, if generally from the rest of the assembled delegates, from no section of them more than from the bulk of the Mahomedan delegates themselves. And the valuable speeches—models of close

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reasoning, moderation, urbanity and political sagacity—delivered by Mr. Hamid Ali Khan of Lucknow, Mr. Balkhi of Patna, and Munshi Nasiruddin Ahmed of Benares, may still be read with pleasure and profit in the pages of the report of that memorable Congress. Why, the whole debate on the proposition was instructive and we would commend a perusal of it to our readers.

We will quote here but one passage from Mr. Hamid Ali Khan's speech:

While no good can come out of demanding, or even obtaining, an equal number of Mussalman members on the Legislative Councils, you will necessarily rouse suspicion regarding your relations with and intentions towards your Hindu brethren, by attempting thus without any just cause or reason to violate the principle of population on which our entire scheme of representation has been based in furtherance of what some of you suppose to be your own special class interests. Moreover, you directly incite other communities, who are now perfectly satisfied with the scheme as propounded, to make similar preposterous claims. If you disregard the population standard—if you say, "No matter if the Hindus number 15 crores and we only five, we will have as many members in the Councils as they,"—why, by a parity of reason or unreason, should not the Parsees, the Jains, the Sikhs, the Europeans, the Eurasians, each and all claim to have as many members in the Councils as you or the Hindus? Gentlemen, the thing is absurd. You must adopt some standard as a basis for a scheme of representation, and, on the whole, that of population is the fairest for all and certainly the most favourable to us. If, instead of population, property or education were selected as the basis, we should be far worse off—but one of these three must be adopted and adhered to, or the absurd result I have just indicated to you is arrived at. But the fact is that the amendment is based upon a wholly mistaken and baseless fear that, if the Hindus exceed the Mahomedans in Council, they will carry all before them and injure Mussalman interests. Now, in the first place, as has been said at least a hundred times since the Congress first met, there is no such thing in the ordinary secular matters that come before the Councils, as Hindu interests and Mahomedan interests. Our interests in all such matters are absolutely one and undivided. But even if there were separate Mahomedan interests—and I, as a Mahomedan, truly wonder what they can be—how could the Hindus in the Council, even if they were five to one as compared with the Mahomedans and even if they wished it—which long experience has convinced me that they do not—how could they injure these interests? Are there not to be European and Eurasian members amongst those elected, besides Sikhs and Parsees in some provinces?

A great deal has been said of the so-called ethnological and racial differences between the Hindus and Mahomedans, and by men who ought to have known better. On this point we cannot do better than quote one whom the Mahomedans claim as

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their special friend. Says Sir John Strachey in his *India: Its Administration and Progress* (pages 301—6) :—

The ordinary assumption that caste in India is an institution entirely peculiar to Hindus is erroneous. Conversion to Mahomedanism, for instance, has often no effect on the caste of the convert. There has often been much misapprehension about the Indian Mahomedans...many of them are so ignorant of the religion to which they nominally belong, and so little devoted to its tenets, that they might almost as properly be counted among the innumerable classes of Hindus...[In Bengal] the conversion was in a great measure nominal rather than real...The progress of the Mahomedan religion in India generally has therefore been smaller than might be supposed from the bare statement of the numbers that profess it, and that progress will seem still smaller when the true character of a large section of Indian Mahomedanism is understood. A large proportion of the Mahomedans of India hardly deserve that name. They differ little from their Hindu neighbours in their customs, and often not very much in their religion, and they maintain similar distinctions of caste. ...The great majority of the Musalmans of India are the descendants of Hindu converts...The change of faith was often little more than nominal, and took place to an extent just sufficient to save the joint property of the village community from molestation. One section of the brotherhood would become Mahomedan, while the rest remained Hindu. The change of religion had little practical result, nor did it affect the rules of caste or the social life of the community. ...When a Mahomedan rises in the world he becomes more orthodox, and begins to assume foreign titles to respect. He calls himself Khan, or Shaikh or even Saiyad, a descendant of the Prophet.

And Sir John Strachey quotes the following description given by the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson of the Mahomedans of the Eastern Punjab, and adds that a similar story might be told for Bengal and other parts of India :—

The Musalman Rajput, Gujar, or Jat is, for all social, tribal, political, and administrative purposes, exactly as much a Rajput, Gujar, or Jat as his Hindu brother. His social customs are unaltered, his tribal restrictions are unrelaxed, his rules of marriage and inheritance unchanged, and almost all the difference is that he shaves his scalp-lock and the upper edge of his moustache, repeats the Mahomedan creed in a mosque, and adds the Musalman to the Hindu wedding ceremony. ...The local saints and deities still have their shrines, even in villages held wholly by Musalmans, and are still regularly worshipped by the majority, though the practice is gradually declining. The women especially are offenders in this way, and a Musalman mother who had not sacrificed to the smallpox goddess would feel that she had wantonly endangered the life of her child. The Hindu family priests are still kept up and consulted as of old, and Brahmans are still fed on the usual occasions, and still officiate at weddings side by side with the Mahomedan priests. As for superstitions, as distinct from actual worship, they are wholly untouched by the change of faith, and are

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common to Hindu and Musalman. A brother officer tells us that he once entered the rest-house of a Mahomedan village in Hissar, and found the headmen refreshing an idol with a new coat of oil, while a Brahman read holy texts alongside. They seemed somewhat ashamed of being caught in the act, but, on being pressed explained that their Mullah had lately visited them, had been extremely angry in seeing the idol, and had made them bury it in the sand. But now that the Mullah had gone they were afraid of the possible consequences, and were endeavouring to console the god for his rough treatment. The story is at any rate typical of the state of the Mahomedan religion in the villages of the Delhi territory.

How in the face of facts such as the above the learned men who speak in the name of the Muslim League have persuaded themselves to argue that there are ethnological and racial differences between them and Hindus, passes our comprehension. Perhaps they thought that 'all is fair in love and war.

Mr. Ali Imam here and Mr. Ameer Ali in England have been at great pains to explain their position with as much moderation as its inherent unfairness allowed and as much convincing force as its untenability made possible. The central idea running through the whole of the argument may be said to be this: they are a superior people and deserve more political rights than the Hindus. It is inevitable when this idea dominates the mind that sentiments should have been uttered which can only be characterised as unmerited reflections on the other communities, which for the sake of good taste, if for no higher reason, should have been avoided at all cost. It sometimes does good to communities as to individuals to have some plain truths plainly told them, and we trust the spokesmen of the Muslim League will pardon a little candour in somewhat critically examining the claims they make for their community at the expense of the non-Muslims of India. At least they ought not to resent such examination as they themselves have invited it. They claim superior political importance. Is this because they were once the rulers of a considerable tract of country? But their knowledge of history will surely tell them that they are not the only people who have the privilege of having lost an empire. In fact no amount of present zeal can justify the Mahomedan's misreading of History. It will not do for them to repeat in the face of stern facts of History that they were rulers in this country a little less than a hundred years ago. If Indian History bears witness to any facts, surely these following

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facts stand above all controversy. The first is that at no time in the history of Mahomedan rule in India was Mahomedan suzerainty as wide, as complete, as comprehensive, as all-pervading as British rule. Taking Akbar and Aurangzeb as the two most strenuous representatives of Mahomedan rule, it is clear that the whole of India did not own their suzerainty. The whole of Southern India—and that is certainly bigger than Aligarh or Dacca—never owned the overlordship of the monarch at Delhi. The relation of Aurangzeb with what we now call the Deccan was not that of a sovereign to a subject people. The Punjab, the first to bear the brunt of all foreign invasions from the North, owed a fitful allegiance to Delhi. And Rajputana—proud, haughty and stubborn—the despair of conquering Alexanders of all ages—was never turned into anything milder than a federation of 'allies'—with Chitor and Udaipur standing above every other state—breathing desperate defiance—clinging to the last to all that constitutes independence. In short, the autonomy of the Hindus, though circumscribed, was never completely gone. The next fact of importance is that Mahomedan sovereignty banished much earlier in point of date than the Mahomedans of to-day prefer to believe. And lastly be it noted that the most important political power in the country before the British won their Empire was that of the Hindus and not that of the Mahomedans. We are not speaking without book. We shall let Sir William Hunter, neither a Hindu nor a Muhammadan speak on the subject:*

> The Afghans defeated the Marathas at Panipat in 1761; and during the anarchy which followed, the British patiently built up a new power out of the wreck of the Mughal Empire. Mughal pensioners and imperial puppets still reigned at Delhi over a numerous seraglio, under such lofty titles as Akbar II or Alamgir (Aurangzeb) II. But their power was confined to the palace, while Marathas, Sikhs, and Englishmen struggled for the real sovereignty of India. The last nominal Emperor emerged for a moment as a rebel during the Mutiny of 1857, and died a State prisoner in Rangoon in 1862.

* * * * * * *

> The British won India, not from the Mughals, but from the Hindus. Before we appeared as conquerors, the Mughal Empire had broken up. Our conclusive wars were neither with the Delhi king, nor with his revolted governors, but with the two Hindu confederacies, the Marathas and the Sikhs. Our last Maratha war dates as late as 1818, and the Sikh Confederation was not finally overcome until 1849.

* *The Indian Empire*, Chs. XI and XII, pp. 374—5.

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The Mahrattas, the Sikhs, the Rajputs, the Andhras, the Pandyas, all lost their empires, be it earlier, be it later. At the present moment the political status of Mussalmans is the same as that of the non-Muslim Indians—we are all tarred with the same brush of being a subject people; we are all under foreign domination. Do they tell us that there are still the Mahomedan Empires of Turkey and Persia left? How does the existence of these improve their position as British subjects? The Mahomedans of India are not a whit more eager than the non-Muslims in their desire for the greater prosperity and political progress of the peoples of Persia and Turkey. They even regret more keenly than the Indian Mahomedans the tight grip the British and the Russians are obtaining over the former and the troubles of Turkey on account of its Christian subjects. The non-Muslim Indians wish success to the Nationalist party of Egypt as ardently as do the Mahomedans. They realise, what the eager advocates of what is virtually an Anglo-Indian Muslim compact do not apparently do, that the great international struggle of the future is between the 'coloured' peoples and the so-called coloured races, and their true political instinct tells them that the real question is not one of Hindus *v.* Mahomedans, but of Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, Jains, Indian Christians, etc., *v.* the bureaucracy which refuses to part with its power and only does so with a pang when it has to. We could wish that men of undoubted intelligence like Mr. Ameer Ali and Mr. Ali Imam had political foresight enough to see that they were paying too high a price for the temporary support of Anglo-Indian reactionaries and monopolists, who are in reality not less opposed to Mahomedan advancement than to progress generally. For the time being they pose as friends of one section that they may effectually thwart all reform, and after their object has been accomplished they will throw off their mask and appear in their true colour of enemies of progress. Will our Mahomedan brethren tell us what is the attitude of these men towards the Self-government party in Egypt? Again will Anglo-Indians tell us to what extent they can retain this unnatural alliance with the Mahomedans if and when the relations between England and Turkey or Persia may be strained? Have not the Indian Mahomedans already changed their policy from one of unconditional *jo hukumism* to one of constitutional

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agitation for the attainment of what they regard as their rights? Are they any longer satisfied with nomination of members by the Government? Do they not now say in so many words that unless the Government concede their demand, they will regard it as having forfeited their confidence?

Next Mr. Ali Imam warns Government with due pomp and ceremony that Mahomedan loyalty is an asset of value to the Empire, which should not be lightly disregarded. The implication is clear that the Government may not rely on a continuance of that loyalty unless it carried out the Muslim League's wishes. So much for the special value of their loyalty as against the loyalty of the non-Muslims. But there is the further insinuation in this that the other communities are less loyal. What may be the interpretation which the Muslim League puts upon this much-abused word? We suspect that it is unwavering support of every Government measure—blind approval of every deed, word and thought of Government. Otherwise, there is no meaning in their flaunting their alleged superior loyalty in the face of the Government and the people of Britain. In the first place, such conception of loyalty is wrong—wrong to the people and wrong to the Government. In the second place, the members of the Muslim League are themselves wanting in such loyalty to a certain extent, as at the present moment they are virtually telling the Government that unless action is taken in a particular direction their confidence in it might be jeopardised. Let not the Muslim League think that any sane and serious man can be misled by this sort of tactics. Its value will be appraised at its proper worth.

The Muslim League, driven to desperation by the difficulty of finding arguments in support of its extraordinary plea, falls back upon an expedient which can only be characterised as unworthy of serious and responsible men. Mr. Ameer Ali says that all Hindus are not Hindus and that if the low castes are excluded the supposed numerical superiority of the Hindus will be found to be much less than what it appears to be at first sight. For any one community to take advantage of peculiarities, or defects if you will, in the structure of society of another community, as the Muslim League has been seeking to do, is not a reputable piece of strategy. That the Muslim League, whose operations are guided by such enlightened men as Messrs.

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Ameer Ali and Ali Imam, has not scrupled to descend to it, will for ever remain a matter of regret with us. And as Indians we cannot but feel a sense of humiliation that some of us are still far from knowing what truly constitutes dignity in public controversy. Accepting, however, for one moment Mr. Ameer Ali's contention, the Muslim League cannot get over the fact that still the Hindus retain their numerical superiority and that the Mahomedans will not still be entitled to an equality of representation with them. But if the contention is to be so accepted, then it will become necessary to make a similar deduction from the census total of the Mahomedans. The Mahomedan worthy of Moradabad, to whose frenzied utterance at the Bombay Congress nearly twenty years ago we have referred, urged that not more than one-fifth of the Indian Mahomedans are truly such, and that in reality the real Mahomedans form but one-twenty-fifth of the total population of India. Leaving him, however, what has Mr. Ameer Ali to say about the low castes among Mahomedans? Lala Lajpat Rai drawing upon the census figures of 1901, recalls the fact that in the Punjab alone there are over half a million of *Chuhras*, *Mochis* and *Mussallies*, as against a smaller number of Saiyyads and Pathans, the two of the highest castes of Mahomedans. This is in spite of the fact that most Hindu converts to Islam belonging to low castes have a peculiar knack of conferring a higher caste status on them at the time of the census. And how at least some of these Saiyads and Pathans themselves are made, we have seen in the passage from Sir Denzil Ibbetson quoted above. Here is another from Mr. Beames, cited with approval by Sir John Strachey:—

> In the Punjab, where the process of conversion has been carried out on a very large scale, there used to be a proverbial couplet to this effect, supposed to be spoken by a convert—
>
> Last year I was a weaver, this year I am a Shaikh,
>
> Next year, if grain is dear, I shall be a Saiyad—
>
> meaning that if he sold his crops well he should be wealthy enough to assume this latter title.

How does Mr. Ameer Ali propose to explain away these facts? Why, one wonders, did it not strike these clever advocates that double-edged arguments are unsafe weapons to employ in a controversy?

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It is necessary to say a few words on the 'gate-keepers' argument. We do not pretend to understand the exact import of this delicious phrase—we could wish that Mr. Ali Imam had been able to resist the temptation to use it—but is it seriously urged that the Mahomedans take a larger part in the defence of the country than other communities? Truly does Lala Lajpat Rai say:

Are we to understand, then, that the extension of franchise in India is being granted as a reward for loyalty and military services to the Empire? If so, how is it that no ex-Lieutenant-Governor has as yet raised his voice for special representation being granted on that ground to the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, the Rajputs, and the Jats? It might also be interesting to tabulate the services rendered by the Mahomedans, the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, the Rajputs, and the Jats in military expeditions on the Noth-West Frontier, in Egypt, China, and Abyssinia, and find out on which side there is a balance. Again, as 'A Hindu' pertinently asks in the second of his admirable letters printed in the Lucknow *Advocate*, is not the proportion of Sikh sepoys to the total of the Sikh population greater than the proportion of Mahomedan sepoys to the total Mahomedan population? We suppose the inmates of a house are not altogether a negligible factor. If these whose number is naturally much larger than of the gate-keepers, do not help the latter in the performance of their duty, where will the gate-keepers be? If the Hindus are not loyal, what would be the precise arithmetical or political value of Mahomedan loyalty alone to the Empire? And are we to understand that the 79,000 British officers and soldiers in India are not 'keeping the gate,' that they have abdicated their function in favour of the Mahomedan section of the Indian sepoys? Is it alleged that Mahomedan sepoys are more faithful than Hindu, or that they excel in martial qualities the Mahrattas and the others mentioned by Lala Lajpat Rai? Yet again, the frontier tribes against whom, among others, guard has to be kept are Mahomedans themselves, are they not? We do hope that we shall hear no more of this precious gem of an argument—this gate-keeping.

To our mind the most inexcusable of the many things said by the spokesmen of the Muslim League is the following:—

Mussalman representation, both on the Imperial and Provincial Councils, should, it is respectfully submitted, be substantial and adequate, so as to allow, in case of contentious subjects, a conjunction of Mahomedan votes with a certain number of what may be called non-partisan votes to outweigh any sectional opposition. Under ordinary circumstances, it is not expected

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that voting would take place in the Councils on racial lines. But contingencies may arise when the interests of the two communities happen to conflict, or their views do not harmonise on some public question. On such occasions, the opinions of the members who belong to neither party ought to possess the greatest weight. It is, therefore, suggested, as a standard of adequate representation, that the number of Mahomedan members should be fixed, so that, if the Mahomedans were to receive the support of, or to join with, a certain number of non-partisan members, the question at issue may be decided accordingly. This is especially important in the case of the Provincial Councils, in view of the proposed enlargement of their functions.

This argument does not form a part of Mr. Ali Imam's representation, but is found in the statement submitted by Mr. Ameer Ali. He also refers to it in his speech and there goes one better by stigmatising as 'factious opposition' the adverse criticism that a section of the elected members, in plain language the Hindus, may from time to time make of Government meaures. We can understand Mr. Ali Imam's silence on this point as in his opinion even the Muslim League does or should share the opinions of the National Congress on most of the public questions of the day. And we rather thought that Mr. Ameer Ali too was veering round to Congress opinions on not a few subjects, judging from his frequent contributions to the *Nineteenth Century*, and we have particularly in mind a brilliant essay of his published in its number for April 1908, in which he subjected to withering criticism the pretensions of Western civilisation and exposed with merciless severity the attitude of the 'colourless' races—including the British—towards the so-called coloured peoples, Mahomedans not excepted. How in the name of wonder can he now bring himself to think of an Anglo-Indian-Muslim *entente*? The explanation probably lies in the fact that any stick is good enough to beat the Hindu with, that one argument is as good as another to obtain a concession to which you have an uneasy suspicion that you are not entitled; that this is a particularly tempting bait to catch the Anglo-Indian. What in plain language is the meaning of the above? It is this: 'Give us Mahomedans an excessive (Mr. Ameer Ali said in his speech 'not only adequate but substantial') representation, and we promise as of old to vote with the officials and against the elected Hindu members, so that your non-official majority may be reduced to a nullity and the Government may have all the power concentrated in its hands. In return you please support

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our claims for preferential treatment. These Hindus are a bad lot, they are constantly *agin* the Government, we shall combine so that you may have it all your own way against them.' We hope we do no injustice to Mr. Ameer Ali in our paraphrase of his diplomatic language. We have said enough in a foregoing paragraph to expose the utter futility in the real and permanent interests of our Mahomedan friends, of such an alliance with Anglo-Indian officials. Mr. Ameer Ali is good enough to own that ordinarily, voting in the Councils will not take place on racial lines. Will he tell us if it need do in any case? When has a Legislative Council had to consider a measure which is favourable to one but adverse to another community? The Honourable Pandit Sundar Lal, who ought to know, has told the Government, 'I have not come across one legislative measure in which the interests of the Hindus and Mahomedans were not common.'* So did Mr. Hamid Ali Khan declare in his speech at the Bombay Congress, from which we have quoted. Mr. Ameer Ali as a lawyer of distinction must be equally familiar with the fact. The real distinction of parties in the Councils will be, as it has been, between officials and non-officials and not between one community and another. And the inability or unwillingness of the Muslim League to perceive this plain fact goes only to prove that it has yet to learn a great deal in the way of political sagacity. Incidentally, this particular argument ought to satisfy Lord Morley at least of the unfairness of this concession to Mahomedan demands and it ought to convince the Progressive party in India—which, let it be remembered, includes a considerable number of most esteemable Mahomedans themselves—of the necessity of an organized and outspoken protest against it.

A few words have to be said on the League's demand for separate electorates and excessive representation on District and Taluq Boards and Municipalities as well. Is this not really carrying the whole thing to excess? Sir John Hewett is in favour of separate Mahomedan representation on Legislative Councils, but not even he finds it possible to go this length. And let it be noted that this is so in spite of the fact that His Honour is of opinion that 'the Mahomedans are entitled to more than a proportional representation.' After quoting statistics which show that Mahomedans in the United Provinces have

*'Papers relating to Constitutional Reform in India,' Vol. II, p. 671.

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even now got more than this at the hands of a mixed electorate in which the Hindus preponderate, Sir John Hewett argues that 'it cannot be said that the present system affects them unfavourably' and that this 'conclusion drawn from the statistics is confirmed by the reports received from District Magistrates,' and he expresses the opinion '*that it would be a pity to disturb the generally amicable relations at present existing between Hindus and Mahomedans by introducing religious distinctions into the electoral system.*'* As the People's Association of Lucknow has pointedly said in its cablegram to Lord Morley, the separate recognition of communities in Local and Municipal Board elections will be to introduce 'the dangerous elements of religious discord among the masses,' and what a grave calamity this means to Hindus and Mahomedans as well as the Government, can well be imagined by every thinking man. As loyal subjects, as Indians interested in the undisturbed continuance of British rule for the sake of the peaceful progress of India, as Hindus who are not less anxious for Musalman progress than for Hindu and who look forward with eager confidence to the time when there will be an absolute oneness of feeling between them and the other communities of India, we desire respectfully but earnestly to warn the Government against a step the falsity of which every one will be bound to rue when the day of reckoning comes.

We must say that the distinction drawn by the Government between the Mahomedans on the one hand and the other important minorities on the other is not warranted by the circumstances of the situation. Lord Morley has admitted the importance of the Hindu minority in East Bengal. If every demand of the Mahomedans, be it never so unreasonable, is to be conceded because it comes from the Mahomedans, who have at the instance of Anglo-Indians of the *divide et impera* school supported that great blunder of the partition, other important minorities may certainly be encouraged to set up similar claims which it will be impracticable to grant, but the refusal of which will produce a deal of discontent. Already the Anglo-Indians and Eurasians have raised the flag, and been demanding a preposterously excessive amount of representation. The Punjab Government have asked the Government of India to remember the claims of the Sikhs in that province. So has the

*'Papers relating to Constitutional Reform in India,' Vol. II, p. 524.

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Government of Burma done in the case of the Buddhists of that province. And the other Provincial Governments called attention to the practical difficulties by which the problem is beset, as well as to the unfairness to non-Muslims that the concession involves. Their warnings have not been unfortunately heeded by the Government of India and the Secretary of State.

The very object of the reforms, which we take it is to restore the waning confidence of Indians in their rulers and to produce contentment where unrest now prevails, will be frustrated by the display of partiality to one community at the expense of others, for what the people will persist in believing to be political reasons. Nor is such exhibition of partiality in the real interests of that community itself or the Government. It is on the goal of an united India that we have fixed our gaze, and any reform (be it never so generous) that will impede our march in this direction cannot certainly be welcome. These few lines cannot be better concluded than in the wise words of that very learned man and sagacious politician, Pandit Bishan Narain Dar, which occur in his beautiful speech on Reform at the Provincial Conference at Lucknow last year—words which ought to be engraved in the hearts and minds of all who really wish well of this great country of ours:—

> No political constitution is worth anything if it is not also an instrument of National education; and there is no education which the Indian people need more than that which would teach them that they are one people and not many, that their interest are one and the same, that they are sharers of a common fortune, engaged in a common cause, pursuing a common goal, actuated by feelings of a common and national patriotism which transcends all sectional lines and embraces within its folds the destinies of a composite but united race.

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MODERN ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY.—III.

By Mr Manohar Lal, M.A., Principal, Randhir College, Kapurthala.

YOU will gain some idea of the importance of a promoter in the modern trust organization, and I am using the word "Trust" generally to cover all those combinations of capital on a large scale known in America as trusts, pools and holding companies, in England as "combines," in Germany as "cartells," and in the Latin countries as the "syndicats." Let me tell you some of the rewards that come to successful promoters. Judge Moore received as what he calls "the cost of promotion and organization" in the recent steel organizations in the United States, the sum of ten million dollars in common stock for promoting the American Tin Plate Company, and five million dollars each for the National Steel and American Steel Hoop Companies. The rewards of the Morgan Syndicate—you all know the name of Pierpoint Morgan—have been equally fabulous. Considering the immense profits that a promoter makes, it is not surprising that he is on the look-out for all opportunities that may offer themselves for his activity.

To bring home to your mind still further the importance of this new development in the latest tendencies of the modern industrial organization, I will quote from an essay of mine which I wrote some years ago on the whole subject of "modern combination movement:"

"The Promoter has played a capital role in the formation of Corporations specially in the recent rush towards combinations in America. With the return of prosperous times and the stiffening of market in 1897, Capital that had accumulated during the four years of depression, was again anxiously seeking investment. The supply of securities on the market did not prove adequate to absorb the outflow of pent-up Capital. The promoter's opportunity had come, and he manufactured securities and reaped large profits from a market crowded with speculators. The public was in a humour to buy industrial's, and the sanguine estimates of the promoter—embodied in his bold "propositions" and attractive prospectuses, were quickly discounted on the market. In this, the period of the greatest trust formation, with rare exceptions the movement to consolidate has started with the promoter. During this short period some of the largest conbinations were made—the whole of the steel industry was co-solidated under the guiding genius of Judge Moore and the Morgan promoting syndicat.

The activity of the promoter in bringing together rival companies has helped the formation of combinations in England also, though there the profits have not been as large as in the United States where every thing is done on a stupendous scale. In Germany and in Austria, the strict Corporation laws make the promoter's position comparatively unimportant.

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The function of the *underwriting syndicate* is easily explained. When the promoter has "assembled" his proposition, to use the technical phrase, the next step is to *float his scheme* which means to raise the money necessary to develop it. For this purpose, the promoter forms a corporation and determines its capitalization in a manner now well-understood in the business world. It is the function of the underwriters to buy up a certain of the stock of what remains after what has been bought by investors: of course these underwriters have no intention of holding the stock for any long period, they really have an understanding with the promoter, and buy up the stock on such favourable terms as to avoid all risk of loss and assure handsome profits, and they sell the stock at the earliest favourable opportunity.

The peculiar character of the modern promoter and the underwriter, their huge profits, and the inevitable top-heavy capitalization of corporations to afford these profits, and the speculative elements thus introduced in modern America, and Americanized business have given rise to a whole crop of economic and social problems, which are most interesting but for which we have no time here.

Another important feature of the modern industrial system is the localization of industries in various districts, and what has been aptly called the territorial division of labour. The concentration of specialized industries in particular localities results from a variety of causes such as favourable *physical conditions*,—the character of the climate and the soil, and the existence of mines and quarries in the neighbourhood, or within easy access by land or water; the patronage of courts and invitations of rulers,—the history of the Flemish and Huguenot artisans in England illustrates this. Once an industry is localised, it takes a strong root in the place as the advantages of localization are great—where an industry thrives—like the shawl and papier-maché in Kashmir. The mysteries of the trade become no mysteries, but are as it were in the air. Subsidiary industries grow up all round, and local markets for the special kind of skill and labour required grow up.

The most important aspect of the problem is that connected with the influence of modern facilities of communication and transport—which lead on the one hand to concentration and growth of cities, and on the other to mobility of labour and territorial division of labour. We shall have occasion to take up the group of problems arising from these in a later study.

Gentlemen, we have completed now our brief consideration of modern industrial organization proper. We have seen that we are living under a system—the factory system—the chief characteristics of which are indicated by two words "*capitalism*" and "Economic direction by the entrepreneur." We then went on to consider some

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of the more important features of the organization in some detail. First of all we considered the advantages and some of the dangers of "division of labour," and came to the conclusion that on the whole there is a balance of advantages over disadvantages. We then considered under the general head of differentiation of functions first the separation of capital from labour, secondly, the rise of the entrepreneur as distinct from the capitalist, and thirdly, we considered the peculiar function of the promoter as distinct from the financier, a very recent development bound up intimately with the organization of combinations and trusts, and lastly, we referred in brief to localization of particular industries in particular districts.

But, gentlemen, in the broader conception that prevails in Political Economy of Production—the means for the organization of which we are considering—*marketing* occupies an important place. And a study of modern industrial organization that does not consider the recent development of functions in "marketing" would not be complete.

With the growth of productive power, the problem of *markets* has grown in importance and it can be studied from a variety of aspects.

We shall refer to only two aspects, which may be aptly called the *space-aspect* and the *time-aspect*, and shall confine our attention mainly to the latter as affording a conspicuous and characteristic development of the modern economic regime.

The *space-aspect* of the market problem is specially the study of the *merchant* who studies the differences of price for the same commodity, and whose business it is to make profits out of these differences. A merchant is essentially one who brings commodities from places where they are comparatively abundant to places where they are comparatively scarce, and makes his profits from the difference in price that under such circumstances exists in the two places. It will be obvious that the merchant only transfers the commodity from one place to another. The old economists, specially physiocrats, who bequeathed to the early English economist the mischievous distinction of "productive and non-productive" labour said that the merchant by so doing did nothing as a producer; and certain socialists, ever on the look-out for an opportunity to run down the present regime, denounced the *merchant* as a spoiler who pocketed the legitimate shares of those who really helped to produce the useful articles.

The mistake of the Physiocrats and these socialists is plain. The merchant really performs a useful service for society inasmuch as he brings the things from where they are less wanted to where they are more wanted; he thereby, to use a technical expression, *adds to the utility of the objects*, and such profits as he makes are the proper reward for his services.

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But we shall not consider the function of the *merchant* any further, for though some of the recent economic problems of the market refer to *space-dealings*—and we shall refer to them in part hereafter—the most striking development of the recent times relate to *time-dealings*, or dealings in futures.

This aspect of the market problem is of very recent growth, as would be obvious from the fact that though McCulloch in his treatise gives to the subject the important place it deserves, Stuart Mill only refers to it in passing, and with one or two honourable exceptions, even the comparatively recent books on economics do not give the subject its proper place.

Time-dealings have existed in a sense at all times and everywhere, as for instance, when a man buys property outright to hold it for a rise. But we are concerned now with speculative time-dealings organized on the exchanges—or markets for securities and certain kinds of produce.

The function of the speculator in the economic organization is the assumption of the inevitable economic risks of changes in value, and it consists "in the attempts to make money out of fluctuations in the value of property as distinct from its earnings"

The most striking feature of markets to-day is their extreme complexity and liability to influences which cannot be easily calculated. With the increase of complexity of markets, intensified as this is by the fact that markets are now less and less determined by national or political boundaries, the element of risk increased, and it became difficult for the trader and merchant to study the conditions of the market, and attend to the difficult work of organizing his business. The need was felt for a distinct body of men prepared to relieve the trader of the speculative element of his business. As the need grew the class of men became *differentiated* from the trader.

"The importance of this development can hardly be exaggerated. The peculiar feature is not that speculation has increased, for that is but a necessary accompaniment of increased trade, but that *speculation has become the business of a special class.*" As it has been well put "instead of all traders speculating a little, a special class speculates much."

It is the particular business of this class of men to study the conditions of the market carefully, to keep in touch with the general state of affairs all over the civilized world, and on the basis of their specialized study make forecasts of the future. With this body of keen experts, striving by the use of private wires, special agents and every other means, to discover and foresee every event bearing on values, speculation has been well defined by an eminent German Economist, G. Cohu (See his Finanzwissenschaft), as *the struggle of well equipped*

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intelligence against the rough power of chance. In fact, the conditions of the market being complex the greatest speculator is one who without that careful study of markets which are now possible to only a special class assumes the *risks* of future fluctuations.

The advantages that come from a properly organized class of speculators are obvious. Though fluctuations *must continue in markets* and prices remain subject to constant *rise and fall*, as a result of speculative transactions the range of these fluctuations becomes less. Prof. Emery of Columbia, who is our chief authority on the subject, says: "The result of tendencies within the speculative market would seem to be a state of less violent but more frequent fluctuations of prices." The contrast between the two systems, may be likened to the difference between the countless waves of the sea and its billows in storm.

The effect of speculation is very much like that of the trader's activity. As a result of speculation, prices vary less from period to period just as by the trader's activity they vary less from place to place.

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THE BASIS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

By Mr. C. V. Swaminatha Aiyar.

IN a remarkably candid and outspoken article on "The Situation in India," Mr. Justice Beaman of the Bombay High Court expresses his views in the hospitable pages of the *Empire Review*. The main contention of the learned Judge is that the British are in India by right of conquest and for purposes of their own, however much India may incidentally benefit by their self-necessitous stay here, and that all the tall talk about India being governed for India's benefit and the British being here, in the position of trustees, is pure 'bunkum', productive of nothing but mischievous results like the present unrest. Now the conquest of India by the British is an old exploded theory which the bureaucratic mind fondly hugs to its bosom whenever it finds its position in India materially untenable and morally impossible of justification. Far better it is to be outspoken and "face the facts honestly", regardless of "disparagement, or appraisement" of "achievements" made, than delude oneself with false notions of being righteous, while all the time one is actuated by self-seeking motives that take little heed of the canons of Righteousness.

The "fundamental principle" that all the people have the right to be free and that no country has the right to hold the people of another country in subjection and deny them equal rights of citizenship, Mr. Justice Boaman casts to the winds as impracticable. Says he :—

> As an abstract proposition in the domain of national ethics few can dispute the principle. But when it is sought to be applied practically to the complex problem of Indian Government, it will be found to imply some conditions which do not exist and never have existed.

Well, the existence or otherwise of conditions is a matter of fact and not a subject for argument. We all know the story of the fox in the fable, that went to the mid ocean in a float to sound its depth, and having carefully dipped its tail into the water, exclaimed, "Bah! the unfathomable ocean, so much talked of, is only as deep as this!"—showing its tail! Even so can we listen with equanimity to the tale of Mr. Justice Beaman.

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We are not concerned with what the "honorable" company of merchants trading with the East Indies or the dishonorable crew of poachers and adventurers that poked their noses into what they considered their sole business and made their business "lively" in more sense than one, "found" when they first set foot in India. They found what they badly wanted and came seeking for all the way round half the globe, and were content as traders and adventurers to find their occupation profitable enough to them. Emerson tritely remarks: "Man sees as he is"; and this is a psychic truth and a fact which exists and will exist in spite of all the *obiter dicta* which the eminent Judges of all the High Courts of Judicature on earth may pronounce against it. I mean no disrespect to the learned Judges; but I only wish to emphasise the fact that the eternal laws of Thought and Mind are not changed by the whimsical arguments of the worldly-minded, however great their earthly positions may be. Arguments can mystify the issue, but not change the existence or working of eternal laws. Nor are we very much concerned with our critic's notions of what constitutes nationality. He denies the existence of "a people in India struggling to be free" either now or at any time before. He sees no "homogeniety of race, religion and sentiment" throughout India, but finds the very reverse of all these. He dubs it a "falsehood" to say "that we received India in trust," no matter whether it be from "her peoples" or from Providence that rules over the destinies of nations; and the idea contained in the formula that "we are bound to govern India primarily in the interest of the Indians" he denounces in deliberate and set terms as "the most dangerous, as well as the most popular deduction" from the "false" premise that "we are trustees."

Now the Proclamation of the Good Queen Victoria, our first Empress, so recently confirmed in all its essentials by the Sovereign sitting on the throne as "the Great Charter of 1858" and reaffirmed again in his speech from the Throne to his Parliament assembled, as well as the Acts of Parliament passed in pursuance thereto, give the lie direct to what Mr. Beaman calls "the fact" viz., that the British hold India for England and "not for India." We too "can make this honest avowal without derogating one jot from the basic principles of" our

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relation with British or "our right to be free"—to aspire after and claim if need be, to struggle for and attain by dint of our own clear merit, the "equal rights of citizenship," with British aid and co-operation. I am no "extremist" and not even a "politician" in the sense in which that word is used or abused at present in India. But if the descendant of those "stout-hearted and strong-handed merchant children" who ultimately bequeathed India to England, or "changing the phrase," if a representative of "the nation of shopkeepers" as Napolean called them, aspires to go beyond his legitimate field of exploitation and profit, and venture into the forbidden ground of "First Principles" and teach a lesson to us in the same —in the operation of those eternal laws the study of which has ever been the supreme delight and strength of a race deservedly known as "a nation of philosophers",—he cannot expect to let his word go unchallenged.

Whether Great Britain as a nation is able to pass unscathed through every temptation, to the difficult and narrow path of Righteousness, or yields to "the small profit and quick return" cry of those "stout-hearted and strong-handed merchant children," and yielding to to the shop-keeping instinct of self-seeking, falls from the path of "High Rectitude" and "Absolute Justice" which the most far-seeing of her statesmen have chalked out for her as an Empire-State, rising supremely above her own petty, self-seeking, self-aggrandising lower self, it is a matter for the British people to settle among themselves. We will not intrude on that domestic squabble and internal commotion which the strenuous pursuit of a high and living ideal with a view to its realisation, always involves, whether it be individuals or nations who pursue it. But we must take you at your own word and we can deal with you only as you present yourself to us. Recant your word as openly and solemnly as you have given it to us, and we say "you are nothing to us." For the living moral law you have outraged is automatically turned against you and the crumbling to dust even of an Empire-State is only a question of time, no matter who the humble instrument is that the outraged Law of Nature, in its infinite wisdom, may choose to carry out Her imperious command.

If you refuse to treat us as a "nation," because in your ignorance you think that we do not come up or '*down*' (as in

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truth it may be,) to your (limited) idea of a nation, well you are welcome to it; but you cannot at the same breath deny that *we* have the right to see whether *you* come up to our ideal or 'notion' (if you please,) of superiority, before we acknowledge ourselves your inferior and let you lord it over us. To the extent that we are like chattel you are welcome to appropriate us to your own use. But remember that we have a *will* of our own that does not die with our physical body and that has its root in the Race Consciousness of which we individually are but scintillations.

Our good friend, Mr. Justice Beaman, and those who think with him, conveniently forget the fact that Man is not merely the physical vesture that encases him, but is something more. When that fact is taken into consideration, Pax Brittannica will find itself confronted with the situation which made Alexander the Great, who conquered and sighed he had no more world to conquer, a helpless tyrant foaming with rage but utterly powerless to conquer the "will" of a single man, a forest sage, whom he wished to annex to his spoils and make him his court-philosopher. That "THOROUGHLY CULTIVATED WILL", that could laugh at the drawn sword of the mighty conqueror of the world and make him look very small in his own eyes, is still the main factor that goes to make up and enrich India's national asset, and that richest of our national assets, no conquering hero can rob us of or despoil.

India's strength lies not in what England boasts as hers. That strength may for the moment appear as intangible. As Emerson says: "Great men are they who recognise that the spiritual is greater and stronger than the material." England's own domination in India is not due so much solely to her boasted material strength, as the same combined to that ideal of hers which believes in Righteousness, as the exalting power of a nation as it is of individuals. Once more I repeat:— Discard this ideal (of "Righteousness" and "Absolute Justice"), or swerve from it even by an inch and Great Britain will find to her infinite dismay that the *motif* (the motive power within) that binds the hearts of millions to the foreign yoke of British Rule will snap in twain with the already-noted result of "the people and the Governmeut drifting farther and farther away from each other," as that "prancing proconsul," Lord Curzon, found it to his cost and his successor has had to confront. It were well that men in high and trusted positions realised the responsibility attaching to their utterances and did nothing to fan the smouldering embers of distrust that unfortunately exists and embitters the relation of the rulers and the ruled in this unhappy country.

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INDIAN MUSSALMANS AND INDIAN POLITICS—III.

By An "Indian Mussulman."

WE now come to the sequel and logical outcome of the Mahomedan Deputation. The All-India Muslim League which for the last three years, has been held as a bye-congress of the Mahomedan Educational Conference has come to stay. It is a political association of the Mahomedans, inspired by the New Spirit, where Government can find a representative body to which to turn for ascertaining the views of Moslems and which Moslems also might look to for consistent and firm support, sensible and sincere advice and a true interpretation of their wishes to the Government. It is refreshing to note that the Moslems have, at last, permanently entered upon a corporate political action for their advancement—united, loyal and law-abiding. And ever since they have tasted the "forbidden fruit", they have been ushered into an altogether new world—a world of political evolution. The struggle for political existence is, as is witnessed by the recent developments, becoming as keen with them as with their compatriots, the Hindus. As an intermediary and weaker species they fear that they will be handicapped in the race and, as such, have implored the gods on the Simla heights and the presiding god across the seas to give them the *vahanam* of class representation to carry them through, but the gods still reply to them in enigmas and pacify them with sops; and when pressed on one point to speak plainly, the Indian Jupiter has decreed that there shall not be admitted more than one Indian mortal (irrespective of caste or creed) into the inner and hitherto inaccessible Council of Administrative gods on mount Simla, our Indian Olympus. But we are losing ourselves in the flights of imagination!

Into the details of the constitution of the League we need not enter. Suffice it to say that its objects, as finally amended and adopted, are :—

(1) To promote among Indian Moslems feelings of loyalty towards the British Government, and to remove any misconecption that may arise, as to the intentions of the Government with regard to any of its measures; (2) to protect the political and other rights of Indian Moslems and to place their needs and aspirations before the Government in temperate language; (3) so

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far as possible, without prejudice to the objects mentioned under (1) and (2) to promote friendly feelings between the Moslems and other communities of India."*

The Central Muslim League with its provincial offshoots has committed itself to the task of safeguarding Moslem interests in a spirit of self-protection and of promoting, by all constitutional methods, the welfare of Mahomedan subjects of the King-Emperor "without hurting the feelings or illegitimately encroaching on the rights of any other community". The Mahomedans are quite justified when, on the ground that those who cry loudest have a better chance of being heard, they try to make their voice heard above the din of other vociferous communities. But, as has been said elsewhere, it is unreasonable and puerile to expect any monopolies under a Government, which knows no distinction of colour or creed. The Moslems must remember that they must take their chance along with the other communities on an equal footing. They may carve out a sphere of political salvation for their own community but they must, at the same time, rise above sectional amelioration and contribute their share towards the political salvation of the whole country. Turning to the other side of the picture, we may urge that the Hindus should not look askance at the All-India Muslim League and view it entirely as sectional and factional, but must regard the uprising of political ambitions and aspirations in the minds of the Mahomedan community as a great national asset for all India. They should not grudge the Mahomadans any good fortune that may attend them in the storming of the impregnable oligarchic citadel by a volley of loyalty grape, but must view it as the pushing on of the boundary line of political privileges.

The Muslim League is not unlike the Indian National Congress in having a British Committee of its own—rechristened the London Branch of the All-India Muslim League—to bring the movement into touch with the leaders of thought in England. And, sectional colouring divested, have not the same causes given birth to the League and the Congress—the safe-guarding of Moslem interests on the one hand and Pan-Indian rights on the other? Viewed dispassionately, are not the centrifugal

* Rules and Regulations of the All-India Muslim League (Pioneer Press, Allahabad).

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forces of the Hindus and the Congress and the centripetal tendencies of the Moslems and the League only relative and alike? The bomb-hating Moslems can recede from the centre and go to the other end of protesting against Asiatic Legislation in the Transvaal. Again the Congresswallas disgusted with the diabolical machinations of the Extremists—these latter have receded too far and, may have fallen out of the orbit, to be drawn towards the centre—are approaching the Government and praying them to stem the tide of discontent by healthy reforms and sound legislation.

Let us then briefly survey the work done and the resolutions passed by the Central and Branch Leagues, from time to time. The presidential addresses made on the occasion of the first two sessions of the All-India Moslem League did not make any profound impression either on the Muslim community or on their Hindu brethren. The proceedings were rather prosaic and marked the initial stages of an embryonic political movement. The Moslems in the resolutions passed at the Central and Branch Leagues continually harped upon one point—the copious distribution of official "loaves and fishes." With this end in view, they carried on a silent campaign of registering the names of unemployed Mahomedan graduates with an eye to their enlistment in State service and of ascertaining the number of Mahomedans in service to urge Government to better their social status. And when according to their heart's desire, a "big loaf" (say, a judgeship of the High Court) was offered to any Mahomedan gentleman of parts, satisfaction was felt throughout Mahomedan India and special messages of thanksgiving were sent to the Viceroy by the various *Anjumans*. Nor were the Leagues altogether wanting in outspoken criticism when the situation demanded. It is with regard to the adverse Asiatic Legislation in the Transvaal that their views are pronounced and exhibit that sincerity of opinion and fearlessness of criticism which is a happy and relieving feature of the Leagues. At a large and influential gathering of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League held at Lahore, on 29th January 1908, and attended by leading Mahomedans,—including many who during the political troubles last year loyally came forward to denounce the unrest—the following resolutions were passed :—

That this meeting of the Provincial Muslim League of the Punjab places on record its emphatic protest against the passing of the Asiatic Immigration

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Ordinance by the Transvaal Government, with a view to exclude His Majesty's British Indian subjects from that colony and deeply regrets that the Imperial Government should not have seen its way to veto that objectionable enactment, inasmuch as the practical working thereof has resulted, and will result in the creation of serious complications within the British Empire. This meeting further tenders its sincere sympathy with the British Indian subjects resident in the Transvaal who have been subjected to hardships and indignation in the working of the anti-Immigration Law and in their legitimate struggle for considerate treatment, to which as subjects of the British Empire they are fully entitled.

This meeting strongly feels the urgent necessity of the Government of India taking effective steps to safeguard the rights of its Indian subjects in the Transvaal and requests that the Viceroy may be pleased to use his influence with the Home Government for bringing about such modifications of the anti-Asiatic Immigration Law in force in the Transvaal as would secure equitable treatment for the British Indian residents of that colony.

It was resolved that copies of the above be forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy who is to be asked to communicate them to Lord Morley.

Again on February 4th, 1908, the Bombay Provincial League drafted the following resolutions urging the Home Government to bring pressure on the Colonial Government to repeal the obnoxious legislation :—

That the All-India Muslim League (Bombay branch) has noticed with great concern and regret the whole attitude of the Transvaal Government towards British Indians residing in South Africa, among whom they count many coreligionists ; that it views with special repugnance the Registration clauses of the recent Transvaal Immigration Act which inflict great and unnecessary humiliation and hardship on a section of His Majesty the King-Emperor's loyal, faithful and industrious subjects ; and that they regard with great grief and indignation the harsh sentences recently passed on the leaders of their community in South Africa with whom they fully sympathise in their noble efforts to protest against legislation far more stringent and degrading and far more rigorously carried out than any under the rule of the Boers, whose ill-treatment of the British Indians was authoritatively proclaimed as one of the justifications of the last Boer War; and that in a country where the supremacy of the British Government is well recognised such hardships on a section of the King-Emperor's loyal subjects cannot be regarded as in the best interests of Imperial policy.

And, after a period of temporary compromise and conciliation, when there was the recrudescence of the Transvaal troubles, the All-India Muslim League rose equal to the occasion and on August 9, 1908, the Central Committee passed the following resolution :—

That it views with deep regret the anti-Asiatic legislation in the Transvaal and hopes that early steps will be taken by the Government of India and the

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Secretary of State for India for impressing on His Majesty's Government in England the necessity of intervention on behalf of British Indians for the repeal of the Asiatic Law Amendment Act and the Immigration Restriction Bill in view of the strong and unanimous feeling against the said two measures among British Indians in the Transvaal and their fellow countrymen in India.

We cannot pass over the inaugural address of Mr. Ali Imam, the third President of the All India Muslim League, without reviewing it at some length. Unlike the two previous addresses which were quite commonplace, it was a production of rare ability and in literary grace may rank with Dr. Ghosh's speech at the Madras Congress. It made a profound impression at the time on Moslems: it evoked friendly criticim in some Congress circles: it was highly flattered by the Anglo-Indian Press: it even won the encomiums of perhaps the best living prose writer of our day, Lord Morley. The address sets forth in eloquent language the position of educated Moslems in regard to the New Movement and, judged from their political standpoint, it leaves nothing to be desired. It defines in clear terms the creed of the League. Mr. Ali Imam repudiates the erroneous idea ordinarily ingrained into the Hindu mind that the Indian Moslem is not a patriot. Says he :—

> We, the educated Moslems of India have no less love for the land of our birth, we are tied to her by the sacred association of ages. We yield to none in veneration of and affection for our mother-land. All our hopes and all our aspirations are wrapped up in the general advancement of our country, an advancement all along the line giving protection and preferment to all her children alike without any invidious distinction.

Although not in agreement with the Congress ideal as formulated in Article I of the Allahabad Convention Committee, which is incompatible with a Moslem's sense of loyalty and tantamounts to a sacrifice of his feelings, yet the leader of the Bankipur bar, in the course of his address, says that the League has, however, identical interests with the Congress and may join forces with it on many questions of practical politics. These are :—

1. The separation of the judicial from the executive functions.
2. The repeal of degrading Colonial Ordinances.
3. The extension of Primary Education.
4. The adoption of measures of sanitation..
5. The admission of Indians of all races in larger numbers into the higher branches of the public service.
6. Discontinuance of official interference in matters of local self-government.
7. Reasonable reduction of military expenditure without endangering efficiency.

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8. Recognition of the legitimate and patriotic desire of the warlike races of India to render military service as volunteers.
9. The grant of commissions in the army to Indians.
10. An equitable adjustment of Home Charges.
11. Limitation of revenue on land belonging to the State.
12. Establishment of village unions for the disposal of petty civil and criminal cases.
13. Encouragement and protection of indigenous arts and industries.
14. The eradication of insolence on the one hand and feeling of inferiority and mortification on the other between the rulers and the ruled.

What is then the essential difference between the ideal of the League and that of the Congress? The object of the Muslim League is the "steady pursuit of administrative reform and the due satisfaction of the natural ambitions of Indians educated under a liberal system" and the Congress ideal is "the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire". The difference is only of degree and partly one of methods. The Congress aims—it does not say it will accomplish it in a day or even in the near future—at the transfer of the legislative and administrative control from the rulers to the ruled, and not to the Hindus alone—as is sometimes put by Anglo-Indian journals. The League regards that" the progress of India rests on the maintenance of order and internal place, and that order and internal peace, in view of the conditions obtaining in our country at present and for a long time to come, an immeasurably long time to come, spell British occupation". The Congress does not ask the rulers "to take to their ships and retire from India". Its earnest wish is to see Indian autonomy or anything approaching it established under the British aegis, and under the British aegis alone is that possible. The Congress no less recognises the peaceful progress of the country. We may give countenance to Mr. Ali Imam's remark when he asks:—

> Has not this ideal of self-government, however elevated, caused impatience (on account of its impracticability),* and has not this impatience carried the idealist off his feet, and has not this loss of equipoise created extremism, and has not extremism given birth to anarchism, bombs, secret societies and assassination?

Yes; but these are cases of frenzied idealists who are not to warp the sober judgment and judicious discretion of Government. For the matter of that, were there not wild Wahabis who were

*The brackets are mine.

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responsible for similar deeds? It is not the Extremist whom we should take as a typical Congressman or instance the Wahabi as a loyal Mahomedan citizen and thus vilify the Congress and the Mahomedans in general.

Mr. Ali Imam is seized with the same chronic fear which characterises almost every Mahomedan that the transfer of legislative and administrative control from the rulers to the ruled will bring about an influx of Hindus which, he says, would be prejudicial to Moslem interests. Hence his quarrel with the Congress and he therefore admonishes his coreligionists to hold themselves aloof from it. But why unnecessarily paint the Hindus as so many Cyclops and *Rakshasas* as will not allow the grass to grow under their feet? Perhaps this gives us an inner inkling of the Mahomedan mind that if the tables were turned in regard to numerical strength, learning, prosperity and general progress, the Mahommadans would swamp the Hindus in a merciless way. Trust engenders good faith and good faith in its turn brings about reconciliation and fusion of races which will lead to the nationalisation of India. Mistrust is a wedge that bids fair to keep the Indian communities asunder and every act of suspicion drives the wedge deeper.

With due deference to his learning, we cannot help remarking that Mr. Ali Imam has, in his address, blown hot and cold with the same breath and is himself irreconcilable and incomprehensible while he lays the charge of impracticability at the door of the Congressmen. At one place he says that the Moslem ideal should be "United India", on non-controversial and unsectarian lines, yet he, like the class he hails from, insists on communal representation. At another place he observes that "in our relations with Government we will not permit malice to cross our path, warp our judgment and create disaffection," but remarks that "we reserve the right of frankly, fearlessly and boldly criticising the measures of Government; we reserve the right to protest, however, respectfully, against the continuance of certain of its methods, we reserve the right to refuse to believe in the soundness of a particular policy of it." Did not the Moslems and the League administer, however, the threat that unless representation was granted on a denominational basis it would "mark the first breakdown of that implicit faith which Moslems have so long placed in the care and solicitude of the

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Government." Does not this agitation and the holding on to their self-imposed rights, derived from loyalty and past historical significance, throw a side-light on the Mahomedan situation and show that there is not much difference, after all, between the working of the League and that of the Congress, although, I suppose, my Mahomedan brethern are not likely to acknowledge it. The more you will study the evolution of the League, the more you will be convinced that the Congress and the League are but parallel streams ever tending to unite, if not intercepted by bolstered-up barriers. After perusing the whole of Mr. Ali Imam's address, we may reconcile his views by observing, as was happily remarked by the *Hindustan Review* that "his heart is pulling one way and his head the other way." Such is the pulse of many a Mahomedan heart which has not yet shed the slough of communal leanings and surroundings in nation-building!

What will be the future of the League, it is yet too soon to prognosticate. Whether it will continue to bask in the warmth of Govenment favour, and perennially glow in the sunshine of loyalty or fall under a cloud and share the fate of the Indian National Congress (which, too, in its pristine days was not without a halo of its own); whether the Moslems will enter wholeheartedly into politics or skim over the surface, hankering after sectional gains and, like the kingfisher, take an occasional dip for official "fishes," whether they will boldly face pan-Indian problems and be even prepared to suffer for their convictions or hide behind the hedge while the conflict is in progress and be among the first to claim a share in the spoils after the victory is won; whether they will permanently segregate themselves from the other communities and form themselves into a separate political camp working out their own salvation or whether the Moslem political stream, originating from the same glacier district of vigorous thought and independent sense of feeling and intercepted by the impenetrable Himalayan barrier of racial prejudice, run a parallel course, then Brahmaputra like take a sharp turn Indiawards and in the end unite with the Ganges—which, with its numerous and remote tributaries, may well symbolize the combined political trend of the various other Indian communities—these are questions the future alone can solve. In the meantime we wish every success to the League and earnestly hope

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that it will work on the right lines and not prove a thorn in the sides of their Hindu compatriots.

We shall next come to the great problem of the Mahomedan demand for class representation which is at present engaging the earnest and anxious attention of the Indian Moslem world. Ever since Viscount Morley made his memorable statement in the House of Lords on the long-looked-for Indian Reform proposals, the Mahomedans of India have been seized with an unfounded fear that, according to the projected joint electorate system, their interests would be in great jeopardy. Curiously enough, the opening of a "new chapter" for India which was acclaimed with joy by even the most fastitious of Congress men, disclosed a morbid fear in the breasts of the faithful that their interests which were so zealously upheld by the Viceroy's draft scheme were discountenanced by Lord Morley. The Moslems who were until now as merry as larks receiving *douceurs* to remain passive, became suddenly alarmed at the vagueness of paragraph XII of Lord Morley's Despatch. No stone was left unturned to throw the Mahomedan demand into the clearest relief and all subtlety of argument was expended to enforce compliance with their wishes. In press and on platform, in England and in India, a big agitation campaign was organised to exact communal representation. A lengthy resolution * was

* "That, whereas the language of paragraph 12 of the Despatch of the Secretary of State, dealing with the scheme for the Reform of the Councils, is such as has possibly endeared it in the minds of some of the loyal Indian Mahomedans, an incorrect impression of the paragraph in question suggests the grant of separate and denominational representation to the Mahomedans of India, and whereas the All-India Muslim League regards such impression to be solely due to optimism that proceeds from the unqualified trust Indian Mahomedans have traditionally reposed in the justice and impartiality of the British Government, the All-India Muslim League deems it to be its duty to deplore the vagueness of language of that paragraph, and most regretfully thinks it to mean that the scheme of the representation of minorities contained in the said paragraph does not give the protection which is intended to be given to such communities as the creation of non-denominational electorates, whether original or intermediatory, precludes the possibility of the successful election of the real representatives of minorities; and that the mere reservation of a certain number of seats on the Imperial and Provincial Councils in favour of such communities, without a system of denominational representation from voting unity to representatives in Council chambers, will end in the return of such members of minorities as are only mandatories of majorities; and that under the circumstances, the All-India Muslim League notes the suggestion in paragraph 12 of the said Despatch with great alarm, and has grave apprehensions that in their present form they are sure to create dire disappointment in the Mahomedan community, and that unless materially altered to suit their requirements, essentials of which are the representation on a purely denominational basis, they will mark the first break-down of that implicit faith which Mussalmans have so long placed in the care and solicitude of the Government, whose just pride and profession have been to hold the scales even. (*Resolution III, All-India Moslem League held at Amritsar.*)

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passed at the sittings of the Amritsar League which sufficiently speaks for itself. The London Branch of the Muslim League with its puissant president, Mr. Amir Ali, came in for a full share of advocacy and championship. Mr. Amir Ali and Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League tried their level best, through the columns of the *Times* to proselytise Lord Morley to their views and when these attempts failed to produce the desired effect they brought pressure to bear upon the Secretary of State for India by means of an influential deputation of the London League. The deputation demanded "representation by separate electorates at all stages from the rural boards to the Viceregal Council and substantial representation on all councils, the ratio being determined by considerations of Imperial policy and local conditions; and lastly, that both Moslems and Hindus should have two representatives on the Imperial Executive Council." We need not traverse over the whole ground advanced by Mr. Ameer Ali as spokesman of the deputation. His contention, as was more lucidly set forth in the *Times*, was that mixed electorates are derogatory to Moslem representation which will not be real but illusory, quite in violation of the repeated assurances of Government that the electoral system would be adequate and substantial —more so, as there are going to be non-official majorities in the provincial councils; that they will tend to constant frictions, heart-burnings, intrigues, cabals and the like; that the electoral machinery at every stage would be controlled by an overwhelming non-Moslem majority versed in modern political tactics; that every effort will be made to divide Mahomedan votes and to return "renegade" Mahomedans acceptable to the majority; that owing to the less affluent circumstances of the Mahomedans the franchise qualification should be so modified as to be within the practical reach of the Moslems; that even if the Moslems, as interpreted by Lord MacDonnell, be lucky enough to get in the most favourable cases double representation, it would prove only a mixed blessing as the Hindus would then try to "put a spoke in their wheel;" that the principle of proportional representation, however simple and readily workable and although satisfying the Punjab and Eastern Bengal, would on the whole "work enormous injustice to Mahomedan representation;" and lastly, that the importance of the

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Mahomedan community should not be adjudged on numerical considerations but on their historical and political position and their loyalty which is an asset to the Empire.

Lord Morley's reply to the Deputation was courteous, bold, dispassionate and statesmanlike and gave yet another proof of his breadth of mind. No one can read the speech without discerning how sincere he is to launch his reform scheme and how equally anxious he is to make it acceptable alike to all communities. Yet signs are not wanting that he is unsolicitous for the welfare of the Moslems. He is fully alive to the fact that any suspicion of injustice in the British treatment of the Moslem community is likely to produce bad-blood in Constantinople. He pacifies the Moslems that the despatch is not unalterable as the law of the Medes and Persians, and although he avows that there should be real and adequate representation for Mahomedans, he warily remarks that "he was not sure, though he did not commit himself, that the elections might not be held in two stages, with exclusive Mahomedan electoral colleges." Yet he strikes a key which is not very unfavourable to Moslem demands when he says :—

> The object of Government was that the Legislative Councils should represent truly and effectively, with a reasonable approach to the balance of real social forces, the wishes and needs of the communities concerned. This could not be done by algebra, arithmetic, geometry or logic, but by a wide outlook.

Nor is he unmindful of Indian communities as a whole. He adduces that "numbers should be the main factor in determining the extent of representation;" and he again comes to the rescue of the Moslems when he adds that "modifying causes might influence the number of representatives." But on one point Lord Morley is uncompromising and labels the demand for a separate Mahomedan member of the Viceroy's Executive Council as "dubious tactics" and sees no chance of compliance with the request.

Not satisfied with Lord Morley's sops-in-promise, the All-India Muslim League again approached Lord Minto with a memorial traversing over very much the same ground, now throwing in a suggestion that the denominational element might be carried from the first voting to the intermediate agency and not necessarily upwards, thus dispelling the object of the "double vote," now reminding the Viceroy of his promise at

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Simla which it looked upon in the light of a pledge, now offering a solution for the Mahomedan demand to create a seventh membership of education (to which might be added sanitation) in the Viceregal Council. Since then Lord Morley has had the chance of vindicating his views on the subject, while introducing his India Councils Bill in the Lords. He firmly adhered to his former view and saw "no chance of meeting their views to any extent—another "settled fact," we suppose—as regards the appointment of a Mahomedan member to the Viceroy's Council. He said that the same sort of operation that is now obtaining in the appointment of Judges to the Indian High Courts would be extended to the Moslems. But he seemed disposed to comply with the other demands.

We shall now examine the Mahomedan demand and be done with this vexed question which might have already bored my readers. The attempt on the part of my co-religionists "to create an irreconcilable Ulster in India" is not very laudable. If the Mahomedans demand special treatment on account of their loyalty and historical position, it can not be denied that the Sikhs, Jats, Rajputs equally merit exceptional treatment; and what about the Parsees who, though they have not volunteered their services to the British raj on the field, yet have materially helped the development of India in another field—commerce? Are they to be tabooed simply because they remain mute and not clamour for exceptional treatment? And what about the Eurasians and Native Christians—they are personifications of loyalty—who may raise their heads shortly for special representation. It will be a blot on British Imperialism if the rulers of the land thus begin to differentiate. Moreover, if you grant class representation to one community, you cannot long withhold it from the others, the others following suit as the night follows the day. This will veritably be the opening of Pandora's box and India will then be confronted with a grave situation of the first magnitude. British statesmen, we suppose, will never commit themselves to such a myopic policy. Again, if in strengthening his case for class representation, Mr. Ameer Ali says that there are "untouchables" among the Hindus that go to swell the imposing Hindu majority, there are, we may remark, "low castes" among the Moslems as well, who likewise reduce their number. Even for a moment supposing that class representation is granted to the Moslems, how is the electoral scheme

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to work in provinces like the Punjab and East Bengal where the Mahomedan population is larger than that of the Hindus? You cannot do this unless you give double representation to Moslems which would be rather hard upon their non-Moslem brethren and in case you disenfranchise the Moslems of the "lower" vote it would be depriving them of their legitimate right to vote for the District Council. All things considered, no better settlement could have been made than that announced by Sir Harvey Adamson in the course of his speech on the occasion of the last budget debate upholding the popular proportional representation on the one hand and safe-guarding at the same time the interests of the minorities on the other.

A few words on Pan-Islamism and the effect it has had on Indo-Moslem political thought would not be out of place in a series of papers on "Indian Mussulmans and Indian Politics." To quote Lord Cromer, Pan-Islamism "is generally held to mean a combination of all the Moslems throughout the world to defy and resist the Christian Powers." Large masses have joined the Pan-Islamic movement in the hope of welding together and of smoothing over the difficulties that now divide the various sects of Islam. As in all other Moslem lands the seismic wave of Pan-Islamism swept our India but the shocks were not felt in the peninsula. There were no seismographic disturbances, no tremors, no subterranean rumblings. There were no volcanic eruptions of Mahdiism. No tidal wave of *jehad* or oceanic rise of fanaticism was witnessed. The area of disturbance seems to be limited to the Islamic countries bordering the Mediterranean with some belts streching far into the interior of the "dark continent." Although Pan-Islamism has made considerable headway in North Africa and, reinforced by the national movement, assumed quite a new phase in Egypt, it has left Mahomedan India practically untouched. Fortunately the circumstances which give it force and impetus in the island continent do not obtain in our country. No German Emperor comes to India to harangue to the Indian Moslems on his ostentatious demonstrations of friendship to Islam and pose as an ally and coadjutor of the Caliph.*

* Reference is here made to the Kaiser's Speeches in Damascus at the time of his visit to Palestine when he extolled Sultan Abdul Hameed Khan as the lord supreme of 300 millions of Mahomedans and to his visit to Tangiers (Morocco) when he said he came to the "assistance of the Moslems" and urged that all reforms must be based on the Islamic law and tradition.

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India had, unlike Egypt, never been under the spell, real or imaginery, of Turkish dominion. The Mahomedan masses, removed as they are from Stamboul by thousands of miles, are unconscious of the propaganda. The educated, intelligent Islamite takes but an academic interest in the Pan-Islamic movement. The average Indian Moslem regards the Grand Master of Pan-Islamism as the protector of the Holy Places and looks upon the *Amir-ul-momineen* (Chief of the Faithful) and *Khalifat-ul-muslimeen* (Caliph of the Moslems) with the same respect as the Irish Catholics feel for the Pope. And like the Irishmen, the Moslems can also realise that politically they owe allegiance to the British Crown and not to the Pontiff. They render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto the Caliph the things that are the Caliph's. Their loyalty to the British Government does not preclude them from shewing their sympathy towards Turkey and the Caliph. Their political allegiance is in no sense coloured by religious bias. On the other hand those who say that Indian Moslems should not care for and have nothing to do with Sultan Abdul Hameed Khan are, as the late Maulvi Mehdi Ali "Nawab Mohsinulmulk" said, "either cringing flatterers of the British Government whom, it is certain, the Government will never believe or they have no love for religion." Such is the position of the Indian Mahomedan world in regard to Pan-Islamism!

Lastly, we shall discuss the thorny question whether Indian politics, be they pursued by Mahomedans or Hindus, sectionally or unitedly, are worth striving for. Are there politics in the strict sense of the word? Is the game worth the candle or is it like the following of the will-o'-the-wisp? Politics in a bureaucratic country descend into unequal and unhealthy wrangling between the governing and the governed, often ending in complications and entanglements of an undesirable character. There is no acknowledged "party system" to steer the political vessel and no ballast of "checks and balances" to steady the ship; and although, of late, a poor party parody has sprung into existence, it is but burlesque *minus* the element of drollery. Indian public-feeling is now deeply stirred over the formation or rather the division of political parties which the country is now writhing under, and which has brought such ruin on the land ending in deportations, anarchy, bomb-outrages, riots and a host of

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other discontent paraphernalia and the consequent tightening of the official grip, although it must be said that other causes largely contributed towards bringing about this unfortunate state of affairs. "Young India" sadly needs a steadying ballast. When such is the case, you cannot count upon that healthy party rivalry and emulation which is a refreshing feature of Western political institutions, and it is too much and too soon to expect this from a people—or peoples—who are just groping after Nationalism. No doubt, the wings of the Indian political eagle are clipped and its flight hampered. It cannot at present soar beyond the "Municipal" and "legislative" heights. As is the wont in all bureaucratic and "inorganic" states, opposition to Government in India even on healthy constitutional lines is not welcome. On the other hand, it is resented and is somtimes punished by that formidable weapon—124 A of the Indian Penal Code. When the Indian—especially the Hindu—wants to make a little sunshine amid his gloomy political surroundings, Anglo-India is perplexed in the extreme. The average Anglo-Indian official, pent up in the cover of dark isolation, evinces keen distress when exposed to the daylight of criticism. Having been in a great measure instrumental in creating the Anglo-Indian caste and largely contributed to the development of the *saheb's* character which thrives best in the soil of obsequiousness and resignation, having once stooped low and belittled ourselves to an unbecoming degree and raised the Anglo-Indian to the giddy pedestal of a *Mahatma* (with miraculous powers to make or mar the fortunes of men) we need not wonder if he frets and fumes when "Young India" associates itself in a movement which considerably "lowers" him in the eyes of the masses. Public disesteem or slighting is a factor to be reckoned with in bureaucratic countries, especially in the Orient, and autocratic *ábru* is therefore jealously guarded by the powers-that-be.

Nevertheless, the Indian National Congress, the puissant organ of Indian Nationalism, serves as a latent yet powerful check on aggressive Anglo-Indian aberrations. Slowly and imperceptibly the boundary line of political privileges is being extended and political emancipation is unwittingly "broadening down from precedent to precedent." It is for this alone that Indian politics, though lifeless, dull and emasculated are worth fighting for. It is the occasional concessions—concessions on the part of the

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Government and viewed by the Congresswallas in the light of mild exactions—which though few and far between keep up the game and buoy up the hopes of "Young India." The stream of political progress may be impeded, hindered, obstructed by dams and anicuts, diverted to other channels, the current weakened by artificial canals and made slow in a thousand and one ways but it cannot be stayed or stopped. Taking unction to itself, it flows on its dreary course, ever broadening its bed and slowly wearing away the boulders of opposition that chance to intercept its way.

Whether we are to believe the official gospel that Indians are incapable of self-government in any modified form whatsoever, or whether responsible government, which alluringly appears as a national panacea, will bring about the political millennium in India is a question upon which opinions have differed and will differ until we are on a fair way to its solution. Whatever truth there may be in the official tradition, it is rather preposterous to assume beforehand that Indians will bungle at the thing before actually making the experiment. If constitutions are successfully given to negro republics like Hayti and Liberia and are tentatively (the *irads* of Oriental monarchs are not always to be relied on) conceded to Islamic states like Persia and Turkey where the Divine Right of Kings is religiously respected, educated India after 150 years of British rule may be given a fair share in administrative polity. The Indian governmental *lascar*, who has had a century and half's training in the steering of the ship of State may now be entrusted with some piloting work. We now learn with profound satisfaction that under the auspices of our political philosopher at the India Office, and the very sympathetic representative of the King in this country, a tentative beginning is being made to give the Indians some share in the Government. If in addition to all the manifold blessings we enjoy under British rule, the boon of constitutional government be conferred upon us, we would regard our British rulers as "earthly providences." Although "Home Rule" is out of the question, at least some kind of representation on the various councils, both in England and India, and widening of the basis of the Imperial Parliament with proper representation of Indian interests are quite feasible. But as long as the present "dubious" relations between Hindus and Muslims last, it seems hard to adjust to the seamless mantle of bureaucratic party the many angles of Indian aspirations. But we hope that the cloud will soon pass away. The day may yet be far distant when bureaucratic arrangements will fall into line with the political aims and aspirations of New India, but every honest endeavour made, by constitutional ways, towards the realisation of this ideal, every hour devoted disinterestedly to the cause of India, brings that day within our practical reach.

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AS AN INDIAN SEES AMERICA—VII: THE AMERICAN WOMAN.

By Mr. Saint Nihal Singh.

THE woman in the United States is at once the best asset of the country and a laughable proposition. She is freeing herself from the slavery of ages and working her way to equality with man. Being in a stage of transition, makes her an interesting study. The middle-class, well-informed American woman residing in the city, execrates the idea of being a man's helpmeet, and as the American men have not reached that stage of human development where they themselves would consent to being their wives' helpmeets, as a rule the American woman is her husband's help-eat. The man in America makes a specialty of earning money—the women makes it her chief business in life to spend it. This is especially true of the midle-class people. Shopping affords her both the chance of getting rid of a portion of her husband's wages and whiling away the time in amusements. The leading stores trim their windows in a tasteful style calculated to coax the passer-by to come in and purchase goods, and provide rest-rooms for the free use of their customers.

The American woman loves to hunt bargains. She asserts that she saves money by buying at bargain counters. Perhaps she does, but the ledgers of the big stores show that they make their fortunes from these self-same cut-rate sales. Any excuse is considered tenable for the storekeeper to announce a "special sale." All kinds of household furniture, office supplies, clothes and sundries can be bought in the well-known department stores at bargain prices all the year round. The clever manager is always careful to "mark down" goods, that is to say, put lines through a higher price-mark and write below it a lower figure and it is so arranged that even the last quotation nets the store a princely profit. The price of goods is never put at a round figure. For instance, they charge $1·98 instead of $2. The hypnotic effect of this cunning manœuvre on the average American woman is singularly successful in favor of the merchant. She sees only the $1 and does not stop to take into consideration the 98 cents. It never occurs to her that she is paying just two cents less than two dollars. She believes that she is paying just a little more than one dollar for what she buys.

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The American woman usually returns from her shopping at about the time the working men and women are going home from their daily toil. The street car service in a number of American metropolitan cities being insufficient to cope with the evening traffic, the congested tram cars present a ludicrous scene of startling contrasts. The well-dressed woman with her long trailing skirts, jostles against the man in overalls both hanging to straps in order to keep on their feet in the fast-moving car. The American man, as a rule, does not offer his seat to a woman and if he does, he usually takes care to give it to some good-looking female attired in fashionable, tailor-made clothing. The working woman, tired and fagged, is usually allowed to stand all or part of the way home. It appears strange to a foreigner who has read of the occidental gallantry toward the fair sex, to see women with babies in their arms or young children hanging to their skirts, standing in the street car while men are sitting, leisurely chewing gum or reading column after column of sensational murder or love news. It is still more surprising to see young women rising to give their seats to old, infirm men or women with babies, and preparing to stand themselves, while the men look on serenely, probably smiling in their sleeves at the performance. This is true on the one hand and on the other the writer has seen women occupying the seating capacity provided by the street-car company for two people, complacently indifferent to the men, who usually are afraid of asking them to give up the usurped seat, preferring rather to hang to a strap.

If someone were to collect the statistics of American women who have died from diseases brought on by exposure and add to them those who suffer from chronic disorders due to the same cause, a collossal figure would be the result. In winter, one hardly meets a middle-class woman in the United States who is not suffering from a mild or severe cold or catarrh, or has not been confined to the bed by pneumonia or "grip" as it is called. It is a wonder to the writer that women do not die from colds, considering the manner they dress or rather leave the vital portions of their bodies undressed. In winter, when the temperature is below zero or hovering around that point, the audacious American woman goes out in low shoes, lace hosiery, her long skirts dragging over the snow and ice on the sidewalks, her chest either altogether exposed in an evening gown or covered

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with the famous "peek-a-boo waist"—a shirt waist made of thin cloth or of embroidery containing a number of holes, affected for the purpose of showing the bare skin underneath. Another source of frightful disease lies in the long skirts worn by the women. These often are permitted to trail behind as they walk along without any effort to hold them up, and as a result millions and billions of disease germs are gathered up in their folds, to be shaken out in the home, resulting in diphtheria, tuberculosis, typhoid fever, scarlet fever, and countless other visitations. American men have a habit of expectorating freely on streets and in cars, and these long skirts of the women are dragged through this vileness without a thought being given to the filth that is being gathered up by them. Practically every state in the Union now has enacted laws pronouncing it a misdemeanor for people to expectorate on sidewalks, in cars or public buildings. In spite of this, the practice is engaged in by men,—and also women—without any regard being paid to the law. Men in the United States have a filthy habit of chewing tobacco continually, erupting the brown juice chewed out of the weed, like a volcano throwing out lava. Women chew gum incessantly and, they also, are liable to expectorate at any place and any time. The person with a delicate stomach is disgusted at the sight, and more disgusted when he sees the women wiping up the filth with their skirts.

The most ungainly sight to an Indian in America is the hat worn by women. Carolyn Wells, a popular Yankee poetess, vividly paints the conception which appeals as beautiful to the American women, in her Idyll entitled: "The Tragedy of a Theatre Hat."

Higher than steeples and broader than flats;
'Twas a wide-rolling brim and a high-packed crown,
Black feathers stood up and black feathers hung down;
Without any visible scheme of connection.
'Twas decked with rare flowers of a marvellous size,
And colors that seemed to bedazzle the eyes.
And each vacant space
Was filled in with lace,
And twenty-three birds in the ribbons found place.

To those who never have visited the United States, this would appear to be a highly-coloured description. But it is not. At the time of this writing, a most startling hat is being gazed upon in Broadway, New York. It is five feet eight inches in circumference, two feet in diameter, and a foot high. An actress wears it in a drama. She may be seen of a pleasant evening wearing its replica in the principal streets of New York.

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The actress in question once was a hat-maker in a small town in Indiana. Being the possessor of the sort of figure which finds most favour in the eyes of the American man, she became an artist's model, posing for semi-nude and draped pictures. This gave her entrée to the stage, and to-day she is a star actress, whose latest hat has startled New York. Undoubtedly this fantastic head-gear has been affected in her case with a view to gaining notoriety as a stepping-stone to making a bigger success on the stage. But the usual hat of the average American woman, though somewhat less pretentious in size, in no way is a less weird conglomeration. It appears that she is endeavouring to out-match the laughable head-dress which the American Indian used to put on, when he started out on the war-path. It is a pitiful sight to see women walking on the sidewalks, holding their skirts with one hand in order to effectually stop them from doing the work of scavenger on the pavement, and with the other grasping their hats, which even though secured with two or more long hat pins, nervously shake at the merest semblance of a gust of wind.

The hats that I see on the heads of American women appear to me fantastic and weird. They are enormous in size. They tower. They spread out. Their curves are contortions. The shapes are hideous, resembling neither fish, fowl, nor good red herring, nor anything else in the world except their ugly selves. The bows are huge and unwieldy, the flowers immense in size and of crushing weight, giving the woman a top-heavy effect. Were not the women of America slaves of fashion, they would not affect such grotesque, such clumsy head-dress.

American women are loud in their denunciation of American men who, according to the feminine version, have exploited them at home and out of home. The woman in the United States is actively engaged in asserting her economic independence. She is intent upon making her own living and sneers at the idea of being supported by a husband or father. It affords her more pleasure to clerk in a store, keep books or do stenographic work in an office or sell goods in a shop rather than to indulge in the duties of wifehood and motherhood. It is not at all uncommon for mothers of children to work in offices or in one other departments of the business world, hiring servants to take care of the house and bring up their children. No American woman does

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housework if she can possibly get out of it. This labor is performed by imports from Europe, or by negroes. Even these imports, as they remain in America and become accustomed to the ways of the country, catch the contagion and refuse to work in kitchen or nursery. This is the reason why Japanese, Chinese, and even natives of India on coming to America, find the people of the United States anxious to secure their services for household work. In her efforts to gain monetary independence, the average American woman finds she is greatly handicapped. The lady secretaries of business men and manufacturers frankly declare that their employers are "triflers"—this is the term used, though just what it means is hard to describe.

Lately an advertisement has been going the rounds of metropolitan newspapers which reads as follows:—

SITUATION WANTED: I want to be somebody's stenographer or bookkeeper; not his sweetheart. I have been three days answering want ads and I've had more chances to be "somebody's darling" than I ever knew existed. If there is a man who needs help and would rather have a girl attending to business than making goo goo eyes I should like to hear from him. I already have a sweetheart of my own. Address J. C. D.

Miss J. C. D. is a resident of Indianapolis. She is an expert stenographer. "I have made the round of the offces that advertised for a stenographer" declares the young woman, "and met more bald-headed old sinners than I ever knew lived. My experiences were the same everywhere; 'twas a taste for lobsters and wine that was necessary more than an ability to do office work." The lady describes her experiences graphically. "I am answering an advertisement for a stenographer," she told the office boy at one of the establishments that had advertised in the local newspapers for a typewriter. The boy disappeared and the young woman, in answer to a query from the proprietor, heard the boy say: "Yes sir. She is a corker"—a slang expression meaning that she was a stunning beauty. On being ushered into the presence of her presumptive employer Miss J. C. D. found him to be a bald-headed, nice-looking, middle-aged man. The following colloquy passed between the two:—

"Do you live with your people?"

"My people are not in the city—I am alone."

"How interesting. I am very much alone myself. My wife doesn't care to go out, doesn't care for theatres and late suppers. I have a lot of time at my disposal."

"But I am a stenographer, and not a gentleman's maid."

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"Spirited. I like it. You have a pretty hand."

and he attempted to reach out to take it.

In a physician's office where the applicant went next in her search after a stenographer's position she was taken into the private office. There she relates the Doctor told her that "our lunch hours will be at the same time:" that he was married, but that would not make any difference; and that she must not be too affectionate, should his wife appear at the office. An automobile company was the next Miss J. C. D. tried. There she was told that a part of her duties would consist in helping to show the machines to prospective buyers. This meant, she was plainly given to understand, that she must endeavour to be a "jolly good fellow" to the customer, ride around in the car with him, go to theatres and eat midnight lunches. After the machine was sold, the company did not care whether she continued the acquaintance or not.

Women who are in quest of positions which are in the hands of men to bestow on them, not infrequently find that their acceptance involves their doing "favors" which a conscientious woman is not prepared to do, to those who hire them. They find that the employers of clerks, stenographers and salesladies want "deucedly pretty ones" as "it makes the office look so much better". Such excessively low salaries are paid to women employes, moreover, that they are constantly under the temptation of adding to it by questionable means. In addition to low pay, the employer invariably demands that his feminine employe dress herself fascinatingly.

This on the one hand. On the other marriage has gotten to be reduced more or less to a contract between a man and a woman to live together, not because of love, but because of "convenience." The man wants a housekeeper or a home-body and in return for her services is responsible for keeping up the establishment and seeing that his wife is well-provided with dresses and tinsels. Mercenery considerations are not only the keynote of a large percentages of the marriages, but of "engagement" and of divorce as well. It is not at all an unusual thing to read in the American newspapers of women suing their suitors for "breach of promise" to marry them. Almost every week accounts are given of trials where women claim so many dollars apiece for every kiss they have bestowed upon some man who, according to their fancy at the time, basked in their favour.

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Few American women have their curiosity under good control. On the sidewalk, in the street car, in theatres and public places, everywhere, they are apt to boldly look on foreigners—especially on the Asiatics—in a manner that is intensely annoying. The deportment of the American woman in public appears extremly anomalous to a foreigner. I was once present in a criminal court in the city of Chicago, when a woman who had killed a man, who had been falsely maligning her name, was acquitted, when a young woman rushed to the acquitted person and impulsively threw her arms around her. Then she made a rush for the Bench, and the following colloquy took place :—

"Oh, I could just hug your honor, too", she impetuously exclaimed.

"The Court is an old man—and a married man," gasped the judge.

"But it was so dear of you to let her go," rejoined the woman, still advancing toward the judge.

The Judge slipped into his chambers and before slamming the door tight shut was heard to say :—

"It would not do at all—not here, anyway".

The writer knew of a young Punjabee who, wherever he went about in America, was impudently "noticed" by men and women. The street-boys were apt to sing after him, as he passed by :—

"Cocoa Macola,
There goes a Crazy-ola !"

and make fun of him in diverse ways. For a few weeks he pocketed these insults quietly ; but the men, women and children of the neighbourhood began to grow bolder. This led him to settle on a plan which solved all his difficulties. The next time he went out, a young woman sitting in the seat opposite him looked at him steadfastly for a minute or two. He quietly took his hat from off his head, bowed and smiled, boldly stepped across the aisle and, without a tremour in his voice, said to the woman : "Glad to meet you once again ; but I have not the slightest recollection where I met you last." The woman merely answered that she did not know him at all ; but she took good care to exaggerate the story amongst the neighbours about "that horrid Hindu's impudence"—with the result that the Punjabee gentlemen was never again molested.

(*To be concluded.*)

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THOMAS FARRER—THE FATHER OF BENGAL BARRISTERS.

By Mr. Shambhoo Chander Dey, B. L.

At a time when the first Indian Advocate-Geveral of Bengal has been appointed as a successor of Macanlay, Peacock, Maine, Stephen and Ilbert, a sketch of Thomas Farrer, the first member of the English bar who practised as an Advocate at Calcutta and who played a memorable part in the historic trial of Nand Kumar, will interest the readers of the *Hindustan Review*. Sir John Day, notwithstanding that he was the first Advocate-General, was not the first Advocate of Bengal. That credit is due to the subject of this short sketch. Thomas Farrer was not only a thorough master of the advocate's art, he was also the introducer of advocacy in India. No gownsman of the bar had trod Indian soil before him. It was he who showed the way and his good example has been followed by others whose name is now legion. Thus, the proud title by which we have designated Farrer does not in reality ill-become him.

On being duly called to the Bar, Mr. Farrer had commenced practice in his native country but not finding the prospect very hopeful, he sought for "fresh fields and pastures new." About this time an opportunity presented itself the like of which never existed before. By the Regulating Act commonly called Lord North's Act, provisions were made for the establishment of a Supreme Council and a Supreme Court in India. Young Farrer thought that the opportunity was too good to be lost, and he therefore readily availed himself of it. Colonel Monson was one of the Councillors appointed to assist the first Governor-General, Warren Hastings, in the administration of Indian affairs, and as Mr. Farrer was a man of letters and a lawyer to boot, he was taken in as his Secretary. Mr. Farrer, accordingly, came out in that capacity, but as his object was to take to the legal profession, he on his arrival in this country soon put off the Secretary's coat and donned the gown of the Barrister. He was the first to get himself enrolled as an Advocate of the newly-formed Supreme Court at Calcutta. In fact he was enrolled on the very day the Court sat for the first time. When Mr. Farrer entered the forensic arena in this distant land, there was none either to

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oppose him or to act in concert. He was the sole "cock of the walk," to use a colloquial expression, and he found himself "the monarch of all he surveyed" in the new field. Indeed, his position was exactly that of Sergeant Benlowes in the glorious reign of "good Queen Bess," who was the only Counsel at the Common Pleas Bar for some time. When Benlowes was the one solitary Counsel at that Bar, he was permitted, through pure necessity, to argue both for the plaintiff and the defendant, he getting ten groats only from each party. Whether some such permission was given to Mr. Farrer while he was the sole man of law at the Supreme Court bar is not known to us; but if the case was otherwise one party must have been placed at a very serious disadvantage. But this very undesirable state of things did not last long and as a matter of fact on the 14th December of the same year, two other gentlemen got themselves enrolled as Advocates of the Court. These were Christian Frederick Brix and Charles Newman, of whom the latter highly distinguished himself, no less by his ability than by his independence. This legal triumvirate, if one might say so, grew up to "mystic nine" in the course of the next three years. In this way the numerical strength of the profession went on increasing, and in proportion to its increase in strength there was increase in its dignity and importance. While Mr. Farrer was at the Calcutta bar he ruled the roost, there being none who was quite a match for him. He was a man of considerable ability with a fair share of the knowledge of his profession. In the year following his admission into the Supreme Court, he found a very good opportunity for displaying his parts and legal lore. In that troublous year Maharaja Nanda Kumar whose name has come down not certainly with unsullied reputation, but who was undeniably one of the most influential Natives of his time, was committed to the Sessions on a very serious charge, namely, that of forging a solemn document. According to English Law as it then stood, the offence was punishable with the extreme penalty imposed by it. No wonder, then, that the case created great sensation and the native community were quite alarmed. The accused, Nanda Kumar, had both good and bad points in his character, but in his sudden unexpected scrape the dark side was thrown on the background, thereby rendering by force of contrast the bright side very prominent. As the great accused possessed a long purse, the best professional aid available in

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Calcutta was taken in hand. Mr. Farrer, the acknowledged leader of the Bar, was engaged for the defence, and he was given as his junior, Mr. C. F. Brix, who also had a good name in the profession. The trial took place before Chief Justice Sir Elijah Impey, and his three colleagues, Mr. Justice Chambers, Mr. Justice Hyde and Mr. Justice Le Maistre, and a jury of twelve British subjects; the Crown being represented by Mr. Hercules Durham, who, though he bore a mighty name, was no match for Farrer, or even his adjutant, Brix. The trial commenced on the 8th June, and it was the first of its kind in the country. The Court House was crowded to suffocation and the sensation had spread so very far and wide that people had come to witness the grand spectacle from distant places. Sir John Kaye in his famous article on Sir Elijah Impey has so graphically described the scene that we cannot resist the temptation of reproducing it here. He writes :—

The Court was densely crowded. In the suffocating month of June—just before the first falls of rain freshen the arid, dust-charged earth and revive the languid energies of prostrate humanity, Nuncomar was formally arraigned. Men of different countries and of all classes, regardless of the exhausting heat, thronged into the sultry court. The European and Native communities were alike interested in the issue of the trial. The Company's servants, Civil and Military, of all ranks, made their way into the Court-House, and the natives of Calcutta and the surrounding country, the highest and the wealthiest, jostled and strained and sweated, with outstretched necks, eager to catch a sight of the new judges, in their robes of office, and of the exalted culprit, by many hated and by many feared. The Chief Justice and the three Puisne Judges were on the bench; Mr. Farrer and Mr. Brix, two of the most eminent English lawyers in the settlement, were retained for the prisoner. The counsel did not question the competency of the court. Nuncomar did not doubt it. The principal witness, Mohun Persad, was called in; and stated his case with great distinctness. Witness followed witness. Evidence was accumulated upon evidence. It was made clear to the Court, to all the assembled spectators that Nuncomar had been guilty, not of one act of forgery, but of many. His own witnesses were called in; and the grossness of his iniquity was rendered more and more apparent to all present. New lies were told—new perjuries committed—nay, indeed, new forgeries were perpetrated. There is always an unlimited amount of false swearing to be obtained in India at the smallest possible price. Nuncomar made the most of this facility, but his witnesses swore to no purpose. The trial was an unusually long one. There was no limit to the swearing; and there were two languages spoken in Court. The necessity of interpreting every word greatly protracted the natural length of the proceedings.

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Thus the trial dragged its slow length along, and it was not over before eight long days had run their lingering course. Mr. Farrer fought hard for his client, exhausting all the armoury of his vast legal arsenal; but all his efforts proved vain and fruitless. He failed to convince the court that Nanda Kumar was innocent of the charge which had been laid at his door; and that even if he was found guilty, he could not be sentenced to death according to the law applicable in his case. Indeed, no man of ordinary comprehension with the Regulating Act and Letters Patent before him, can so interpret the clauses of either as to arrive at a conviction that a British subject, like Nanda Kumar—one actually in the service of Government—was not amenable to the English Law. Accordingly that Brahman of Brahmans and Native of Natives, whose smile was fortune and whose frown was death, was made to suffer once for all for his manifold misdeeds committed at times in the course of his long eventful career. He was found guilty of the offence, under which he was arraigned, by the highest tribunal in the land, and was sentenced to be hanged by the common hangman. But even after this cruel sentence was passed, Mr. Farrer did not altogether give up his client's case for lost. He went on exerting on his behalf, and taking hope from despair, moved in arrest of judgment. But here too ill success attended him, and his motion was rejected. He then filed a petition of appeal; and when that also shared the same fate with the others, tried to get the jury to recommend the prisoner to mercy. But all the twelve Englishmen in a body gave a deaf ear to his prayer. Thus, though Mr. Farrer left no stone unturned to serve his client; he could not achieve even a modicum of success. The great Bengalee, who was the most notable character of his day, was hanged by the neck on the 5th August, much to the terror and amazement of the people. The general impression was that Nanda Kumar had not had quite a fair trial, and Macaulay only gave intensity to this popular feeling by condemning the execution as "a judicial murder," and representing Sir Elijah Impey as "a fiend in human shape and a very contemptible one."

But both Sir James Fitz James Stephen and Sir Henry Maine, whose knowledge of law, Indian as well as English, was far superior to that of the great Essayist and Historian, have acquitted Impey of the very serious charge which could be laid

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at the door of a judicial officer. Indeed, this seems to be the prevailing opinion in the present day. But the trial of Nanda Kumar was not the only celebrated case in which Mr. Farrer was engaged. In fact, in his time there did not crop up any important case, civil or criminal, in which his services, so much prized by Natives and Europeons alike, were not availed of by one side or the other. And, although as a matter of fact, he practised in India for barely four years, he had acquired a large fortune with which he could retire at ease; and retire he did; and on his return to England in March, 1778, commenced living almost like a prince. But as he had still considerable energies left in him, he sought to enter that magnificent temple of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," namely, the British Parliament, and, well able as he was to meet election expenses which are proverbially high, found no difficulty in getting into the House of Commons, which he did as member for Wareham. While Mr. Farrer held his seat in that grand Assembly of the People, an attempt was made to impeach Sir Elijah Impey of high crimes and misdemeanours. Amongst others Mr. Farrer was examined as a witness. In fact, he was examined twice over, once in 1781, and again in 1788. On the first occasion he deposed that the execution of Nanda Kumar had caused general terror and dismay. This statement has been contradicted by Sir James Fitz James Stephen in his well-known work on *Nand Coomar and Impey*, where he has recorded that nobody sympathised with Nanda Kumar. But Farrer's words which, from the fact of his having defended the latter and fought tooth and nail for him, are entitled to very great weight, have been borne out by Major Rennell, Captain Cowie, Messrs. Mills, Baker and Goring and Captain Price. In 1788 Mr. Farrer in his evidence stated that there was a petition made by Shambhu Nath on behalf of Nanda Kumar, whose cousin he was. Thus it seems that no pains were spared to get Nanda Kumar out of the mire; but as the Fates were evidently against him, all attempts proved idle and infructuous.

Mr. Farrer held his seat in the House of Commons for a considerable period and was regarded as an authority on Indian affairs. This is best shown by his being appointed a member of a Parliamentary Committee which sat to investigate what was known as the "Patna Cause," along with some others; and the importance of that committee might be easily inferred from the fact of the great orator, Edmund Burke, having been on it and taken a prominent part in its business In fact, Mr. Farrer was a notable "commoner" and was held in general esteem, not a little of which was owing to his having possessed a princely fortune. But Death is no respecter of persons, so that when the tenure of his earthly life expired, he was summoned away from this world unto the next. Mr. Farrer was a self-made man. He lived in ease and happiness and died full of years and honours.

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THE LAST OF THE GREAT MOGHULS.

By Mr. Anant Prasad, B. L.

THE way in which the tottering Moghul Empire came to an abrupt close and the manner in which the intentions of our present rulers to bereave the last of the Great Moghuls, Abul Mozuffer Serajuddin Mohammad Bahadur Shah Ghazee, commonly known as Bahadur Shah, of all the show and splendour and power with which they had invested him were carried out forms one of the most instructive chapters in Indian History.

On the 18th of December 1806, the feeble and blind Emperor Shah Alam who was rescued from the hands of the Maharattas to become a "pensioner" a "peasant," and a "puppet" in the hands of the Company died and was succeeded by his son Akbar the second. He was getting a monthly stipend, and some show of splendour was attached to him by allowing him to exercise limited kingly powers round about Delhi.

Akbar Shah could not make the two ends meet by the pension that was allowed him and he sent Raja Ram Mohan Roy to England to represent his greivances before the Court of Directors. The Raja's mission proved fruitless, though the Court of Directors agreed to increase the pension on certain conditions which were too humiliating to be accepted by the descendant of the great Baber. The *nazzer* which according to custom the European officers of the Government used to pay to the Emperor was by and by stopped.

On the 28th of September, 1837 Akbar II died and was succeeded by his son, Bahadur Shah, who was already sixty-four years of age when he came to the throne. Four years before he had married the lovely and accomplished Zeenut Mahal, a daughter of the Raja of Bhutneer, then in her sixteenth year. She is represented to have been a highly gifted lady and weilded as great an influence on the mind of Bahadur Shah as the illustrious Nurjahan did on the mind of Jahangir, and she would have played the Nurjahan, had it fallen to the lot of her husband to rule the Empire as Jahangir did. But Zeenut Mahal shines forth in the dark days of the Moghul Empire as Nurjahan does in the zenith of its glory. Submitting cheerfully to all the misfortunes that clouded round herself and her old husband, she proved to be a ministering angel to the Great Moghul in his last days. Mr. Keene speaks quite disrespectfully of her and thinks that she was "the probable originator of all the troubles." *He is evidently

* *Vide* "The Last of his Line" by H. G. Keene, C.I.E., I.C.S. (retired)—*East and West*, Vol. VIII, No. 87 (January), pp 73 to 82.

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smarting under a sense of wrong at her hands and seems to have been carried away by prejudices natural to English writers. But those who have no national prejudices to warp their judgment may come to a different conclusion, they may find much to love and admire in that unfortunate woman—a woman who alone felt for her country and her people, who conducted political negotiations with a courage and ability surpassing many of the sterner sex, who faced with calm resignation Fortune's merciless blasts and at last, when all was lost, determined like a true Indian wife to share the miserable exile of her old husband. Such was the beautiful Zeenut Mahal—"a prodigy to her nation and a glory to her sex."

It was during the short-lived reign of this monarch that Lord Dalhousie was racking his brain to hit upon a singular plan to deprive the great Moghul of even the semblance of power and authority with which the Company's Government had invested him and even to drive him out of his ancestral palace. He sent suggestions to England that the titular dignities of the Great Moghul should be put an end to after the death of Bahadur Shah, and that he (Bahadur Shah) should be made to vacate the Imperial Palace of Delhi as soon as possible. He undertook to accomplish the latter by inducement but if that did not succeed, he saw no reason why pressure should not be applied and consent obtained by the threat of stopping his monthly pension. Be it said to the credit of the then Court of Directors that they thought these measures to be "ungenerous and unwise," but their opinion was vetoed by the Board of Control, who gave full powers to the Governor-General to carry these measures into effect. But the manner in which his suggestions were received by the Court of Directors made Lord Dalhousie pause and take the opinion of his Council. After mature deliberation he sent a despatch to England "recommending that affairs should remain unchanged during the life-time of the present king, that the prince Fakir Uddin should be acknowledged as successor to the Royal title, but that advantage should be taken of the pretensions of a rival claimant to the titular dignity to obtain the desired concessions from the acknowledged head of the family—that inducements should be held out to him to leave the Palace and reside in the Kutub (about twelve miles from Delhi) and that if necessary this advantage should be purchased by the grant of an additional stipend."* Prince Fakir-ud-din was the next heir after the death of the heir-apparent, Prince Dara Bakht, but Zeenut Mahal with all a mother's partiality wanted to put forth the claims of her own son, Prince Juma Bukht and would have carried out her purpose had not the British interfered. While rightly acknowledging Prince Fakiruddin as the heir-apparent, Lord

*Kaye and Malleson's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Cabinet Ed. (1896), Vol. II, pp. 10-20.

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Dalhousie wanted to kill two birds at one stroke—advantage should be taken of the pretentions of a rival claimant to the titular dignity to obtain the desired concession, which consisted in making the Prince drop the title of Emperor and assume that of Shahzada and leave the Palace and reside at Kutub. Prince Fakiruddin died and Zeenut Mahal prevailed over the Emperor to acknowledge her son as heir-apparent, but this was vetoed by the Company's Government and Mirza Mohammad Khorash was fixed upon as the heir-apparent, but all negotiations both about his heirship and the "desired concessions" were agreed to be stopped during the lifetime of the present king. These were the plans settled by the Company's Government when the Indian Mutiny broke out and changed the whole aspect of affairs.*

On the 11th May 1857 the outbreak extended upto Delhi and the mutineers surrounded the Palace-gate and demanded of old Bahadur Shah to be their king and leader. Bahadur Shah streneously refused to join them and implored Captain Douglas, Commandant of the Palace guards who wanted to descend and speak to the troopers not to do so lest his life be sacrificed†. But his own guards turned traitors and opened the Palace-gate to the mutineers. The old Emperor was completely at the mercy of the mutineers and on pain of death, in the event of refusal, he was proclaimed Emperor of India. From the 11th May to the 8th June when the British troops arrived, Delhi was completely at the mercy of the mutineers who committed all sorts of excesses in the Emperor's name. The aged monarch tore his beard and white hair and implored the vengeance of Providence on the authors of his ruin, the beautiful Zeenut Mahal, though she had little cause to be satisfied with the British, did her best to protect the European ladies and children in the palace. Fearful pictures have been drawn by prejudiced writers as to the effect that the Englishmen and the ladies were dragged before the Emperor and brutalities committed on them, but impartial writers tell a different tale. "It was stated and for some time believed that the English ladies had been dragged before the king and either murdered in his presence or by his orders, and some highly dramatic incidents have been published illustrative of this complicity of the Moghul in the first murders, but there is not the least foundation for these stories. On the other hand it is in evidence that Captain Douglas shortly before his death, sent a message to the king, requesting him to send palanquins to remove the ladies to the *Queen's apartments* and that he did so but too late."‡ During the

*Kaye and Malleson's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Cabinet Ed. (1896), pp. 13-24.

†Kaye and Malleson's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II, Cabinet Ed. (1896), p. 58.

‡Kaye and Malleson's *History of the Indian Mntiny*, Vol. II, Cabinet Ed. (1896) p. 61—foot-note).

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Emperor's trial afterwards it was wholly manifest that the aged monarch was as powerless against the mutineers as he was against the British. At last after three months of continued warfare Delhi was re-taken after a severe struggle, General Nicholson giving his life in the attempt. The drama that was enacted afterwards by the victors baffles description. Never since the day of Nadir Shah, Delhi had witnessed such wholesale massacre and indiscriminate slaughter. The innocent inhabitants who stood quite aloof from the mutineers were put to the sword. "Revenge" was on the lips of every European. "Many who had never struck a blow against us," says Sir John Kaye,* "who had tried to follow their peaceful pursuits, who had been plundered and buffetted by their own armed countrymen, were pierced by our bayonetts or cloven by our sabres, or brained by our muskets or rifles. So it sometimes happened that during the first days of our occupation of Delhi, many innocent men were shot down or otherwise massacred. Some of the best and bravest of our officers sanctioned, if they did not take part in these outrages."

Delhi was thus pillaged by the victors but where was the Great Moghul? Calm and austere, accompanied by the beautiful Zeenut Mahal and his sons, surrounded by a band of faithful retainers, the old Emperor took shelter for life in the mausoleum of his great ancestor, Humayun, as his immediate ancestors had done after death.† Some of his own relatives betrayed him, whose descendants still enjoy large grants of lands from the British Government in Delhi. A party of troopers about fifty in number was despatched to arrest him with directions to grant him his life and freedom from personal indignity, at the head of which was Hudson of the Hudson's Horse, "Daring, reckless and unscrupulous" this Hudson was a ferocious personage, "in him human suffering awoke no feeling, the shedding of blood caused him no pang, the taking of life brought him no remorse."‡ Hudson was sorry that he was not given the privilege of shedding the royal blood of the House of Timur. The accomplished Zeenut Mahal settled the terms with the conqueror after great discussion and the Great Moghul submitted himself. Hudson treated him barbarously, quite opposed to the promises of freedom from personal indignity, peremptorily ordered him to give up all his personal armours and, thus stripped, brought him before his general Archdale Wilson, who refused to see him and deputed his Aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Turnbull, to see him placed under a European guard in the Begum's Palace,

*Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War*, Vol. III (2nd Ed.) pages 635-636.

†Alamgir II, Shah Alam and Farukhseer are buried in Humayun's tomb, they could not afford separate mausoleums for themselves.

‡Kaye and Malleson's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Cabinet Ed. (1896) Vol. IV, page 52.

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which order Turnbull promptly executed.* Hudson was next deputed to bring the Emperor's two sons and a grandson from the same place and though they had three thousand followers, they quitely submitted themselves. Yet when they had proceeded at some distance and were within a mile of Delhi the ferocious Hudson rushed to their chariot, stripped them to their under-garments, and "taking a carbine from the hands of a trooper, he shot dead his three unresisting captives."† Mr. Justin McCarthy thus comments on the incident :

There was no evidence whatever of the princes' having taking any part in the massacre of Europeans in Delhi ; that even if evidence to that effect were forthcoming, Hudson did not wait for or ask for it, and that the share taken by the princes in an effort to restore the dynasty of their ancestors, however it might have justified some sternness of punishment on the part of the British Government, was not a crime of that order which is held in civilised warfare to put the life of its author at the mercy of any one who captures him, when the strugge is all over and the reign of law is safe. One cannot read the history of this Indian Mutiny without coming to the conclusion that in the minds of Englishmen a temporary prostration of the moral sense took place, under the influence of which they came to regard the measure of the enemy's guilt as the standard for the right of retaliation, and to hold that if he had no conscience they were thereby released from the necessity of having any. As Mr. Disraeli puts it, they were making Nana Saheb the model for the British Officer to imitate.‡

The fallen Moghul was then confined in a small room in the Delhi Palace, while the preparations for his trial were going on. He was allowed only a small *charpoy* to lie down upon, while his ladies were all huddled together in another small room near by. Mr. Keene says that "the place of confinement was by no means luxurious but it was at least free from inhuman condition". Now the Emperor was visited by many distinguished persons at this period and each has testified to the wretched condition in which he was kept. Bahadur Shah, with his accomplished queen, bore his misfortunes bravely. On 27th of January 1858 the Emperor's trial began before a Military Commission in the Dewan-i-Khas of his own palace. On the 9th of March the Vakil for the Emperor declared in his Royal Master's name that "he did not recognise the authority of the tribunal before which he (the Emperor) had been brought and therefore declined to make answer to any charge against him.§ Mr. H. G. Keene says that "as he had made no demur to the jurisdiction of the Court there was only one line of defence open to him." Mr. Keene appears to

*Kaye and Malleson's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. IV, page 54.

†Kaye and Malleson's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. IV, Cabinet Ed. page 56.

‡*History of Our Own Times* quoted in *Historian's History of the World*. Vol. XXII, pp. 188-189.

§Martin's *Indian Empire*, Vol. II, page 134.

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concede so far that had he made demur to the jurisdiction of the Court, he probably would have had a good defence. Now we have on the authority of Mr. Robert Montogomery Martin that he did make such a defence. While the great tribunal was engaged in taking down evidence and considering the possibilites and probabilities of the facts before them, the last of the Great Moghuls, it is said, was writing down with a piece of charcoal a *holi* song since become famous—on the walls of the Dewan-i-Khas :—*Aj Hind main kaisi holi machi hai.* This gives us a glimpse of the tenor of his mind at the greatest crisis of his life. It bespeaks a great soul, a true descendant of Babar, Humayun and the illustrious Akbar. It shows the stuff of which the Great Moghul was made. Though his life had been promised him he was fully apprised of the fate that awaited him. He knew that there can be wretchedness worse than death and from the doings of the conqueror after the qelling of the mutiny at Delhi, he knew full well the people with whom he had to deal with ; yet with a courage worthy of him and his noble ancestory, he defied the tribunal that sat to try him. The law Courts can have no jurisdiction over an independent Monarch, much less a Military Commission. Bahadur Shah had exercised kingly powers, though for a short time only, had accepted Nuzzers from the same persons "who came with bated breath and whispering humbleness before him." He showed his true Moghul blood in refusing to recognise the authority of the court which tried hin. He behaved as Charles I behaved in refusimg to recognise the authority of the great tribunal of Cromwell, and if that has "half redeemed his fame," I believe Bahadur Shah's refusal casts an air of sacredness on the last days of one of the greatest Empires in the world. And were the victors fully justified in thus treating the descendant of him who granted to them the Dewani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa ? Perhaps they were, perhaps the Great Moghul exercised a very great influence upon the people of India and would have used it against the conquerors at any moment. Perhaps the individual cases of tyranny of the Moghuls were far counterbalanced by the collective prosperity their rule conferred upon the country and hence the house of Baber had engrafted itself deeply into the hearts and affections of the people. Perhaps self-interest demanded and policy dictated the killing out of the germs of the restoration of the Moghul Empire so that the mighty British Government be firmly established and consolidated for the good of the country. Whatever the cause, the Great Moghul was given a semblance of as trial and condemend to pass the rest of his days in Burma.

Then came the momentous time when the last of the Great Moghuls had to bid farewell to his native land, the land which he and his ancestor had ruled for so many centuries. In October 1859 he was taken to Calcutta and accompanied by the lovely Zeenut Mahal, her son and another wife, the aged monarch was sent to a most dismal place in Burma, Tonghoo, about three hundred miles from Rangoon where he ended the remaining years of his miserable existence. Thus passed away the last remnant of the house of Tamerlane. In his last act he behaved as the last of the Moghuls should have behaved and fully maintained the honour and reputation of the Great Moghul Empire.

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THE PRISONER OF LUST.*

By Mr. F. S. Doctor.

Nadir contrives the murder of his brother and King Dara and imputes the crime to Sanjar, the heir-apparent. Mehar Bano, the Queen, suspects treachery. On behalf of Kaiser, Nadir assumes Regency.

Meher Bano.—The worlds are silent; all is lifeless this dark night. My heart is in a tumult; my soul roars; my hand is tyrannous. In my hand this knife, and at its mercy his life. Dagger! Good dagger! help me as long as you are with me. We both are feminine. To a woman's succour a woman must come; a helplessness must have a common sorrow. What am I doing? Hell's hound! In his wicked heart touching his sinful blood the knife will bear the stain of impiety. No, no! Shall Meher let go the viper that it bite Sanjar? Earth, you are the mother of all. Take then the blood of him who made your daughter a widow, who conspires to make a sorrowing mother. (Enters Kazal). Good knife, I will wash your stain with my tears. Come, help me now. But once, once, rend his wicked heart. Lightening like fall and burn this thorn. From this tyrant, from this second Zohak, from this wicked being render the earth holy.....

Kazal.—What folly is this? Your conduct grieves me much. What makes you now on murder bent? Your heart was purer than light, what makes it burning fire?

Meher.—It grieves me too why the peacock has turned its feathers into a serpent's coil. What I took for a rose, what makes it now a thorn?

Kazal.—What, Madam?

Meher.—Held a mirror before Satan!

Kazal.—Does Madam doubt my loyalty?

Meher.—God's justice never errs. In the pasture of Earth what you had to sow you have sown. Now will come the fruit. Every act has its counterpart; every misdeed its punishment. High-headed creature over your head is an Almighty.

Nadir (Nadir wakens).—Who? Meher, a dagger!

Kazal.—My lord, some virtue barred its way. Good Fate has saved your life.

Meher.—Time has turned traitor and saved you. When God's justice like a knife hangs on your head none will save your soul. God's wrath is mightier than all things; it makes a viper like you a

*The scene is translated from a composite drama in Hindustani by Agha Mahomed Hashra, based partly on *Richard III* and *King John*.

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tame peacock. Some Fate has preserved your life, but when God's death comes your fate would be a futile shield.

Nadir.—Are you mad? Have you lost your senses? Stupid, foolish Meher, what is this? (Points at the dagger.)

Meher.—You.

Nadir.—I?

Meher.—Nadir.

Nadir.—Nadir.

Meher.—Yes, Nadir. Nadir's form, his shape, his soul, his life. There is no mercy in it; so too in you. It recognizes neither friend nor foe; so too you. Its face is white but its innerself is black; so too your dark soul belies your face.

Nadir.—Meher!

Meher.—It wars, and you are tyranrous; it creates mischief and you beget strife; it is quick and sharp like you in tyranny: blood-stained in heart as your own soul is. The one's life it is fire and you are lightning. Certes you are all alike; a span marks you. (Points the distance.)

Nadir.—Foolish woman! It is not I, it is you, your form. Like you this dagger is feminine; like you oppressive. Both of you are blind, both murderous. This knife is no less than you; you are no weaker than it. You, you, you are the dagger not I.

Meher.—Yes, I am daggerlike. I am not that dagger which runs through orphans and widows; nor that butcher's knife which sheds the blood of innocent ones. I am that dagger that kills the monstrous tyrant; I am that surgeon's knife which separating diseased limbs relieves the suffering mortal. I am fire but that which lits darkness. I am poison, but what physicians mix. All shun dust and earth, but I am that dust with which fair faces *surmeh* their eyes.

Nadir.—Senseless! blind! are you blind, brainless that you come with knife in hand to kill me? Would it not bring you death?

Meher.—The sinful who fear treading God's presence fear death. Death is mercy that relieves oppressed souls. Too like a *bulbul* in a huntsman's snare the good in this bad world always grieve. When Death's angel comes they bid him cheerful welcome. Others grieve and weep; but they leave the world smiling.

Nadir.—Should you not show me just reason for this murderous attempt, you would leave this world aweeping.

Meher.—Reason.

Nadir.—What crime have I committed?

Meher.—What sin have you not committed?

Nadir.—I swear I have committed no crime.

Meher.—By what?

Nadir.—Mine heart.

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Meher.—It is traitrous and deceitful.

Nadir.—By my head.

Meher.—On it hangs the burden of your sins.

Nadir.—By the angels.

Meher.—They say you are treacherous.

Nadir.—Well, I swear by God.

Meher.—God trembles at you.

Nadir.—Enough, enough. Give me plain answer what brought you in my chamber dagger in hand? At it my heart fumes. (Snatches away the dagger).

Meher.—Seeing you cruel and stonehearted my heart fumes a thousandfold.

Nadir.—To be angry needlessly.

Meher.—To forget salvation for worldly things.

Nadir.—Why this faithlessness with your brother.

Meher.—Oh, I ask you, why, why?

Nadir.—The people know my loyalty. What reason have you to stain it?

Meher.—You have uprooted the tree whose fruit you have tasted.

Nadir.—Who challenges my loyalty?

Meher.—Faith.

Nadir.—Who bears witness against me?

Meher.—A whole world.

Nadir.—You are not capable of distinguishing good from evil. There is no brain in your head, no sense in it.

Meher.—I am a woman and senseless, but you lack faith.

Nadir.—You shall repent of it.

Meher.—Yes, await the end.

Nadir.—Foolish woman.

Meher.—Tyrant.

Nadir.—Senseless creature.

Meher.—Murderer.

Nadir.—You attribute that sin to me which I will never forgive.

Meher.—Not angel's tears will wash the stain of blood on your soul. When your sword carried out your murderous intent the earth trembled and the heavens shook. The day of judgment is drawing nigh; murder will out; a hundred tongues will proclaim it. There, there is blood on your sleeve.

Nadir.—Is it possible for a brother to murder a brother?

Meher.—Would a son kill his father?

Nadir.—Yes, just as Sanjar did?

Meher.—You lie. Life's wine was not spilt by him whom I begot. You brokethe cup of wine. A whole sea by you was dried for a

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single pearl; for a flower you ruined the garden. Your service clipped my wings; to gain sovereignty you devastated a kingdom.

Nadir.—Well, since you force the sin on me I say, yes. What then? What man does here for lordship and wealth is not sinful nor unjust.

Meher.—Man casts not thorns in another's path. He who does it does ill.

Nadir.—You are mistaken. Proverty is a disease, wealth its anodyne. It is a poison, wealth a sweet nectar. Wealth crowns man's hopes. Were it not blasphemous to say, Mammon is my God.

Meher.—What use would riches be when you are in your grave? Will they bear you company? Where are the jewel-bearing pits of Karoon? Where are the pomp and grandeur of Jam and Kisra? Why are they in dark pits? Where is the light of their gems and jewels? None ask you there why empty headed you came. The palace that shone in grandeur is turned to ruins to-day. The house-holder is in the grave, and on his door destruction's lock.

Nadir.—Well, well, nothing is permanent here: all things die. Where is that wealth or estate which accompanies man to his grave?

Meher.—Man's virtues...his good deeds.

Nadir.—Virtues and deeds by money are bought. Money buys food for the hungry, clothes for the naked. Money builds mosques for prayer, hospitals for the sick, caravanseries for travellers, wells for the thirsty. Money buys a thousand virtues. With ill-begotten wealth I will wash away its sins. The lord of the land can buy all men's virtues.

Meher.—Selfish soul! What matters if a thousand virtues or a single virtue be in you. It is the inclination of the mind that reaps virtue's fruits.

Nadir.—Man is born to spread his blooded youth; he is born to live in luxuries, to roll in riches, to rule and command. Virtue and vice are but thorn in a man's life.

Meher.—Life! Yes, what is life? Life is a breath's existence. It is a puff of wind, a bubble of water, a twinkle of the eye; a flash of lightning; a mere dream. With the awakening you find yourselves in the grave. As the miseries of morn remind the drunkard of the night's debauch, too like the sins of this life would torment you in the hereafter. What is this unholy frame of thine?

Nadir.—What care if it be tomb or hell. This kingdom shall be mine; on its coins my head will run current. Ere my head is in the grave a crown shall adorn it.

Meher.—That shall never be. Till I live the crown shall go to the rightful heir. If treachery dispossess Sanjar of it, it will rest on the head of Kaiser.

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Nadir.—If you will like that, that light too will be extinguished. One eye will weep for Sanjar; the other will shed bitter tears for Kaiser. Kazal, run; bring him here.

Meher.—Despot..... !

(Exit Kazal).

Nadir.—Folly-brained! I am a lion whose roar would drown the voice of the world. I am a fire whose least contact would burn you to ashes. You three had seen the light of the world in your turn; one grave will find you dead.

Meher.—God! my God! Is it for this thou givest strength to tyrants!

Nadir.—Yes, to this end I have taken birth.

Meher.—You biting thorn! He who to-day round others throws a hedge of miseries to-morrow will be hedged in.

Nadir.—Silent! What I have said shall happen.

(Enters Sherjang).

Sherjang.—God willing that shall never be. Should you forget all lives end? Should you forget what happened to Shadad and Nimrod. The world is His who creates and protects. With him over head no harm happens to Sanjar.

Nadir.—Hare-brained! What brought you here?

Sherjang.—Faith and Justice brought me here.

Nadir.—What right have you to come here?

Sherjang.—To guide the stumblings of a blind man.

Nadir.—Blind!

Sherjang.—Yes, he who is Satan's disciple; whose ways are crooked.

Nadir.—Your tongue is not given for loud talking.

Sherjang.—Your heart is not given for treachery. Have you been sent to earth to show your faithlessness?

Nadir.—Yes, to this end I have been sent here. If God had not sown in me avarice, ambition, wrath, passion, violence, would I have been a prey to this world's temptations? If God had not given me the sense to revel in blood and a vigorous hand to wield the sword, would I have shed a man's life blood. Is it the elephant's fault that it treads down an innocent beast? Is it the falling stone's sin that it crushes a man's limb? Whatever the gardener sows blossoms forth in the early morning.

Meher.—Cruel-hearted! God with darkness has given light also. If virtue and vice are equally planted in man, to conquer them goodness and sense are bestowed on him.

Sherjang.—Violence is to crush tyrants; strength to save the afflicted; wrath and passion to consume the evil in man; avarice to gather and amass good deeds; eyes to save a blind man from

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scumbling; heart to feel pity for the compassionate; hands to extend them wide in charities; feet to tread in the ways of God; head to lay it down in God's service.

Nadir.—Stop prattling, you fool.

Sherjang.—Cease your murderous intent.

Nadir.—Discourteous fool!

Meher.—Not a fratricide.

Nadir.—You are mad.

Meher.—But I am not wicked.

Nadir.—Death hangs on your head.

Sherjang.—On yours blood trickles.

Nadir.—How long will you talk like this.

Sherjang.—Till the last breath in me.

Nadir.—This breath will not last long. This is rank folly.

Meher.—No, it is faithfulness.

Nadir.—Who believes it?

Sherjang.—The true and the good?

Nadir.—Who is pleased with it?

Sherjang.—God.

Nadir.—Silent! not a word more. I am an evil thing. You know me not. Like Fate I will wipe you out of this earth; I will pound you to ashes.

Sherjang.—Ah! Will your tyranny make my heart treacherous. My lips will breathe what my heart holds. Grind me to ashes and dust and my dust will be fragrant of *Faithfulness.*

Meher.—God! Send him thoughts of goodness. Be shamed! Learn from him the lesson of faithfulness.

Nadir.—A better lesson will I teach to my little dagger; so fine a lesson it will communicate to Sanjar that you will remember it to your life's end.

(Enters Kazal with child).

Meher.—My Child.

Kaiser.—Mother!

(Nadir intervening santches the child).

Meher.—Oh God!

Sherjang.—You have a devil's soul to tyrranise the helpless, Satan, here is a widow: and this an orphan.

Meher.—Tear to pieces my weeping heart; break my limb; put out my eyes; burn me to ashes and kick them with your feet; for God's love give me back my child.

Nadir.—You desire a kingdom: I will show you the pageant. This night will find him a corpse; to-morrow Sanjar, Kazal take him away.

Sherjang.—Not till I live. I will quench your thirst for blood.

Nadir.—And here I drink it. (Stabs him to death).

Sherjang.—God's mercy. (Dies).

Curtain.

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THE BOOK OF THE MONTH : THE BRITISH IN EGYPT.

La Mort de Philæ (*The Death of Philæ*) by Pierre Loti, Paris 1908, Fr. 3. 5. (Rs. 2-1-0.)

By Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc.

"In his capacity for transferring to the printed page the landscape and the atmosphere of a country and in harmonising these externals with the soul of its people, Pierre Loti is at present without a peer in France—in the whole world, perhaps, now that our own Lafcadio Hearn is no more," writes Mr. Alvan F. Sanborn in the New York *Times*. "To this end," continues Mr. Sanborn, "the very cadences of his deliberately elliptical and highly individual phrases contribute equally with their words and their images. He has an unerring instinct for adapting sound to sense. His every work is a prose poem."

LOTI'S latest volume, *The Death of Philæ*, is a description and an interpretation of the prodigious necropolis called Egypt. It not only portrays masterfully the splendour of the Egyptian lights and the extraordinary colouring of the Eygptian rocks and sands, but it evokes the grandeur of the Egypt of the past and presents the passivity, the mighty, mysterious calm and the desolation of the Egypt of to-day. It is a lamentation over the slow decay, the decrepitude, and the death due to foreign occupation; a lyrical denunciation of the ravages of modernism in a venerable land.

Loti's abhorrence of the British has not been diminished one iota by the Anglo-French *entente*. The colossal conceit and intolerance embodied in the watchword of British Imperialism, 'The White Man's Burden,' have lost none of their power to kindle his wrath and his scorn. With all his command of language he can scarcely find words strong enough to express his hatred and contempt for that Philistine people which, not content with having destroyed the beauty of life within their own borders, must needs destroy it in the rest of the world, must needs transport their 'vulgar taste,' their 'bridge,' their 'bad liquors,' their 'smoking factory chimneys,' their 'tawdry hotels,' and their 'snobbishness' to the ends of the earth. The final chapter, "La Mort de Philæ," which gives its title to the volume, is devoted to the crime of crimes committed in Egypt by its occupiers—namely, the inundation of the Temple of Isis on the Island of Philæ, "the pearl of Egypt and one of the wonders of the world."

The temple of Philæ is about to be submerged for ever by the waters held up by the great dam erected by the British at Assouan. With it will disappear the sanctuary of many early

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Christian and Musalman monuments. In this *Death of Philæ* Pierre Loti sees a symbol of the vulgarisation of modern Egypt, the prostitution of the ancient dignity of this land of the Pharoahs to the utilitarian purposes of those who during the last twenty years have exploited and commercialised it. *La Mort de Philæ* is a passionate denunciation of this vulgarisation of Egypt. Its one motive is the violent contrast between all that was beautiful in the old rythmic agricultural life, the remains of vanished kingdoms, in the soul of Cairo, and the utter banality of 'Egypt Limited,' *i.e.*, of the hordes of tourists, traders and foreigners of every sort who find their amusement or their profit in visiting these ancient sites, the 'cooks' and 'cookesses' who are conducted in docile crowds, and for whose benefit the very desert is vulgarised by monstrous hotels.

The last paragraph of this chapter is as follows :

The drowning of Philæ, as is well known, has augmented by seventy-five millions of pounds the annual rendering of the surrounding territory. Encouraged by this success, the English are going to raise the dam of the Nile six meters more next year. Thus the sanctuary of Isis will be completely submerged, the greater part of the antique temples of Nubia will also be in the water, and fevers will infect the land. But it will permit the creation of such productive cotton plantations !

Loti dedicates his book to the memory of Mustafa Kamel Pasha, who succumbed February 10, 1908, to the admirable task of restoring in Egypt the dignity of the fatherland and of Islam, and, after explaining the reform which Mustafa Kamel inaugurated in the University of Cairo, he observes :

We, Europeans, take it for granted that Islam is merely a religion of obscurantism producing the stagnation of peoples and impeding them in that course to the unknown which we name "progress." This indicates first of all absolute ignorance of the teachings of the prophet, and besides a stupefying forgetfulness of the testimony of history. The Islam of the first centuries evolved and progressed with the races, and the rapid impulse it gave to men under the reign of the ancient Caliphs is known ; to impute to it the actual decadence of the Mussulman would be altogether too puerile. No, the peoples fall asleep by turns, from lassitude, perhaps, after having diffused their great splendour ; it is a law. And then, one day, a danger comes to stir their torpor and they awake.

In a chapter entitled 'The Bronze Race' (the fellahs), Loti develops further this same idea :

To rouse the fellahs from their strange sleep, to open at last their eyes, to transform them by modern education is the task which, in our day, an elite of Egyptian patriots wish to undertake. Erstwhile, this would have seemed to me a crime, for these stubborn peasants lived in conditions of less suffering having much faith and few desires. But to-day they are subjected to an invasion more dissolving than those of all the many conquerors who killed with fire and sword ; the Occidentals are everywhere in their land, profiting by their sweet passivity to transform them into valets useful to their pleasure

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or their traffic. The work of degrading these simple, defenceless creatures, to whom they bring covetousness, the new needs, the apéritifs—and from whom they take away prayer—is too easy! Yes, the time has come, perhaps, to rouse these sleepers of more than twenty centuries, to cry out to them "Beware!" and to see what they may still give, what surprises they may reserve for us after their loud and, doubtless, recreative lethargy. In any case, the human species, on the road to decline through overstrain, will find in these singers of the chadouf and these ploughmen of the primitive plough brains barely touched by alcohol and a vast reserve of tranquil beauty, of sound physical equilibrium, of vigour without bestiality.

"In the chapter entitled 'The Death of Cairo,' Loti's sympathy with Oriental civilisation and his yearning to see it relieved of the Occidental incubus takes such complete possession of him that he resorts to direct and ardent appeal: 'React!' he cries, 'before it is too late!' We find ourselves in agreement with every word of the message which Pierre Loti addresses to the young Egyptians. This message, every word of which is of no less significance for India than for Egypt, reads:—

Reawaken, before it be too late. Defend yourselves against this disintegrating invasion,—not indeed by violence, not by inhospitableness or bad temper,—but by despising this western crowd that overwhelms you when it is weary of us. Try to preserve not only your traditions and your beautiful Arab tongue, but also all that went to make the grace and the mystery of your town (Cairo), the refined luxury of your homes. This is not a question of the fancies of artists, it is your national dignity that is in danger. You were *orientals* (I speak with respect when I use this word, that implies a part of early civilisation, of pure greatness), but, a few years more, and if you do not take heed, they will have made mere levantine courtiers of you, interested only in the enhancement of land-values and speculations in cotton.

Of this also let India beware. For what shall it profit a man or a people, to gain the whole world, and lose their own soul?

In the same chapter from which the above is an extract Pierre Loti describes in glowing terms the palace and mosque of Mahomed Ali:—

In a dark corner rests Mahomed Ali, an adventurous and chivalric prince and a legendary hero, one of the greatest sovereigns of contemporary history: he is there, behind a high gilt rail, of complicated design, in that already decadent Turkish style which, pretty still, belonged to his times.

Between the gilt bars, the tomb is visible in the dim light, in three tiers, covered with blue brocades, embroidered over and over with pale gold. Before the closed door of this enclosed tomb, are crossed two long green palms, freshly cut from a neighbouring date grove. And it seems to me that all is wrapped in an inviolable religious peace...

But all at once, the noise of conversation in a teutonic tongue,—the sound of voices, and laughter!.....How can it be possible, so near to the great dead?...Enter a crowd of tourists, more or less fashionable and 'chic.' A merry-faced guide explains to them the beauties of the place, speaking in s

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loud voice, as if he were in charge of a circus. And one of the travellers, because of her sandals which are too large and make her shuffle, laughs with a stupid little ceaseless laugh, gobbling like a turkey...

What, are there no police, is there no guardian in this holy mosque? And among the devout, prostrate in prayer not one who rises in anger? Who after this, will tell us of the fanaticism of Egyptians?.....Too complaisant rather, they always seemed to me. In any church whatever in Europe, where men pray on their knees, I should like to know how Musalman tourists would be greeted if (impossible event!) they behaved as badly as those savages.

This may serve as an example of many such descriptions and contrasts. The book perhaps loses something by the consistent manner in which the blame for every manifestation of modernity and of vulgarity is laid at the door of the British. In Egypt as in India, they may be its most obvious source; but its origins are deeper than the shortcomings of a single nation, they are of the time, they are of the spirit of the age, they belong even to the modern Egyptian and to the modern Indian, who have so lightly sold their birthright for a mess of postage. In his book on India (*L'Inde sans les Anglais or India without the English**) Pierre Loti achieved a more artistic and more satisfying result, not by denouncing, but by ignoring the English!

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*Reviewed in the *Hindustan Review* for January, 1907.

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VIEWS AND REVIEWS.

New Light on Indian History.

By An "Indian Nationalist".

The Indian Empire: Vol. II (Clarendon Press; Oxford.)

India Through the Ages, by Flora Annie Steel (George Routledge and Sons: London.)

History of India, by E. W. Thompson, M. A. (Christian Literature Society: London and Madras.)

The Oxford Student's History of India, by Vincent A. Smith (Clarendon Press: Oxford.)

THE second volume of the *Imperial Gazatteer* is written in accordance with the modern fashion of writing history by compartments. In the absence of another Hunter, this was perhaps the best that the Government could do, though the disadvantages of the system are obvious. A book written on this plan must suffer to some extent in "architectural" beauty and lack that unity of style and thought which mark all histories written by great writers. But within the inevitable limits imposed by its scheme of authorship, the second volume of the *Indian Empire* is a very fair specimen of this kind of book-making enterprise. It is not history, but it contains first class material for the writing of Indian history, for the different sections are written for the most part by specialists, who are experts in the subjects they deal with.

The first chapter on "Indian Epigraphy," in which the nature and value of inscriptions found in this country is discussed, is written by Dr. Fleet, while Mr. Vincent Smith contributes chapters on "Pre-historic Antiquities," "Archæology of Historical Period," "Numismatics," and "Early History of Northern India." Dr. Burgess deals with "Architecture" and Dr. MacDonnell, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, with "Sanskrit Literature." "Mediæval History," both Hindu and Mohomedan, is treated by Mr. James Kennedy, Mr. Robert Sewell, and Mr. William Irvine, while Dr. Grierson contributes a chapter on "Vernacular Literature." The editor himself contributes a short—a too short—sketch of the Marathas, while the two chapters on the "Early European Settlements" and "British Rule" are based on Sir William Hunter's work and have been revised and brought up to date by Mr. P. E. Roberts, who acted for some time as assistant to that distinguished historian.

Putting aside that portion of the book which deals with more or less technical subjects like Archæology and Numismatics the best chapters of the book in our opinion are those dealing with the early History of Northern India, the Mediæval History of Northern India and

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the Hindu period of Southern India. We are told here of the many striking incidents of Hindu History, of the rise of the Mauryas after the invasion of Alexander and the establishment of the first Indian Empire under Chandragupta, the rule of Asoka Piyadasi whose rock-cut edicts enjoining *ahinsa*, filial piety and truthfulness as the essential *dharma* of man, proclaim not only the glory of that monarch but also the noble character of the race to which he belonged, the shifting of the centre of power from Magadha to the Deccan on the rise of the Andhra dynasty in that region, the invasions of the north-west by Barbarian Greeks, Patthans and Sakas and the establishment of the great sataraps in Kathiawar and the Pallavas in Southern India, both of which were certainly of foreign and probably of Scythian and Parthian origin, the foundation of the Gupta dynasty in the fourth century, whose Empire rivalled that of the Mauryas but was at last shattered by the invasion of the White Huns, and the rise of scores of states throughout the country, almost always engaged in internecine wars, relieved only for a short time by the rise of Harsha in the north and the Chalukyas in the south. The Rajputs who came into prominence in the eighth and ninth centuries, and who though mostly of foreign or at least of non-Aryan origin inherited the traditions of the ancient Kshatryas, were in spite of the many fine qualities of their race incapable of coalescing and building up a great united state. In fact this centrifugal tendency of the Hindu people and—in spite of the great progress made in several other directions—their political incapacity to build up and maintain a strong and coherent state, is what strikes the reader as the radical defect of Hindu polity. Two great empires arose, no doubt—that of the Mauryas in the fourth and third centuries B. C. and of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D.—but each of them began to crumble after the third generation and was replaced soon after by petty independent states, "the mutually repellent molecules of the body politic," as Mr. Vincent Smith has happily styled them. Again and again is one reminded of the pregnant saying of the late Mr. Ranade that in India the lifetime of an institution is a generation and of a dynasty a century. And one can not but feel pain at the thought that this fatal defect of the Indian character has not ceased to exist and the tendency towards "anarchical autonomy" still mars many of our efforts for the amelioration of our people.

We are a little surprised to find that the volume under review, though it is written for the most part by specialists and bears the impress of the sanction of Government, is not quite free from minor errors. We are told, for instance, on page 507 that the Nawabs of Oudh "had assumed the title of King or Shah since 1819." There is nothing in this sentence to show that Ghaziuddin

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Haidar was induced by Lord Hastings to coin money in his own name and to assume the title of Shah, because that Governor-General wanted to create a counterpoise to the Emperor of Delhi, and the British "conscience," of the prickings of which we hear so much at the time of the annexation of Oudh, seems to have been quite comfortably asleep at this time. The subsidy of the Amir of Afghanistan was raised in 1893 from 12 to 18 lakhs and not from 8 to 12 lakhs (p. 524). The paragraph devoted to Tibetan affairs concludes with this astonishing assertion :"The Dalai Lama abdicated and a Treaty was made with his successor." Now the Dalai Lama never did anything of the kind and the treaty was made not with his "successor," but with the temporary makeshift which the British put up at Lhassa, for their own purposes. On page 429 Dr. Grierson calls *Azad* and *Sarshar* "the most eminent among living writers of Urdu." Now Sarshar died at Hyderabad several years ago and Azad thongh "living" has been hopelessly insane for years. We have another and perhaps a more serious fault to find with the learned Doctor's treatment of Urdu literature. He has not even mentioned the names of *Atash*, *Ghalib* and *Anis*, while, by implication at least, he places *Nazir* by the side of *Sauda* and *Mir Taqi*. What will be said of a historian of English literature, who in his account, failed to mention the names of Wordsworth, Byron and Shelly and placed Rudyard Kipling by the side of Shakespeare and Milton ? *Nazir* no doubt possessed the poetic gift. Some of his pieces have the ring of genuine poetry about them. But he was devoid of culture and his failure to discriminate between themes which are fit and themes which are unfit subjects for poetry and his use of slang and unliterary language preclude him for ever from admission to the rank of Urdu classics. In spite, however, of the limitations, due to the compartment system and a few minor lapses which we have pointed out above—not in a spirit of malevolent fault-finding, but because a book of this description, meant to be an authoritative work of reference, should be unimpeachably accurate,—the volume is a valuable contribution to Indian history and no serious student of the subject can afford to neglect it.

Of a very different character from *The Indian Empire* is Mrs. Steel's new volume, *India Through The Ages*. As the authoress herself says in her preface, the book "claims only to be a compilation from published works," but it is a compilation which is eminently interesting and readable. Those who are generally repelled by the dry facts and the hard uninteresting narrative of an ordinary historical text book, may well be advised to try Mrs. Steel's work. Within the compass of these 361 pages Mrs. Steel has told the history of our country from the dim, prehistoric, Vedic times to the mutiny of 1857 and told it very well, indeed. It is history seen through the spectacle of romance

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and it must be said to the credit of the authoress that only on a few, very few occasions, had she allowed her romance to get the better of her history. We are grateful to Mrs Steel for having given us a book which all can appreciate and enjoy, for the reader who fails to be charmed by the brilliance and verve of her style, the fertility of her imagination, her lightness of touch and the picturesqueness of her description, is to be pitied indeed. Mr. Steel has already achieved many triumphs in the realm of fiction and we congratulate the gifted authoress on her very successful *debut* in her new *role* of a historian.

Mrs. Steel's book is eminently free from one defect which disfigures most of the shorter histories of India, viz., an inadequate treatment of the Hindu period. In dealing with this period, the authoress makes full use of the latest researches and gives us an interesting account of the Mauryas, the Kushans, the Guptas and other historic races of the pre-Muslim days. And one of the principal charms of her book lies in this that she carries her readers swiftly and lightly over much confused and conventional trash about paltry intrigues, aimless wars and forgotten kings, concentrating their attention on the really great episodes and heroic figures of Indian history. She succeeds in doing, what few historians have succeeded in doing before her—and she owes her success in this particular matter to no small extent to her training as a novelist—she succeeds in creating an Indian atmosphere for her readers and makes them observe through its haze, with sympathy not unmixed with pity, the tragic life-story of a gifted but unfortunate people. Apart from this general effect, however, the many pen-pictures which lie scattered in the volume, are singularly good. Mrs. Steel is nothing if not an artist, and she draws her portraits with a cunning, deft hand, Of Asoka she says :—

> He was a great builder, but few of his buildings remain to this day. What their magnificence must have been we may judge by the topes at Sanchi, where the eye wearies in following the intricacy of ornament, the brain is bewildered in attempting to re-fashion in imagination the whole stupendous structure as it must have been. But here and there some monolithic sandstone pillar still remains, slender, perfect in proportion and execution, still bearing in close-carven character Asoka's message to his people, to the world.
>
> Strange, indeed, that the West knows so little of him ? Strangest of all that the twentieth century, with its Peace Party and its Ante-Vivesectionists, should not put Asoka's name as President in perpetuity of their organizations. Asoka, who more than a thousand years upheld the equal rights of animals with men to the King's care, and openly adjured his successors to follow in his steps, and not to think that a conquest by the sword deserves the name of conquest.
>
> What manner of man Asoka was outwardly, we have no means of knowing but those who know his life can picture him in his yellow monk's robe, wearied,

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yet unwearied, pondering over his life-long problem. "By what means can I lead my people into the path of peace."

Unwearied because of the spirit which inspires the words, "Work I must for the public benefit," wearied because "Though I am ready at any hour and at any place to receive petitions, I am never fully satisfied with my despatch of business."

And of the Rajputs.

Now the Rajputs are born soldiers. They represent the second or military (called the Kshatriya) caste of ancient Vedic time; they have provided India for long centuries with her warriors, her nobles, her monarchs. Rajputra means, in fact, a King's son. Their history is a magnificent one. They have faced and fought every enemy which fate has brought to their native land in the past; they are ready still to face and fight whatever may come to it in the future. They are the Samurai of India, each clan led by a hereditary leader, and forming a separate community, bound by the strongest ties of military devotion and pride of race.

* * * * * * * *

For the rest, there is no people in the world whose history yields more pure romance. The chivalry of Europe seems strained and artificial beside the stern, straight-forward code of honour by which the early Rajputs regulated their dealings alike with women and with other men; and no roundel of troubadour or challenge of knight-errant could have roused more enthusiasm than did the wild love and war songs of the Rajput bards.

Here is a picture of the Kutbminar seen through Vedantist's eyes, for at heart Mrs. Steel is a Vedantist.

To those who know India the name conjures up one of the most marvelous sights in the world. A dark December morning in the Punjab, when the Christmas rain-clouds gather black on the horizon, and on them, above the rolling, brick-strewn ridges of Old Delhi, rises a thin shaft of light—the Kutb minar, the finest pillar in the world.

It was built by the Turki slave Eibuk, and one can forgive him much in that he left the world such a thing of beauty to be a joy for ever.

And yet as one stands beneath it, marking here and there the half-obliterated traces of previous cutting on the stones of the wonderful tapering pillar, all corbelled with encircling balconies, and handed in dexterous art with interlaced lettering; as one looks round on the dismantled ruins of still more ancient temples, the mind suddenly ceases to give the glory to Kutb-ud-din and turns almost with amaze to the thought of the Hindu architects who built it to order out of their dishonoured shrines.

Think of it! Art, true Art rising superior to self! Surely as they chiselled at those interlaced tributes of the One Unknowable, Unthinkable, they must have been conscious that though all things in this life were—as their religion told them—but Illusion, behind that Illusion lay Reality.

And so their work comforted them.

How much of India is built into this watch-tower of her gods? The best of her, anyhow, and English civilization can scaraly add an additional story to this record of her past.

And then, perhaps, the most charming of her pictures, that of the Taj.

But once seen, the Taj—whether seen with approval or disapproval—is never forgotten. It remains ever a thing apart. Something which the world

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can not touch either with praise or blame—something elusive, beyond criticism in three dimensional terms.

It was Shahjahan who first thought of it; but who designed, who built it? The very question brings a certain revulsion. It is impossible to dissociate one stone of the Taj from another, to think of it in fragments as anything than as a perfect whole.

No! it was never built. It is a bit of New Jerusalem which some yellow Eastern dawn coming after a velvet-dark Eastern night, found standing as it stands now, amid the cypresses of the garden.

We have said that it is on a few, very few, occasions that Mrs. Steel allows her romance to get the better of her history. But we are sorry to observe that the occasions on which she allows what Herbert Spencer calls "the bias of patriotism" to get the better of her judicial spirit as a historian, are more numerous. For instance on p. 167, Mrs. Steel speaks of the underhand dealings of the French in having corrupted some British sepoys. And yet she not only defends the forgery of Clive but has not a word of condemnation for his seducing Mir Jafar from his allegiance, though it was the desertion of Mir Jafar, to which, in the opinion of such a competent judge as Colonel Malleson, Saraj-ud-daula owed his defeat. Omichand is a "traitor, an informer, a villain," but there is not a single werd of rebuke for Sir Elijah Impey, who hanged Nand Coomar to oblige Warren Hastings. In fact, we are seriously and solemnly told that "it is, at least, arguable that when bare existence for your countrymen depends on outwitting a traitor, an informer, a villain, any weapon is legal." Is it? "What are then men Christians for"? And nowhere is Mrs. Steel's unfairness more patent than in her account of the Nawabs of Oudh. "The Government of Saadat Ali was in a shocking state of disorder," says she in one place. "His government was atrocious," says she in another. And yet Saadat Ali was by far and away the best of the Oudh Nawabs. Colonel Sleeman says of Saadat Ali that he was "a man of great general ability, had mixed much in the society of European officers in various parts of British India, had been well trained in habit of business, understood thoroughly the character, institutions, and requirements of his people, and above all was a sound judge of the relative merits and capacities of men from whom he had to select his officers and a vigilant supervisor of their action." Colonel McAndrew says of the same ruler:—"At his death Saadat Ali left behind him the name of the friend of the ryot and a full treasury." Mr. Irwin quotes both the above writers with approval in his *Garden of India* and himself says of Saadat Ali:—"But where Lord Wellesely seems to have been wrong, was in his axiom of Saadat Ali's worthlessness. He had before him, perhaps the ablest and most enlightened native ruler then living, and failed to recognise him." But these false

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views and wrong judgments are inevitable as long as Indian history is written by foreigners and the point of view remains non-Indian.

Yet Mrs. Steel, when her views are not coloured by prejudice, can speak out. Speaking of the early days of the British settlements in India she says and says truly that "the Western imagination of those days appears not to have been stimulated at all by anything save the prospect of plunder.' Again and again she speaks of "the general greed of gold in England" (p. 295) and of the "very virtuous, very greedy British public, which insisted on being paid £400,000 a year by a bankrupt and overburdened concern." Concerning the fearful economic injustice, the tragic story of which has been told by Mr. R. C. Dutt in his *Economic History of British India*, we read:—

The whole history of the cotton trade, in truth, is grievous. At this time, when Parliament was piously purposing to preach to the so-called heathen the religion which claims first place as teaching the duty of doing to others as you would be done by, the woven goods of India could have been sold in England at rates 50 and 60 per cent cheaper than similar goods manufactured in England. What then? Were they so sold? or sold at a price which would have brought wealth to the miserably poor Indian craftsman? No! The mills of Paisley and Manchester were protected by a duty of 70 and 80 per cent on these Indian goods, thus sacrificing those to whom we wished to teach Christianity to those who, at any rate, said they had that faith.

Can anything be more outspoken. One feels glad that this English lady had the courage to say her say.

There are a few minor mistakes which can be easily corrected and which we hope will be corrected in the second edition, which is sure to be needed before long. Arjuna was not the second (p. 17) but the third of Pandu princes, and Alexander is known to the people of India as Sikandar and not as Jullundar (p. 42). The nine gems of Vikramaditya's court are known as *nawa ratna* and not as *nawa ratani*. The correct word is Toork, neither Toorkhs (p. 96), nor Toorkh (p. 40). The name of Udai Singh's foster-mother was Panna not Pannia (p. 165), and that of Nawab Nasir-ud-din Hyders'son, Munna Jan and not Mura Jan (p. 337). The Hindustani name for mother is *Amma* or *Amman jan* not *Amna* or *Amna-jan* (p. 169). The name of Aurangzeb's favourite sister was Roshan-Ara and not Roshanrai (p. 206). Nanuk was not put to death (p. 233) but died peacefully in his bed. It was the ninth Guru, Teg Bahadur, who was put to death, and his son Guru Govind finally converted the Sikh sectaries into a martial brotherhood. Har Govind (p. 233) was the fifth Guru and not the son of Nanuk. Bahadur Shah, the last of the Moghals was sent to Rangoon and not to the Andaman Islands (p. 322). The Thiestical sect founded by Ram Mohun Roy is called the Brahma Samaj and not the *Brahma-samajh* (p. 333). The two following sentences occur on p. 360. "Will Delhi fall ere we reach it to help?"

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Will Lucknow hold out ere we can relieve it" The construction of the former sentence is awâkward, while the use of *ere* in the second, seems unjustfiable. It ought to be "till."

The last two books on our list are meant for the matriculation students of Indian Universities, Mr. Smith's volume being in fact based on the syllabus of the Calcutta University. They are primarily school books, no doubt, but school books written by authors who possess the gift of real scholarship and also the yet rarer gift of sympathy. Each is fair and impartial, as fair and impartial, as history written by a foreigner belonging to the ruling "caste" can be. They are much superior to the average manual of History used in Indian schools—manuals which are so often not only historically inaccurate but without a sense of proportion. We would very much like to see these books substituted for text-books at present in use in the schools of the United Provinces.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE ENGLISH PRESS IN INDIA IN 1907-8.

INTRODUCTION.

In the issues of the *Hindustan Review*, for February and March 1907, there appeared a sketch of "The English Press in India in 1906," which was much appreciated and extracts from which were largely quoted by many of the leading newspapers and journals. A particular incident recorded by us, about the *Eastern Bengal and Assam Era*, even led to a question being put in the House of Commons to Viscount (then Mr.) Morley by Sir Henry Cotton. We were urged to publish, from year to year, a sketch of the notable incidents connected with the English Press in this country, but as the year 1907 passed without any important events, except the improvements introduced into the mechanical execution of the *Statesman*, no sketch of the journalistic history of the year 1907 was published, last year. The year 1908, however, has been remarkable for many notable events in the history of the fourth estate in India and we are, therefore, now publishing a connected sketch of the journalistic events of the last two years, and to make it complete events, have been noted that have transpired even in the current year. By the English Press in India, we mean —as in the last sketch—the papers, journals and periodicals conducted in English, wholly irrespective of the nationality of the proprietors and editors thereof. Viewed in this light the press in India is divisible into two broad sections—the Anglo-Indian and the Indo-Anglian or the Indo-English—and it is the successes and failures of these two sections of the Indian press, that we propose to chronicle, along with recording such other events and incidents as have had or are likely to have an important bearing on the progress of journalism in India. The sketches in the present number deal with the English presses of Bengal, and the Bombay and Madras presidencies. Those dealing with the presses of the United Provinces, the Panjab, Behar, Burma and Mysore will appear in our next number. The periodicals which have of late come to occupy such an important position in Indian journalism have not been dealt with—except in the case of those that have ceased to exist—in the sketch of the respective provinces of their publication. It is proposed to notice the existing periodicals in a separate paper of this series, which will appear in due course.

BENGAL.

I.—NEW JOURNALS.

The journalistic record of the English press in Bengal, during the period under survey, is more important than that of any other province. There has been no notable addition to the ranks of the press, though three English weeklies have appeared, which deserve a passing notice. These are the *Eurasian*, the *Armenian* and the *Liberator*. The first two—as their designations indicate—are the organs of the particular classes after which they are named and claim to represent the views and opinions, the grievances and aspirations of the Eurasian and the Armenian communities. The *Eurasian* has already

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begun to agitate for the rights of those it seeks to represent and the *Armenian* will, no doubt, soon follow suit. Thus the *Empire* on the *Eurasian* :—

The Reform scheme has found another c itic, and Morley of Bradford is to be called on apparently to re-write the whole despatch. The *Eurasian*, in a recent issue, calls upon the community to agitate and secure adequate representation in the Imperial and Provincial Councils. In an editorial it is stated :—'The proposed Indian reforms shall fall considerably short of their promised benefits, if the small but worthy Eurasian community is ignored therein.'

That's the worst of encouraging the demand of class representation. It is, however, to the credit of the *Eurasian* that it has taken up a manly attitude in the matter of its nomenclature and not changed it in compliance with the wishes of some of its oversensitive and fastidious readers. This is commendable, for though it is easy to respect a man who respects himself, it is difficult to have good opinion of one who tries to represent himself as different from what he really is. Both the *Eurasian* and the *Armenian* are well got-up and well-conducted journals. The third new journal—the *Liberator*—announced its arrival with a great flourish of trumpets, but as we have not received the second and subsequent issues, we are doubtful if it survived its birth—although we hope it lives and flourishes in spite of our being in blissful ignorance of its existence.

The reason why we are in doubt as to its still being in existence is due to the fact that the notice on the last page of the first number was to the following effect:—"The proprietor of the Classic Press (at which the paper was printed) is not in any way responsible or liable for the writings and the publication of the *Liberator*." A veritable wet blanket this, sufficient to damp the enthusiasm of the most zealous admirer of the paper. The first number was mainly taken up with explaining what the *Liberator* was and what it was going to do. We were given a plentiful supply of information on this point, ranging from notices like this:—"A high class weekly paper devoted to politics, social reform, literature, and religion" and this:—"Thus *Liberator* is the only paper of its kind that freely expresses every shade of thought and opinion and the success it aims at is nothing less than the living growth of our Society in all its sides and developments," to a lengthy leading article "About Ourselves," and several columns of editorial notes dealing vaguely with the same subject. Internal evidence suggests that the editor was the writer of most of the contents and he wielded such an eloquent pen that the reader was left breathless and very tired after reading his lengthy expositions. The following quotation is typical both of his style and of his matter:

But for us, living as we do in the twentieth century amidst changed circumstances, men and things, with the forgotten heritage of a glorious past, with the dead weight of unscrupulous authority hanging down our neck and directing the daily course of our life in all its details and minutiæ by rigid laws and codes, with disaffection from within and oppression from without, the only hope of continuance and prolongation of our life, lies solely in our will to exert to our utmost to rid ourselves once from all the parasitical encumbrances of despotism, dogma, and creed, to bestir the torpid spirit grown sick by years of stagnation and decay, to breathe the life-giving fire into the bosom of those deserted and derelicted, to elevate the outcastes—the refuse of a fastidious, heartless social organisation—to infuse hope to the forlorn, to open the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf—in this lie our salvation.

Perhaps this may bring more enlightenment to some of our readers than we are able to gather from it. The politics of the paper were clearly enough

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indicated by a lengthy diatribe against Lord Morley, which, threw some light on the notice inserted by "the proprietor of the Classic Press."

II.—DEFUNCT JOURNALS.

The journals that have ceased to exist are *Mulk and Millut*, *New India* and *Bande Mataram*. The first was a weekly started in 1906, by a Persian gentleman resident in Calcutta. It was edited by Mr. S. C. Sanial, M. A., a well-known publicist and a valued contributor to the *Hindustan Reiew*. It was a very well-conducted journal and its policy was liberal and progressive. At one time, it was announced that it was likely to be converted into a dialy by a Muhammadan syndicate, the chairman of which was to be His Highness the Aga Khan. But nothing came out of it and the paper had to be closed after a short existence—a sad commentary on the public spirit of the Mussalman community in the metropolis of the Indian Empire. *New India*, which also came to an untimely end, was started as a weekly by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, in 1902. In the early years of its existence, it was an excellent organ of higher thought and culture and was commended by us as such, but it was afterwards converted into a bi-weekly and taken over by a company. Henceforth it declined perceptibly and sometime later it become an Extremist organ. It had then an intermittent existence, coming out at irregular intervals—sometimes as a bi-weekly, often as a weekly—until the company failed and the paper had to be stopped. A creditor moved the Calcutta High Court for leave to get the business wound up, which was duly granted. The poor creditor had supplied to the company, paper for printing *New India*, and they owed him about Rs. 700, but as the office was closed, and Mr. Pal, the Managing Director, had left for Europe (to hasten, we suppose, the day of "absolute autonomy" for India) he had no alternative but to file the petition. Now that the concern has been wound up under the orders of the High Court, we do not know what the paper-seller has got. He may, however, have the consolation—if he be an Extremist—of having helped Mr. Pal in bringing about that "peaceful revolution," on which that gentleman recently discoursed at Edinburgh.

The only English paper that has so far been dealt with under the provisions of the new Press Act is *Bande Mataram*, which was suppressed under the following notification of the Lower Provinces Government:—

Whereas the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, made a conditional order on the 23rd October 1908, under sub-section (1) of Section 3 of Newspapers (Incitements to offences) Act 1908, declaring the printing press used for the purpose of printing or publishing *Bande Mataram* newspaper forfeited to His Majesty, and whereas, by an order, dated 4th November 1908, passed by Chief Presidency Magistrate, under sub-section (5) of the said Section, the conditional order aforesaid was made absolute in exercise of the power conferred by Section 7 of the said Act, the Lieutenant-Governor (1) hereby annuls the declaration made by the printer and publisher of the said *Bande Mataram* newspaper on the 20th day of September 1907 under Press and Registration of Books Act 1867, and (2) prohibits any further declaration being made or subscribed under the Press and Registration of Books Act 1867 in respect of *Bande Mataram* newspaper which is the same in substance as *Bande Mataram* newspaper until this prohibition be withdrawn

Bande Mataram came into existence in August 1906, with Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal as its first editor. Mr. Pal severed his connection with the paper—at least it was so announced—some months later and it was, rightly or wrongly, believed that he had been succeeded in the editorial chair by Mr. Arabindo

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Ghose. In fact, such an announcement actually appeared in one or two issues of the paper itself, but was subsequently withdrawn. In our sketch of the journalistic history of the year 1906, we said that Mr. Ghose was the editor of *Bande Mataram*, and though our remarks were reproduced in that paper, our statement about Mr. Ghose being the editor was not challenged. In 1907, however, when Mr. Ghose was tried as the editor of the paper, for allowing a seditious article to have appeared, the plea that he was not responsible as editor was successfully taken and Mr. Kingsford, the Presidency Magistrate, acquitted Mr. Ghose. This, undoubtedly, came upon the country as a surprise, and after that no one can say as to who edited the paper till it was confiscated. Public opinion, however, refused to believe that Mr. Ghose was not the moving spirit of the paper, though he might not technically be its 'editor.' As Mr. Norton well put it, in summing up the evidence in the bomb conspiracy case :—

> If Arabindo was not, as possibly he was not, technically speaking the editor of the paper, he was in reality *Bande Mataram* itself, and he was that in the belief of all the persons who addressed him. Arabindo was the executive power who, not merely dictated the policy, but dictated the executive operations of the paper, as regards those who were to be selected as fitting persons for increasing its circulation. Everything points to the fact that he was the controlling power of *Bande Mataram*.

In September last the paper published a leading article on the murder of the approver, in the bomb conspiracy case, in the Alipore Jail. Next day, the *Empire* in a leading article, drew attention to it and suggested that it came within the purview of the Press Act. *Bande Mataram* published next day a rejoinder to the *Empire*, that it did not. But most of us knew that the game was up and that *Bande Mataram* had played the wrong card and lost his hand. What followed subsequently is summarized in the Government notification reproduced above. The suppression of the paper has, no doubt, intensified the feelings of bitterness against the Government among the Extremists and Mr. Pal has given expression to these in a lengthy communication to the *Manchester Guardian*. "The evil that men do lives after them, the good is oft interred with their bones." Well let us reverse the process in the case of *Bande Mataram*. Let its evil side be interred and let its good side be presented to the world in the glowing rhapsodies of its founder and first editor, Mr. Bepin Pal, as recorded by him in his communication to the *Manchester Guardian*, referred to above ; so that it may not be said to have perished unwept, unhonoured and unsung :—

> The suppression of *Bande Mataram* is the second of its kind and to my mind it is about the greatest folly that the Indian Government could commit. The position that it got within almost a week of its birth was unprecedented in the history of Indian journalism, and far beyond the highest expectations of the most sanguine of us. In less than three months it came to be known in England and on the Continent and no Indian paper had ever before been so copiously quoted by the English press including the *Times*.
>
> Thousands of people not only in Bengal but in Madras, Bombay, and the other Indian provinces looked to it for guidance and inspiration from day to day, and it may be said that the entire body of the vernacular organs of the Nationalist party all over India frequently took their cue fromt his paper. This is perhaps, the reason why the Government has been so anxious to put it down. *Bande Mataram*, while proclaiming the ideal of national independence in the most unequivocal terms, has uniformly advocated peaceful methods, and has supported lawful passive resistance as the most reasonable and under the existing conditions of the country, at the same time, the most effective means to that end. Its writings have been characterised by a lofty idealism and inspired by a divine spirituality that are absolutely inconsistent with needlessly violent or inhuman methods. It was among the first to condemn the methods of the bomb and it has during the last six months persistently preached

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calm resignation and courageous self-control under the most trying conditions of present-day public life in India. Recent repressions have, if anything, deepened the spiritual note, that has always characterised this paper.

I know to my own personal knowledge that within the last few months an increasing section of even the nationalist party in India had commenced to feel a little disappointed with *Bande Mataram* for not openly and unreservedly supporting the propaganda of impatience, and for its preaching, even in the face of official repressions, the doctrine of peaceful progress and lawful passive resistance. Thousands of people had, up to now, been restrained from lending their moral support to any propaganda of violence, mainly through the preachings of this paper. Many thousands more had been prevented from going underground by it. And the immediate effect of its suppression will be not only to deepen the discontent already existing in the country, but to strengthen the forces of underground revolutionary activities, and, perhaps kill the chances of a peaceful settlement of the problem before us.

So let us bury it with bell, book and candle, led by the great hierophant of Extremism—Mr. Bepin Pal—who has just launched in London his new journalistic venture, a fortnightly,—*Svaraj*.

III.—ANGLO-INDIAN WEEKLIES.

Turning now to the existing papers, we shall first deal with the Anglo-Indian press of Calcutta which, for all practical purposes, may be said to consist of the four dailies—the *Englishman* the *Statesman*, the *Indian Daily News* and the *Empire*—and one weekly, *Capital*. So said, also, Sir Edward Baker in the course of his speech on the last budget debate in his council. When in 1907 seven Anglo-Indian journalists, "with one possible exception the entire body of purely British journalists in Bengal," sent a round robbin to the British newspapers on the question of Indian unrest, a correspondent of the *Englishman*—the staff of which was not represented amongst the seven signatories—pointed out that the seven journalists did not represent the whole Anglo-Indian press of Calcutta, which also included the *Indian Field*, the *Asian*, the *Indian Planter's Gazette*, *Indian Engineering*, *Indian and Eastern Engineer* and the *Indian Railway Gazette*. This is, no doubt, true, but all these—as their names indicate—being class and trade journals, do not exert any appreciable influence on the general public opinion of even the Anglo-Indian community as a whole and they no not, therefore, come within the purview of this article. The only two exceptions, out of the Anglo-Indian class and trade journals of Calcutta, that can be made on the score of their being influential organs of important sections of Anglo-Indian public opinion, are *Capital* and the *Indian Planter's Gazette*.

Capital, though the leading commercial and financial journal and probably the only one of its kind in the country, does not confine itself exclusively to trade, commerce and finance, but also deals in an instructive manner, with the current Indian questions, political and industrial, and its views are, on the whole, marked by a spirit of liberalism and great sympathy for the well-being of the people of India, in general, as also for the reasonable and legitimate aspirations of educated Indians, in particular. Its Managing Director and editor, Mr. Shirley Tremearne, is one of the leading and influential public men of Calcutta, while his coadjutor and colleague, Mr. James Luke,—the well-known "Max" of *Capital*—is undoubtedly the most brilliant paragraphist in the country. Nothing which appears in an Anglo-Indian journal is so regularly quoted, by Indian papers, and so largly read

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and widely appreciated by educated Indians as the "Musings of Max," which appear in *Capital*, week by week, under the heading of "Current Chat," and which are looked forward to by a large class of readers—Indian and Anglo-Indian. Mr. Luke is a journalist of ripe experience, possesses an extensive knowledge of the realities of Indian life and is imbued with the deepest sympathy for all that is healthy and progressive in Modern India.

The other Anglo Indian weekly of Calcutta, which deserves mention here, by reason of its influence with an important section of Anglo-Indian community, is the *Indian Planter's Gazette*, owned and edited by Mr. Harry Abbott of Jointpur, in the Mozufferpore district, and whose popularity, by reason of his may qualities of head and heart, is unbounded amongst all ranks and classes of people in the province of Behar. Mr. Abbott is proud to call himself an "old Beharee", having lived in that province for about forty years. He deservedly wields considerable influence amongst the planting community of Behar and Bengal and his journal, the *Indian Planters' Gazette*, is the accredited organ of the great, important and influential community it so ably represents. Naturally the opinions of the *Planter's Gazette* carry weight and it is fortunate that its policy is controlled by a gentleman of such wide and genuine popular sympathies as Mr. Harry Abbott. Apart from its views on political topics, the *Gazette* is a repertory of valuable information on planting and agriculture and it is thus of great usefulness to all interested in these pursuits. To readers in Behar it is of special interest, as it regularly contains a separate section devoted to the publication of Behar news and the discussion, in a sympathetic spirit, of Behar affairs. Altogether *Capital* and the *Indian Planters' Gazette* are journals which no educated Indian, who desires to keep himself in touch with the views and opinions of the most influential sections of the non-official European community can do without.

The only other Anglo-Indian class journal which may be referred to here is the *Asian*, which caters for the sporting community. It has had the misfortune of losing its proprietor and editor, Mr. Temple, but it came into prominence last year by reason of an editoral paragraph couched in highly inflammatory language enjoining upon Anglo-Indians to carry arms. It was regarded as a violent incitement to racial feud and was strongly condemned by the *Empire*. It produced great excitement in the Indian press. It was expected by some that Sir Andrew Fraser would sanction the prosecution of the journal but those who had any such expectations did not evidently know Sir Andrew's kindly and generous disposition.

IV.—THE *ENGLISHMAN*.

The *Englishman* has lately undergone a change in the occupant of its editorial chair, though not in its policy. Mr. A. E. Duchesne, who was for sometime Associate Editor of the paper with Mr. Newman, has served his connection and is now in London, but the latter still continues on the staff. The new editor is Mr. C. M Filgate, of whom the London correspondent of the *Times of India* has communicated the following information to that journal :—

Mr. Filgate has had a most successful career in English and Irish journalism, and has promi-nently identified himself with the 'spade work' of the Institute of Journalists in Ireland, having been

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Chairman of the Reception Committee on the occasion of the last Dublin Conference. Though a stranger to India, so far as actual residence goes, he is an Anglo-Indian by birth. His father, Mr. Townley M. Filgate, was for many years a popular and esteemed member of Bombay society, serving successively as Registrar-General and Inspector-General of Prisons.

The following paragraphs about the new editor of the *Englishman* appeared in the *Indian Planter's Gazette.*

The small Irish non-official colony in Calcutta has recently been strengthened by the arrival of Mr. Filgate, a distinguished Dublin journalist, to edit the *Englishman*. He comes after resigning the important position of the Chief Assistant Editor of the *Irish Times* and is therefore a staunch upholder of the Union and Tariff Reform. This, of course, fits in with the traditional policy of Hare Street, albeit the proprietor of the *Englishman* is proud of his descent from Napper Tandy, the famous Irish lebel. You know the old song :—

> Sure I met with Napper Tandy, who took me by the hand
> Says he "How's Ireland and how does she stand?"
> "She's the most distressful country that ever you've seen,
> They're hanging men and women for the wearing of the green."

It says much for the potency of Scotch blood that when mixed with rebel Irish the result is true blue Unionist. But to return to Mr. Filgate. His family has long been associated with India. His cousin is the Secretary of the Behar Planters' Association. His father, who came out in the train of Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, Governor of Bombay, was extremely popular in Western society and played an important part in local racing. By tradition and training, therefore, Mr. Filgate is just the Man for Galway. and we are glad to notice already a decided improvement in the *Englishman*, both in the quality of its matter and the manner in which it is presented. Every European in the province will rejoice, if this brilliant young Irishman succeeds in restoring the prestige of the paper which, so late as the time of MacDonald, was the Anglo-Indian organ *par excellence*.

There is certainly "a decided improvement in the *Englishman* both in the quality of its matter and the manner in which it is presented", but if the new editor is to restore "the prestige of the paper, which so late as the time of MacDonald was the Anglo-Indian organ *per excellence*," it can only be by altering its present policy and adjusting and adapting it to the very much changed circumstances of the country since that time. From what we know of Mr. Filgate, we have reason to believe, that (though a Unionist in home politics) he is thoroughly progressive in his sympathies with legitimate Indian aspirations and we feel sure that, in course of time, he will be able to so shape the policy of the *Englishman* as to make it a fairmined critic of the demands of the educated Indians. But till the new editor does that, the following remarks of the *Bengalee* will continue to have force :—

The *Englishman's* opinions need not count in these days, for everybody knows that that organ of Anglo-Indian extremism represents no influential section of the community. It is notorious that even the bulk of the Anglo-Indian community does not see eye to eye with it. The section represented by our esteemed contemporary of the *Indian Daily News* and that represented by the *Empire* must hold views diametrically opposed to those of the *Englishman*. Even *Capital*, the organ of the mercantile community, does not agree with the *Englishman* in regard to most questions on which the latter holds anti-Indian views.

V.—THE *EMPIRE*.

In our last sketch, we said that the appearance of the *Empire* was "the most notable journalistic event of the year 1906" and we recorded our appreciation of the paper at some length. Our remarks were so gratifying to the conductors of that paper, that they not only reproduced them *in extenso*—with the observation that our characterization displayed such a remarkable insight into the policy of the *Empire*, that they felt bound to reprint it, both in justice to themselves and

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the *Hindustan Review*—but circulated them broadcast on handbills in thousands. Since then the *Empire* has completed two years and a half of its existence, and it has long since taken its place as one of the leading Anglo-Indian journals in India. On the 1st of October 1907—the day it entered on the second year of its existence—it had the following article headed "On Booming Ourselves," which we reproduce as a sample of the *Empire* at its best :—

To-day is the *Empire's* first birthday anniversary; and although we detest egotism generally, and find something pathetically funny in the cockerel who flaps his wings before he has learned how to fly, we venture to bespeak the generous indulgence of our readers, if on this occasion only we indulge in the smallest imaginable flutter on our own account. Apart from everything else we feel that the first happy return of the 1st October gives us an opportunity of thanking our friends and supporters for all they have done for us during the past 12 months; for it is they that have helped most to bring about the instantaneous and continuous success which has attended us. We count ourselves specially fortunate in that we have been spared all up-hill work. The experience of most journals is that it takes a long time to win recognition and support. A tremendous lot of spade-work has to be put in, and the virtue of patience has to be cultivated with the utmost assiduity during the early years of a paper's existence. With us there has been no waiting game. A few month's canvassing before the paper came out, a few advertisements, circulars, posters, and what not—and the thing was done. The *Empire* came out on the advertised date and sprang at one issue into its recognised position as one of the most widely circulated papers in India, and, if we may quote our contemporary, the "*Pall Mall Gazette* once more, "the brightest and most wide-awake of the Indian daily papers." Since the day of that journalistic "tour de force" (we hate French phrases as much as we hate conceit, and are blushing furiously as we pen these lines) we have never looked back. Every day has brought new subscribers, an extended circulation, fresh advertizing business and a steady consolidation of our influence and reputation. We have paid our way from the start, and claim to have established a record among the successful business enterprises of Calcutta as well as among the journalistic triumphs of this or any other country. We want to err on the side of modesty, and we put it like that!

Of course we are not so primitive as to imagine that all is solely due to our own consummate genius. There was a need for an evening paper in Calcutta and we came to supply it. There was, if we may say so, a vacancy in Indian journalism for something new and bright and light and we stepped into it naturally. That is why we haven't had to wait for success, or to create our own demand. To do ourselves justice we didn't rely on that fact alone. We scoured England for the brightest staff that could be got together, and we installed the best machinery procurable. We have also had the luck to be served by as keen and capable a corps of correspondents both here and at home, as ever gladdened the editorial heart. We have adhered strictly to our programme of loyalty, sympathy and independence. We have worked steadily according to our lights, for the good of the land we live in, refusing to shout with the alarmist crowd on one side or the extremist on the other. There have been moments when we were tempted to do so, but we refrained because we felt that, if we yielded to the temptation, we should do more harm than good. The result is that we have been fortunate enough to obtain and retain the support of that vast body of moderate opinion, both Indian and European, which always pronounces the final verdict on constitutional questions. All these causes have doubtless gone hand in hand to ensure the success of the *Empire*, and to invest it with permanency. To sum up, we may fairly claim to have conferred three benefits upon the newspaper public on this side of India :—

1. We have provided the Calcutta public with a paper bridging over the hiatus in the news between one morning and the next.

2. We have brought down the price of all the English papers in Calcutta with a run to one anna.

3. We have livened things up all round.

That is a pretty good record for a first year's work anywhere; and, with a continuance of the popular favour which has been so liberally extended to us during the first 12 months of our existence, we shall endeavour to knock a few more spots off creation in the coming year.

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On the 1st of October 1908—the day it entered on its third year—the *Empire* had the following editorial paragraph :—

Yesterday marked the close of the *Empire's* second year, and this evening we set out upon our third annular journey. The success that has attended our enterprise during our second year has been even more substantial and gratifying than the score we made during the first few months of our existence. The instant we appeared it became evident that the public wanted an evening paper, but, as an acute observer remarked to us the other day, we have not merely met an existing need, but have developed it. Our steadily increasing sales bear out a dictum which rested on simple observation of the vogue which the *Empire* enjoys. Our first year involved a certain amount of spadework. The second year has been devoted to expansion and development, and at the end of it we are in a position to pay a dividend to shareholders—a feat which we may claim to be almost, if not absolutely unique in the records of Indian journalism.

All persons interested in the fortunes of the fourth estate in India will, no doubt, read the above announcement with pleasure. That our very vivacious contemporary of the *Empire* should have, in so short a period as two years, triumphantly tided over the initial difficulties—particularly financial—which beset the path of every new journal, howsoever well-equipped it may be, will be gratifying to that very large section of educated Indians, whose views on many important questions—some of them extremely crucial—it has faithfully, ably and independently represented. The policy of the *Empire* has been truly marked with "loyalty, sympathy and independence" and it may rightly claim to represent correctly the views and sentiments of that "vast body of moderate opinion, both Indian and European, which always pronounces the final verdict on constitutional questions." So much for the policy of the paper, which it was not possible to appraise, when we wrote last, within a few months of its having been started, but to the liberalism, progressiveness and independence of which, we have great pleasure in testifying, now that it has safely passed through the ordeal, during the most critical years of its existence. For the rest, the *Empire* continues to be, what it has been from the day of its birth—the lightest, brightest and breeziest paper in India, thoroughly alert in gathering the latest and most interesting news from all parts of the country and ever unfailing in its endeavour to do good to the people amongst whom its lot is cast. So long as the *Empire* keeps up its present policy, there is no reason to doubt that it will continue to receive from the educated Indians the support it deserves. Its Editor and Managing Director, Mr. A. J. Fraser Blair, to whose high talents and remarkable energy the success of the paper is chiefly due, left early this month for Europe on a well-earned holiday. He is expected back in October. In the meantime, the paper is being conducted, on the lines laid down by Mr. Fraser, by Mr. A. G. Throssell, who has been connected with the paper ever since it was established and who is a journalist of great experience.

VI.—THE *STATESMAN*.

In our last sketch, we reproduced an article from the *Statesman*, foreshadowing manifold changes and improvements in the printing and get-up of that paper. It took several months to instal and put into working order the huge machinary of the Goss Rotary Press, but at last the installation was complete by the middle of 1907, and the first issue of the paper turned out of the new press appeared on the 16th of July 1907. The bold enterprise of the proprietors in equipping their office with presses representing the very latest development

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of printing machinery and plant, which can print, cut and fold (ready for delivery) at one and the same operation a large sized paper upto a maximum of 32 pages, at the rate of 25,000 copies an hour, is truly beyond all praise. The following paragraph which appeared in the *Statesman*, will convey an idea of the thorough up-to-dateness of our contemporary's printing machinery :—

A recent issue of a London technical journal contains an article describing the electrical installation which is being set up in the offices of the London *Times*, to drive the new printing presses that have just been erected there. It may interest our readers to learn that the *Times* equipment is identical, down to almost every detail with that which was selected for the Goss presses of the *Statesman* two and a half years ago. At that time the Kohler Control system had scarcely obtained recognition in England, but the proprietors of the *Statesman*, after an examination of the various systems, came to the conclusion that the Kohler Control, if combined with efficient motors of British make, would prove second to none. They accordingly placed the order for the connections of the motors with Messrs. Crompton and Co., Ld., the great Essex (Chelmsford) firm, and that for the Controllers with Messrs. Kohler Brothers, of Chicago. Precisely the same combination, we are gratified to note has now been adopted by the *Times*, a fact which can hardly be regarded as other than a marked compliment to newspaper enterprise in India—a compliment, moreover, which the readers of the *Statesman* may accept as a proof that, in the arrangements made two years ago for equipping this journal with Rotary presses and appliances of the best pattern, care was taken to provide an installation which united the advantages of the latest developments of electrical work in England and in America.

We are not surprised to learn that the courageous step taken by the proprietors has been rewarded with unqualified success. The *Daily Telegraph* of London having brought out on the 18th of June last a 24-page paper, as the completed product of a single printing machine, claimed to have made a record in British journalism. But it is to India's credit—thanks to the *Statesman*—that the fact on which the *Daily Telegraph* prided itself, was accomplished and repeated more than a dozen times by the Calcutta daily in the cold weather of 1907-08. There could scarcely be a more striking proof of the enterprise of the *Statesman* than that it should be a matter for jubilation on the part of the biggest London paper to bring out an issue, such as the Calcutta paper had brought out several months before. It is not only, however, that the *Statesman* forestalled the *Daily Telegraph* ; it has actualy beaten the London paper and thus beaten the record in the world's press, or at any rate, in that of the British Empire. The following paragraph from a recent issue of the *Statesman* will be read with interest. It appeared under the heading of " A World Record" :—

By the publication of to-day's issue the *Statesman* once more establishes a 'record' not only in Indian but in English journalism. Six months ago the London *Daily Telegraph* prided itself upon having surprised all achievements in newspaper production by publishing a 24-page daily paper in a single printing operation, but we were able to show that the feat for which that enterprising London journal claimed credit had been anticipated in Calcutta, where several 24-page issues of the *Statesman* had been published before the *Daily Telegraph's* announcement appeared. To-day, however, even this record has been left behind. The issue of the *Statesman* now in the hands of the reader consists of no less than twenty-eight-pages printed with the same ease as papers of half the size, by a single operation of the Goss Rotary Presses installed eighteen months ago in the *Statesman* printing house. We can say with some confidence that no daily paper of this size has been produced before in any country, except perhaps the United States. It may be added that, in order to print the edition in the prescribed time, the stereotyping staff had to cast and prepare 56 separate plates, so that both the Goss 4-deck machines might be brought into full work ; and, as our readers and advertisers will be pleased to learn, the constantly growing circulation of the *Statesman* has latterly made the constant use of these two powerful presses indispensable.

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A year later, in its issue of 19th July 1908, the *Statesman*—in the course of an "anniversary" article—expressed its great gratification at the very satisfactory result, from the financial standpoint, of its enterprise and claimed that its "circulation now averages over ten thousand copies daily,.....which, it is safe to assert is double that of any other journal in India at the present day." This is as it should has been, for the newspaper reader is bound to appreciate the *Statesman*, printed and turned out as it now is, in a style which few British newspapers can equal, and which—so far as India is concerned—is by far and away the best printed, and the most neatly turned-out paper and absolutely the pleasantest to read, by reason of its extremely clear point. It may be said without any fear of contradiction that the *Statesman* now stands unrivalled in the East for its high mechanical execution and we sincerely congratulate our contemporary on the very notable success achieved by it.

During the period under review, the *Statesman* has had to lose the services of Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, the most brilliant member of its staff, who also acted as the editor of the paper for over two years. Mr. Ratcliffe left India shortly after the installation of the Rotory Press. Mr. Ratcliffe's departure evoked many appreciative paragraphs in the Indian and Anglo-Indian papers and the following from the *Indian Mirror* faithfully represents the view of educated Indians:—

No other Anglo-Indian journalist in recent times created such excellent impression among the people by his affable manners, sympathetic attitude and sober view of all public questions, as Mr. Ratcliffe has been able to produce. He is vastly popular among all sections of the community with whom he mixed. He gave a new life to the *Statesman*, and raised it immeasurably in the public estimation by his able conduct of the paper for three years when he was put in editorial charge, during the absence of the proprietors in Europe. Under him, the reputation of the *Statesman* was greatly enhanced till it came to be regarded as a powerful exponent of public opinion, whose influence was uniformly wielded for the advancement of the country and the success of every good and true cause. Mr. Ratcliffe holds thoroughly sound and impartial views on questions of public policy, and is never known to have spared either the Government or the people when the exigencies of public welfare required it. His journalistic methods and ideals had not the least tinge of narrow and partisan spirit. He raised the tone of the Anglo-Indian Press, which will be distinctly the poorer by his enforced departure and there will be a void in the Press of Calcutta, nay of India, which it will be difficult to fill.

The leading Indian-owned English papers of Calcutta have, ever since Mr. Ratcliffe's departure, been asserting that there has been a marked change in the policy of the *Statesman*, that it has become less liberal and reactionary. It is difficult to say to what extent the charge is well-founded. We do not think it would be at all conceded by the proprietors of the *Statesman*. In the "Ourselves," which appeared in the first issue turned out of the Rotary press, it was said that "the resolve of the proprietors is, as it has always been, that the policy and the character of the paper shall remain unchanged." Again, in the course of the article it was said:—

From the first the *Statesman* has been an independent journal. On the one hand, it has, whenever necessary, criticised the Government frankly and fearlessly, though always in a spirit of loyalty. On the other hand, it has consistently endeavoured to secure just and generous treatment for the people of India and a sympathetic hearing for the educated classes in whom our English Universities have implanted a desire for a greater measure of liberty and a closer association of the people with the system of administration under which they live. That the *Statesman* has played this difficult role with some degree of success is shown by the many kind messages which we have received from representative men. Our hope is that with the new facilities thus provided for reaching the daily

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increasing English reading constituency in India, the *Statesman* may be able to carry on still more effectively its work of conciliation and its advocacy of just and considerate rule.

The fact, however, that the proprietors of the journal have recently been at pains to dissociate themselves in a communication to the *Manchester Guardian*, from the opinion expressed by Mr. Ratcliffe on the iniquity of deportation without trials, lends colour to the contention of the Indian-owned Calcutta papers. Mr. Ratcliffe had, in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, in subscribing himself, written after his name as "late of the *Statesman*," and the anxiety of the proprietors seemed to be, lest it might be misconstrued that the *Statesman* supported Mr. Ratcliffe's views. It was pointed out in a letter of the proprietors of the *Stateman* that their paper has implicit faith in Lords Minto and Morley in the matter of the deportation and has given that measure its full support. Now, ordinarly speaking, a liberal paper is not expected to support deportations without trial; hence the disappointment of those who think it inconsistent with the past traditions of the *Statesman*. Whatever thus the measure of the change in the policy of the paper, the change itself can hardly be doubted; witness the following from the *Madras Times*:—

> The tone of our Calcutta contemporary, the *Statesman*, has of late years changed considerably for the better; it now realizes the folly of encouraging Indian agitators and is an uncompromising foe of sedition.

No reasonable Indian can have any grievance with the *Statesman* (or any other paper, for the matter of that) for being "an uncompromise foe of sedition." But the grievance of the Bengalee journalists seems to be, that the *Statesman* has lapsed from its great traditions of a liberal, progressive and pro-Indian paper by supporting deportations without trial, representation in legislative councils of class interests and some other matters. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* having said that the *Statesman* had changed its policy because it had been boycotted by the Bengalees, the latter rejoined that the statement was untrue and that it hoped to print before long figures of its circulation which would go to show, that far from declining, its sale was going up amongst the Bengalees. There the matter rests for the present, as the promised figures have, so far as we know, not yet appeared. But while we are glad to receive the assurance (which we fully believe), that the circulation of our contemporary is increasing even amongst Indians—which is not at all surprising, considering the merits of the *Statesman* as a purveyor of news, quite apart from its editoial policy—we shall be glad by being assured by the proprietors that the policy of the great journalist, Mr. Robert Knight—the founder of the paper—will be kept intact by his successors.

It only remains to add that the weekly edition of the *Statesman*, which had long been appearing as the *Friend of India*, has recently begun to appear under the same name as the daily paper.

VII.—THE *INDIAN DAILY NEWS*.

If the most notable event in the journalistic history of India in the year 1906, was the foundation of the *Empire*, and that in 1907, the bold transformation of the *Statesman*, the most important event of the year 1908 was certainly the rejuvenescence of the *Indian Daily News*. This well-known Anglo-Indian daily was founded so far back as 1864, though—through

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the papers amalgamated with it—it claims a pedigree which dates back to the year year 1789, when the *India Gazette* was started. The *Gazette*, after many viscissitudes of fortune, came, in 1833, under the control of the great Bengalee leader, Dwarka Nath Tagore, who merged it in the *Bengal Hurkaru*, which he owned. After the foundation of the *Indian Daily News*, the *Bengal Hurkaru* was amalgamated with it, hence the claim of the *Daily News* to extend its pedigree to the *Indian Gazette* of 1789. In 1893, the paper was acquired by the Indian Publishers, Limited, who still own it. We said in our previous sketch that with the reduction in the price of the *Englishman* from four annas to one anna in 1906, the establishment of the *Empire* as an anna paper, and with the *Statesman* installed as an anna paper from long before, it would be intresting to watch whether the *Indian Daily News* would be able to hold out as a two-anna paper, which it then was. Within a few months of our writing, the *Daily News* announced that it had reduced its price to one anna, and so by the middle of 1907, the whole Anglo-Indian daily press of Calcutta came to consist of one-anna papers. But the real achievements of the *Daily News* were yet to come, and it was not till the 15th of August, 1908, that it appeared in a form and at a price that took the Indian journalistic world by storm. On that date—a date that will mark an era in the history of journalism in India—the *Daily News* appeared as an eight page paper, of a size slightly larger than that of the London half-penny dailies, with eight columns in each page, its matter set up on linotype machines and printed on Rotary press of the latest pattern, which turns out copies at the rate of 24,000 an hour. Along with this came the announcement that "to-day we inaugurate the commencement for an Anglo-Indian journal of the two-pice era." No wonder, that the paper suddenly leapt into public favour and that its sales have been going up since by leaps and bounds, with the result that it enjoys to-day a very large circulation amongst all classes, and the decision of the proprierors to incur the heavy expenditure has been fully justified by the income being quadrupled in less than six months. The double journalistic coup of the *Daily News*—its transformation at one bound into a rotary-printed and a half-anna paper—has naturally attracted great attention and congratulations have poured in from all sides—even from London journals—on the bold spirit of enterprise of its proprietors and Manager. The *Indian Daily News* both in appearance and price now closely resembles the London half-penny dailies—though in size, as already remarked, it is slightly larger than any of them. It is fairly well printed from the reel and the general arrangement of its reading matter and advertisements and the bold display of telegrams on the first page strike a note of thorough up-to-dateness. Its conductors have by their real stroke of business brought about a revolution in journalism in this country, thus placing the fact beyond doubt that, to enterprise and public spirit, nothing is impossible even in India, and we add our congratulations to the chorus of praise on the intrepid and adventurous step taken by our contemporary, which has made it not only the pioneer of the half-anna Indian press but absolutely the cheapest and best Anglo-Indian daily in India. We have only friendly criticism to offer—its printing might be clearer still.

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In regard to the policy of the paper, it was stated in the leading article of the first number of the half-anna issue that the *Daily News* is "a European paper identified with commercial interests" and "that the commercial interest of Europeans and Indians are much the same and their general interests also are to a large extent identical." It was further said—"We have no particular politics, we are not anti-government or anti-native or anti-anything in particular, *except anti-injustice*, and this we have always been and always mean to be." This is very well said indeed, and it, no doubt, clearly lays down the policy of the paper under its present editor, Mr. Everard Digby, who came out as an Assistant Editor of the *Daily News* about four years ago, and has been occupying its editorial chair for now over a year and half. Considering that Mr. Digby is a son of the late lamented Mr. William Digby, C. I. E—who slaved till the last moment of his life for Indian interests and died a martyr to India's cause—it is not surprising that the policy of the *Daily News* under the editorship of Mr. Digby—who has inherited love for India from his father—is marked with the deepest sympathy for the reasonable and legitimate aspirations of educated Indians. The *Investor's Review*—the well-known financial organ of London—recently said that the *Indian Daily News* "often betrays a greater depth of sympathy with the views of Indians than most of its Anglo-Indian contemporaries and is one which, in consequence, has suffered for its high-mindedness." This is perfectly true, and our readers will remember how for boldly speaking out its convictions it was cast in for damages by the Calcutta High Court in the case brought against it by some members of the Calcutta police. Such is the *Indian Daily News* of to-day—a paper conducted with ability, public spirit, sanity of judgment, honesty of purpose, freedom from all bias, and above all with absolute independence. A note of sincerity is the marked characteristic of its writings and you may be sure that it is a sincere friend and can be only, if ever, an honest opponent. And when it is remembered how young Mr. Digby is—for, to indulge in an Indian expressive vulgarsim, he is a mere *chhokra*—one may well wonder how he has been able to achieve such a notable success, and which is capable of only one explanation that the editor of the *Daily News* is, as the son of Mr. William Digby, literally a born journalist. He will shortly be returning to England for a few a month's well-earned rest, as also to attend the Imperial Press Conference in London which comes off in June next, as the accredited delegate of the Anglo-Indian journalists of Calcutta, and we wish him a pleasant stay at home and an early return to the editorial chair of the *Daily News*, which, we hope, he will occupy for a very long time. Mr. Digby is ably seconded in his work by his accomplished and experienced Assistant, M. S. A. Raja, who came from the staff of the *Madras Mail* and has been connected with the *Daily News* for nearly four years. Perhaps there is no other Anglo-Indian journal—at any rate, in Calcutta, or for the matter of that in Northern India—on the staff of which any Indian occupies so important a position as that of an Assistant Editor. This sketch of the *Indian Daily News* would be incomplete without any reference—howsoever slight—to the herculean labours of its indefatigable Manager, Mr. A. G. Collins, to whose bold initiation and courageous enterprise is largely due the financial success

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achieved by the paper. Mr. Collins is a nephew of Mr. R. Laidlaw, M. P., who takes considerable interest in the progress of India and in the question of Indian Nationalism and who recently awarded a prize of Rs. 2,000, for the best essay on the subject, which—written by Mr. Mody of Bombay—has just been published.

VIII.—THE INDO-ENGLISH DAILIES.

Of the Indian-edited papers in English, there is not much to be recorded. The *Bengalee* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* continue to be the leading organs of Hindu Bengalee public opinion. The *Bengalee* is taken to be a Moderate organ, while the *Patrika* is regarded as a Moderate Extremist paper—there being no Extreme Extremist journal, since the suppression of *Bande Mataram*. It is difficult to say which of the two papers is the more influential; they wield a more or less equal amount of influence in the province of Bengal. The policy of these two papers is about the same and as a matter of fact, with few exceptions, the policy of the papers conducted in English by Bengalee Hindu journalists is very much alike. They are all *ek dil* in Bengal. There have been no serious differences between the *Bengalee* and the *Patrika* on any important questions and the reading public have been thus denied the brilliant performances of the *Patrika*, which is at its best when "pitching into" the *Bengalee*. Of the two papers, the *Bengalee* is the more instructive, the *Patrika*—with its stories of King Habu and others—the more entertaining. Taken together they represent—with the possible exception of the *Indian Nation*—all that is most influential and progressive in Bengalee public life. The two papers in most matters supplement each other and a student of current events in Bengal cannot afford to neglect either. It may be noted that Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, the Editor of the *Bengalee*, has been invited by the organizers of the Imperial Conference of Journalists as a representative of the Anglo-Bengalee press. This has evoked the following outburst in the *Madras Times*:—

> The Indian Press has lately been clamouring that they ought to be represented at the coming Press Conferences in London. It is now announced that the Editor of the *Bengalee* is to go. Why such a selection should have been made it is hard to see, and it is still harder to guess why Sir Roper Lethbridge should have interested himself on behalf of Babu Banerjea. If Mr. Malabari of the *Indian Spectator* had been chosen, or Rai Norendro Nath Sen Bahadur of the *Indian Mirror*, or Babu Ghose of the *Indian Nation*, we should have applauded the selection, and few would have cared to cavil. Perhaps Sir Roper desired to show to the Press of the Empire the sort of antagonist against whom the Anglo-Indian editors have to contend, and so chose S. N. Banerjea as an awful example. We can explain the fact in no otherway. But where editors from the colonies are to form the majority of the guests we should have liked to see our Indian fellow-subjects represented by some one of whom India may feel proud. The invitation list has certainly become comprehensive and not particular, if Babu Surendranath Banerjea, a dismissed Government servant and the Editor of the violent anti-British-raj *Bengalee*, is included in the list. Perhaps the genial gentleman who from his house in Paris warns all English men or women in India that they must be prepared for lawful assassination as the penalty for coming out here, is also invited, as he is an editor of a British Empire paper. If so, the company promises to be a little mixed. Perhaps, however, the grapes are ours.

It has, since the publication of the above been announced in the *Bengalee* that Mr. Banerjee's invitation has not been due to the intervention of Sir

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Roper Lethbridge. The *Indian Planter's Gazette* had the following observations on the same subject :—

Babu Surrendra Nath Banerjee has been chosen to represent the Bengalee press at the forthcoming Imperial press Conference in London, Mr. Everard Digby performing a similar office for the Anglo-Indian Press of Calcutta. The Swadeshi King should be able to startle the Harmsworth-Pearson clique, which is running the show, to boom Imperial preference. He will probably be the best rhetorician there, and if he trots out all the "purple patches" which have long dazzled the eyes of his countrymen, he may have choice of the editorships of the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express*. The Australians are complaining that the delegates selected are not journalists, but newspaper proprietors. We always thought that the latter were consummate journalists ; at any rate they pass for such in Calcutta.

The following characterization of the *Bengalee* and the *Patrika*—the two really distinctive products of Bengalee Journalism—was contributed by an Anglo-Indian to a newspaper in England some time back :—

The *Bengalee* edited by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, the present head of the popular movement and the hero of certain stories, part ignorant and part malicious, is, on the whole, the most powerful Indian paper in the country. Its editorials are written with a good deal of vigour and in English, of a correctness still unusual in India. It is more enterprising than its contemporaries in the matter of telegrams and other news, and the personality of its editor is a decided asset. There remains the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, a paper which may be declared, without exaggeration, to be without a peer. It reflects the ideas, the prejudices, the fancies, and the out-of-the-way knowledge of Mr. Moti Lal Ghose—a personage who could have been produced by no country in the world save India, and by no province of India save Bengal. His readers believe, apparently not without good reason, that Mr. Moti Lal writes every line of his editorial page. Its humour is a perennial delight. Its irony sittings like fine cords. There is no other newspaper that brings one half the glee into the Government offices, and none which so mercilessly pursues any unfortunate District Officer who may chance to offend Indian opinion.

Mr. Lovat Fraser, the special correspondent of the *Times*—which in a leading article on Mr. Sinha's appointment, calls the *Patrika* "notorious"—has in one of his letters to that paper, the following characterization of the two editors :—

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, the editor of the *Bengalee*, is a powerful and moving orator, and is perhaps the most popular politician in Bengal. Age has not quenched his fire or abated his vigour since first I heard him address an English audience nearly 20 years ago. Uncertain in his convictions, always liable to be carried off his feet by the impulse of the moment, he has often had one foot in the camp of the Moderates and the other in that of the Extremists ; but at present he claims to be heart and soul with the Moderates. It cannot be said that his influence has always been exerted for good ; no man has done more to turn the thoughts of immature students towards political affairs. His latest project, for founding anti-Anarachist Unions among students, is really one of those doubtful experiments in organization which is quite likely to be harmful instead of useful.

Mr. Moti Lal Ghose is the editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, a journal of a somewhat violent type, issued from the queerest newspaper office it has ever been my fortune to visit. In a remote bazaar, far to the north of the city, Mr. Ghose has established himself in a vast, rambling house where he lives with a host of relatives and dependants upon the joint family system. Reporters scribble at the door keeper's room ; sub-editors are tucked away in odd corners, stray babies toddle in and out of the great bare apartment which serves as an editorial office, and members of the family wander in, listen a while to the conversation and drift away again. It is all very idyllic and patriarchal ; but you notice that the house equipped with electric light and fans and across the road in a dark and decaying tin roofed shed, you come across linotypes, and a dynamo, and machines driven by electricity, in that strange jumble of progress and equalor which is peculiarly characteristic of Calcutta. Mr. Ghose is distinguished for his absolute independence of view, which has made the *Amrita* something of a power throughout India. The views of Mr. Motilal Ghose are not without importance, for he expounds them with vigour in his journal, which has a circulation and influence to which many Anglo-Indian newspapers aspire in vain.

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The other two Indian-edited English dailies—the *Hindu Patriot* and the *Indian Mirror*—are good papers of their kind but, we fear, they do not carry influence with any large or important section of educated Bengalees. To begin with, they are not *newspapers* but *viewspapers*. The news in these two dailies are stale and insufficient and no enterprise is shown by them in the collection and dissemination of latest information, such as one may look for even in India in dailies published in the metropolis of the Indian Empire. In fact, a reader who depended solely on either or both of these papers for his knowledge of currents events would be woefully behind the times. Such reputation, therefore, as these papers enjoy is mainly for their views and for their position as old-established organs of public opinion of certain sections of the Bengalee Hindus.

The *Hindu Patriot*, which with questionable accuracy advertises itself as "the oldest Native paper in India"—there being yet in existence many a "Native paper" founded before 1853, when the *Patriot* came into existence—has had a brilliant past under the editorship of the great Bengalee statesman and publicist, the late lamented Mr. Kristo Das Pal, who conducted it as a weekly for nearly thirty years and made it the most influential, the most widely read and the most respected organ of zemindari public opinion in Bengal. Since the death of Mr. Pal, the *Patriot* has been converted into a daily, but it has been practically resting upon its laurels all these years. It is yet supposed to represent the views of the zamindars of Bengal, by reason of its being the subsidized organ of the British Indian Association of Calcutta but there is now nothing distinctive about its views. It is regarded as a pro-official paper and was commended by the *Madras Times* some time back, for its not shrinking "from speaking out when it thinks its contemporaries have gone too far in abuse of officials." That is evidently now to its sole credit, and it often professes to be in the secrets of the official world. To all intents and purposes it is now a negligible factor in moulding and representing the public opinion of any large and important class in Bengal, as even the Bengalee zemindars now largely share the views propounded by the *Bengalee* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. The chief notable incident in connection with the *Hindu Patriot* during the period under survey was the prosecution and the discharge of the editor for an alleged serious offence. The reports of the proceeding in court ending in the discharge of the editor were assiduously culled by the *Patriot* from the different newspapers and they appeared, covering about two columns, for several weeks—thus relieving the editorial and the composing staff the burden of collecting and setting up fresh news. Similarly long extracts from a work on Murshidabad, giving the pedigree and the history of the editor's family, appeared in the *Patriot* for several months—they too coming in handy to fill up space, like the proceedings of the criminal case. The editor of the paper was also sued for arrears of rent of the press premises in the Court of Small Causes and his cross-examination by the plaintiff's counsel elicited curious information about editorial doings, not calculated to enhance the reputation of the paper. The latest is another suit about which we extract the following information :—

Before the Master, Babu Money Lal Pyne of Messrs. N. C. Borall and Pyne, Solicitors, filed a plaint on behalf of Rai Raj Kumar Sarbadhicary, Bahadur, against Sirish Chander Sarbhadhicary for

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an account of the management of and dealings with the *Hindoo Patriot* newspaper, for a declaration of the agreement entered into between the plaintiff and the defendant, dated the 21st June, 1904, and for a direction to the defendant to make over the plaintiff the newspaper and its press, and all accessories thereof, also for an injunction restraining the defendant from further intermeddling and interfering with the publication of the newspaper on the ground of the defendant's gross breach of contract, and for other reliefs. The plaint was admitted and written atatement ordered.

The *Indian Mirror* rightly calls itself "the first Indo-English daily started in India." It was started, as a fortnightly, so far back as 1861 and was a daily long before the conversions as such of any of the other three existing Indo-English dailies of Calcutta—*viz*, the *Bengalee*, the *Patrika* and the *Patriot*. Its veteran editor, Rai Bahadur Narendra Nath Sen, has been connected with it ever since the paper was started nearly half a century back and is rightly regarded as the doyen of the Indo-English press in the country. At a time when the *Mirror* was the only Indo-English daily in Calcutta, it wielded considerable influence with the Government and the people—notably during the *regimes* of Lords Ripon and Dufferin. But with the rise of the *Patrika* and the *Bengalee*, and the slow but sure upheaval in the public opinion of Bengal on advanced lines, the *Mirror* has now been able to maintain its influence over a very large section, though it even now represents the aims and opinions of a small minority in Bengal. Such has been, however, the enormous development in Bengalee Hindu public opinion in recent years, especially since the memorable Partition of Bengal, that even the editor of the *Mirror* could not refuse the call of public opinion in his province and it was he who—curiously enough—moved in a strong and forcible speech the now famous Boycott resolution at the anti-partition public meeting, held in Calcutta in August 1906, which—in substance though not in words—by putting a premium on a spirit of resistance to authority, led subsequently to a spirit of violence, which has produced such disastrous results in Bengal and deepened the unrest in that and some other provinces. It is to the credit of Rai Narendra Nath Sen that, having in a moment of thoughtlessness let loose a tremendous force for evil by the ill-considered Boycott resolution, he has tried since then to undo its mischievous effects by sternly denouncing it in the colums of his paper and by strictly adhering to a policy of the maintenance of law and order and the suppression of sedition and anarchy—and which has brought on his devoted head, many a time, the taunts and sneers of *Bande Mataram* and other Extremist papers, for having become a turn-coat and resiled from the Boycott resolution, which he had moved. Be that as it may, the *Mirror* has been strongly of late anti-Boycott, with the result that it and the *Indian Nation* were complimented last year by the Viceroy as papers which would do credit to the press of any European country. Such is the *Indian Mirror* of to-day—"ponderous, tedious and sanctimonious" in the words of the *Madras Times*, and "anxiously searching," as put by the same paper, "for something to find good in the British character and administration and groaning sadly at its frequent disappointments." Though not effete or moribund like the *Patriot*, yet the *Mirror* is not now in its hey-day and is too dull and sober to find favour with the ardent patriots of Bengal. The services of its veteran editor to the cause of law and order were acknowledged last year by the Government

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on the King-Empror's birthday, by conferring upon him the title of Rai Bahadur. Rai Narendra Nath's friends held parties and meetings to congratulate him on the recognition of his services by the Government. At one notable meeting, in particular, the chair was taken by Sir Charles Allen, Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation, and eulogistic speeches were made at it by the leading representatives of different communities—European and Indian—in moving and seconding resolutions congratulating Rai Narendra Nath Sen. The press, however, both Indian and Anglo-Indian, seemed to be dissatisfied with the inadequacy of the title conferred. The *Statesman* thought that "some more worthy recognition might suely have been found", while the *Bengalee* "did not know whether to congratulate him or to condole with him." The *Indian Planter's Gazettee* called it a "meanly reward," *Capital* "an exceedingly small pat on the back," the *Indian Spectator* "tardy and inadequate," the *Indian Social Reformer*, "paltry title," while the *Indian Nation* thought it was nothing short of "an insult." These and other similar opinions of Indian and Anglo-Indian journals were reproduced at the time by the *Indian Mirror* and their reproduction evoked the following comment in the *Madras Times*:—

> A curious step has been taken by the *Indian Mirror*. It will be remembered that the editor, Norendro Nath Sen, received the title of Rai Bahadur in the last Birthday Honours. Under the heading "Journalism in the Birthday Honours List" he has printed the remarks of eight papers on the event, including those of *Capital*, the *Statesman* and the *Indian Planter's Gazettee*. Of the eight papers six, including the three Anglo-Indian, consider such a small honour derogatory to the dogen of the Indian press. *The Rai Bahadur seems to be giving the Viceroy a very strong hint.* Yet we believe that he and our own chief reporter are the only two pressmen in India, English or Indian, who hold titles for their work.

With all its deficiencies as a *newspaper*, the *Indian Mirror* has even now good work to its credit and we hope its editor will be spared long years to come and be able to see the celebration of the Golden Jubilee and the Diamond Jubilee of the paper, on which he has bestowed the labours of a lifetime.

IX.—THE INDO-ENGLISH WEEKLIES.

There now remain the Indo-English weeklies of Calcutta to be noticed. It is a strange circumstance that the weekly press—whether Indian or Anglo-Indian—has not been for generations a strong or an important feature of the fourth estate in India. All the Anglo-Indian weeklies are class, trade or professional organs and there is not a single Anglo-Indian journal on the lines of the well-known London weekly reviews—the *Spectator*, the *Saturday Review*, the *Outlook* and the *Nation*. Nor is the Indo-English press any better in this respect. The only four Indo-English weeklies that are of any position and consequence are the *Indian Nation* of Calcutta, the *Indian Spectator* and the *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay and the *Wednesday Review* of Trichinopoly. The rest are, like the Anglo-Indian weeklies, organs of particular classes, creeds and communities and do not as such occupy a prominent position in the journalistic world, though the English Sections of many of the Anglo-vernacular weeklies of the Bombay presidency are conducted with great ability and considerable vigor. Of the four Indo-English weeklies enumerated above, the *Indian Nation* celebrated its Silver Jubilee by the completion of twenty-five years of

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its existence. The following paragraph appeared in one of its issues of August last:—

This week we complete twenty-five years of existence. The *Indian Nation* made its first appearance on the 13th August 1883 Through all this period it has been conducted by one individual who never had any wealth to bestow on it as capital and who has yet been too proud to solicit patronage. The paper, it is sincerely believed, retains its traditions. It seeks to represent the most enlightened public opinion, and also to aid in forming it. It has never swerved from loyalty and at the same time never ceased attending to the best interests of the people To represent public opinion, however, has never meant to us shouting with the mob. We can say confidently to-day, as we said on a former occasion, "we have never set our sail to every passing breeze." We have sought to ventilate nothing that appeared to us as an evil, and we can lay our hands on our heart and say that we have never set down aught in malice. We fully counted the cost when we decided to speak out our convictions. We should not be surprised if our sentiments have proved disagreeable to some. We have not scrupled to attack, whenever occasion has arisen, measures or opinions or public conduct, but to the best of our knowledge and remembrance we have spared men. If ever we have forgot ourselves we ask to be forgiven by any we may have wronged. This is all we need say to explain the spirit in which we have sought to perform our duty. In regard to the character of the work itself it is for others to judge.

All this is very modestly put indeed. We have said above that the *Nation*—along with the *Indian Mirror*—was complimented by the Viceroy, last year, on its sanity, sobriety and moderation. Nor was the compliment ill-bestowed. Making allowances for such occasional lapses or aberrations as are apt to characterize any paper of long standing, it may safely be said that the *Indian Nation* has to its credit a record of good services rendered alike to the Government and the people of which it may well be proud. Its talented editor, Mr. N. N. Ghose—whose sudden and premature death in the prime of life, a few days back, has caused a shock to the whole country—was a distinguished scholar and one of the most brilliant writers of English in India and his scholarship and literary merit had deservedly secured for him the recognition of eminent societies in England. His profound knowledge of history and politics were reflected in his writings and his views were characterized by a soundness and thoughtfulness which one looks for in vain in the columns of many of the Indo-English journals. It is highly creditable to him that without any one's co-operation and working absolutely single-handed he was able to carry on his journal on lines which won for it the admiration of all sensible persons, Indians and Europeans, from the Viceroy downwards. Even the *Madras Times* has had to write of Mr. Ghose's journal as follows:—"The *Indian Nation* is refreshing reading. Its editor preserves a sturdy independence. He is anti-partition and anti-boycott and speaks up for his principles like a man. We never remember reading anything in his paper likely to stir up racial animosity. Would there were more like him in Bengal." Praise from the *Madras Times* is praise indeed.

The announcement of Mr. Ghose's death has evoked appreciations of his work and worth as a publicist and public man, from most of the leading organs of public opinion, Indian and Anglo-Indian, and speaking for ourselves we have lost in him a valued friend and contributor to this review. We reproduce below the *communique* issued by Sir Edward Baker, expressing his sense of grief at Mr. Ghose's death:—

The Lieutenant-Governor has learnt with great regret of the sudden and unexpected death of Mr. N. N. Ghose, Barrister-at-Law editor of the *Indian Nation* and Principal of the Metropoliton Institution. Sir Edward Baker had known Mr. Ghose for more than twelve years, in various

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public capacities, and had always been impressed by his high personal character, clear political insight and his earnestness of purpose. The paper of which he was editor was uniformly characterised by outspoken sincerity, lofty principles and distinction of style in a degree that is rarely found in any country in the world. His premature death is a serious loss to the best interests of Indian journalism,

We have said above that *Mulk and Millat* has ceased to exist. Of the other two Muhammadan papers, the older, the *Moslem Chronicle*, having once obtained a certificate from the *Times*, nearly twenty years back, of its being the leading Mussalman paper in Bengal, has been since resting on its oars. It comes out spasmodically, sometimes not putting in an appearance for weeks. In fact it appears at it sown sweet will and pleasure. Of late, it was announced that it had been reorganized but we have not been able to note any exceptional departure from its time-honoured traditions and it is just at present *non-est*, though it appears so fitfully that it cannot be said that it has ceased to exist. For all practical purposes, however, it may be taken to be dead. The other organ of Muhammadan public opinion in Calcutta is the *Mussalman*, which was founded in 1906 and appreciatively reviewed by us in our last sketch. It is owned by Mr. A. Rasul, Bar-at-Law, who controls its policy and edited with great ability and courage by Mr. Mujibur Rahman. The policy of the paper is very liberal and progressive for an organ of Mussalman public opinion. In many matters it is much in advance of the views of the average Musalman paper and it proclaims ideals and encourages methods of agitation that one has not yet learnt to associate with Muhammadans and which are more in keeping with the aspirations and the propaganda of Hindu journalists in Bengal. Naturally, holding the views that it does, the *Mussalman* gives but short shrift to many of the opinions and ideals of the All-India Muslim League. And yet it boldly champions the cause of the Muhammadans in matters in which it thinks its advocacy is needed. Speaking in general terms, its political policy is pro-Congress, though it has nothing but contempt for what it calls the "Conventionist" Congress held last December at Madras. Taking it all in all, the *Mussalman* is now the leading organ of public opinion of Bengalee Muhammadans and it is not only ably conducted, buts its views are characterized by remarkable independence and toleration. It is a notable accession to the ranks of Indo-English journals and we wish it all success in its noble mission of conciliation between the two great communities.

X.—THE *EASTERN BENGAL AND ASSAM ERA*.

We have now surveyed the metropolitan press—Anglo-Indian and Indian—and very little remains to be said about the mofussil press of Bengal. The only journal that may be said to claim a notice here is the Dacca Anglo-Indian bi-weekly—the *Eastern Bengal and Assam Era*, better known under the old familiar name of the *Bengal Times*. Though it re-christened itself (after the partition of Bengal) under its new, pompous and magniloquent name, it remains in all respects what it was before, and it is, if anything, even more rabid now than when Sir (then Mr.) Henry Cotton immortalised it by quoting some passages from its columns, so far back as 1885, in the first edition of his *New India*, to show the depth of scurrility to which Anglo-Indian journalism is capable of descending. Though its name is changed, it can no more change its nature than the leopard its spots or the Abyssinian his skin. You have only to dip

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into the columns of any of its issues to find rank abuse in the coarsest, foulest and most vulgar language of those who have the misfortune to differ from it in their views. In our last sketch we quoted an extract from it, in which it had said that Mr. G. S. Arundale (Honorary Vice-Principal of the Central Hindu College, Benares) should be publicly flogged and soundly horse-whipped for having presided over a meeting and made a speech on the Swadeshi movement, as "a degenerate British subject" who had identified himself with "native blackguardism." We quoted in our last sketch the passage in full and the London weekly, *India*, reproduced it from our pages and drew attention to the matter and Sir Henry Cotton put a question in the House of Commons to Mr. (now Viscount) Morley inviting him to "consider the desirability of taking steps in communication with the Government of India to discourage the publication of such inflammatory utterances." The Secretary of State for India declined to proceed in the matter as he thought the paper referred to, to be quite insignificant, for as he said: "I have never heard the publication." The *Eastern Bengal and Assam Era*, however, would not be itself, if it profited by the gentle castigation it received at Lord Morley's hands. On the contrary, it has during the last two years quite run amok and has been abusing all and sundry in terms which would be considered disgraceful even at Billingsgate. We regret we are not prepared to soil our pages by reproducing any of its "typical" editorials. The following extract, which may be taken as an instance of its writing at its best, will illustrate what we mean:

Nationalism—What is it? Although many and various shades of opinion have been expressed, in respect to what our Indian contemporaries pride themselves upon styling nationalism, we have never read an opinion concerning that term, speculating on a possibility, that we could fairly regard as worth perusal. Our Indian contemporaries ramble on about patriotic sentiment, and ring half-a-dozen changes upon what that and other fixed stock phrases ready to hand may mean, or that it may suit their purpose to employ; but they never, it seems to us, convey any intelligible idea of what their real meaning is. Our real question is, whether Nationalism by itself and apart from any taint of anarchy projects an attitude that any classes of our **Indian subjects** are morally justified in assuming towards the existing system of British policy, and whether, if justifiable, such an attitude can be scrupulously maintained, amid all complications of principle and convenience, fact and theory, that are bound to arise ere long, in this country, in connection, therewith. What we really seek is, some tangible groundwork, some bed-rock of foundation for what is magniloquently entitled "the Charter of Indian Rights," as derived from some inherent and vested claim in this vast region of disjointed and non-co-ordinate interests, this enormous area, where each has his different language, broken by unfamiliar idioms, is stimulated by conflicting considerations, by personal predilections of denominational bias—broadly termed religious faith—and by all that can divide and keep apart those who profess that, all these congeries of population are of one inspiration, one sympathy and are susceptible of being reduced to a common solution in a much-vaunted crucible patriotism.

Our "Indian subjects" indeed! So the three hundred millions of Indians are not the subjects of King-Emperor Edward VII, but of King-Emperor Kemp I. Now the one expression, the use of which to our mind—as, no doubt, to that of all educated Indians and even many thoughtful Anglo-Indians—is grossly objectionable and highly culpable is that of "subject" used with reference to the people of India, by any one except the King-Emperor himself. Some Britishers fall into the error of assuming that because they belong to the ruling race in this country, they can therefore claim to speak of the people of India as their "subjects." We confess, we

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have been considerably surprised to find the word so used by even Mr. Justice Beaman in his much-talked-of article in the February issue of the *Empire Review*. We wonder if Mr. Kemp of the *Eastern Bengal and Assam Era* and others of his ilk realise how grossly offensive it must be to the feelings of the large and growing educated community in India to find itself described, not as the subjects of His Most Gracious Majesty King-Emperor Edward VII, but of Mr. Kemp and men of his kidney. Now, either the Indians are the subjects of the King-Emperor Edward or of Mr. Kemp and his friends and countrymen; they surely cannot be the subjects of both—for Mr. Kemp will not, we suppose, set up a claim to be the "fellow-subject" of His Majesty, the King-Emperor. If, therefore, the Indians are the subjects of King-Emperor Edward, they cannot be the subjects of those who are themselves subjects of the King. As we have pointed out more than once, the people of India have been, since the Crown took over the administration of the country in 1858, the fellow-subjects of the British people and this important fact was never lost sight of even by His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, who, during the speeches he made in the course of his late tour, never permitted himself the use of the word "subject" when referring to the people of this country. Mr Kemp and men of his ilk might profitably sit at the feet of that distinguished and experienced administrator, the late Sir Lepel Griffin, who shortly before his lamented demise, in the course of a debate at the East India Association, gave expression to the following fine and noble sentiment:—"There is no subject race in India. The Indians are our fellow-subjects and are equal to ourselves." We commend these observations and that of Lord Morley about "King's equal subjects" to Mr. Kemp of the *Eastern Bengal and Assam Era* and warn him that if he persists in tampering with our loyalty by trying to transfer our allegiance from King-Emperor Edward VII to his own mighty and august self, he need not be surprised to find himself placed in the dock for attempting to wage war against the Crown. So let him beware in time and be grateful to us for this piece of friendly advice. After all this, it goes without saying that there is room for a well-conducted high-class Anglo-Indian newspaper in the new province.

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

XI.—OLD AND NEW.

The record of the Bombay presidency, during the period under review, so far as it is concerned with the English press, is hardly important, and the little that is worth noting is almost entirely concerned with the Presidency town. About the only matters affecting English newspapers in the Mofussil of the Western Presidency, were the conversion of the ably-conducted *Sind Gazette* of Karachi into a daily and the conviction by the Bombay High Court of Mr. N. C. Kelkar, the editor of the Poona weekly, the *Mahratta*, for contempt of court in writing as he did on the proceedings at the Tilak trial. The High Court sentenced Mr. Kelkar to a term of fourteen days' imprisonment and a fine of one thousand rupees—the imprisonment to continue till the contempt was purged by a suitable apology being made. Mr. Kelkar did not apologize, but preferred to go to jail, though he was subsequently released at the

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expiration of a fortnight, on an apology being tendered. The matter attracted considerable attention at the time and was widely commented upon by the Indian and the Anglo-Indian press. The following remarks of the *Indian Social Reformer*, will convey an idea of enlightened Indian opinion on the subject:—

It is not for us to ask what principle has been established, or what right vindicated, by making the apology after punishment and not at the commencement of the trial. We are inclined to think that Mr. Kelkar was prompted to take the course he took, rather by fear of what his friends might say than of his own reasoned conviction. Would these persons be less critical if he apologises now? From all accounts, Mr. Kelkar is a man of reasonable views and sober judgment, and we are really sorry that he should have courted this trouble. The contempt, of course, was so palpable that even Mr. Baptista—Mr. Kelkar's counsel—could only adduce the feeble plea that it was not as judge but as a private person that the Judge who tried the case had been assailed.

Since his release from jail, Mr. Kelker has severed his connection with the *Mahratta* and the paper is being conducted by the staff of the *Kesari*. The *Madras Times* has recently the following paragraph about the present policy of the *Mahratta*:—

A good deal is nowadays spoken and written about the subtle brains of Mahratta Brahmans. The chief organ of that clique is the Poona newspaper, the *Mahratta*, which combines an outspoken extremism worthy of the defunct *Bande Mataram* with a legal subtlety of argument hard to surpass In spite of the incarceration of Mr. Tilak and the heavy blow thus dealt to the community by the political extinction of its leader, the newspaper maintains the qualities which have hitherto distinguished it and its clients.

With the exception of the foundation at Bombay of the *Anglo-Indian Empire*, a new weekly organ of the "domiciled community," nothing of any real importance has transpired in the record of the English press in the Western Presidency. It is more than two years, since, in our last sketch, we referred to the proposal then under consideration, that of starting an Indo-English daily in Bombay, the crying want of which has been keenly felt these many years in Western India. Last year a prospectus of a limited liability company for carrying on an Indo-English daily in Bombay, was actually issued, but nothing tangible seems to have come out of it so for, though the Bombay correspondent of *Capital* has recently communicated to that journal the following information on the subject:—

The next great work to which Sir Pherozeshah Mehta proposes to set this hand is, I hear, the creation of moderate public opinion by means of an influential and up-to-date daily newspaper. There is no paper printed in English in Bombay on which he can depend. The *Advocate of India* is no longer a Pro-Indian organ, albeit it owed so much in the past to Indian support. People do not forget the way in which it threw over Sir Pherozeshah Mehta in the Corporation struggle with Mr. Harrison, I. C. S. That paper is therefore impossible for the Congress purpose. The *Bombay Gazette* abandoned many years ago the principles which the late Mr. Grattan Geary found so useful during the regime of Lord Reay. The *Times of India* of course, is the Anglo-Indian mouthpiece, and the Indians know what to expect from that quarter—scrupulously fair and clean antagonism but nothing more. There is therefore nothing for it but to start a new paper pledged to the interests of the Congress. Before the Madras meeting Sir Pherozeshah Mehta had collected two lakhs, but he declined to start without a capital of 5 lakhs. I hear that nearly all the balance has now been subscribed, and it is quite on the cards that before another six months are over our friends Bombay will rejoice in the possession of a fourth daily newspaper, modelled somewhat on the lines of the dear departed *Tribune* of London. It will cater for human interest, but be thoroughly radical in sentiment. It is not beyound the region of improbability that Mr. Ratcliffe will be installed in editorial staff.

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All this is cheering enough, but there are so may obstacles in the way of Sir Pherozeshah Metha and his co-adjutors in starting a well-equipped Indian daily in English, that while wishing them all success, it would be a mistake to delude ourself with hopes, unless and until the paper is actually launched. As for Mr. Ratcliffe's being "included in the editorial staff," the expectation is not likely to be realized, as that gentlman recently wrote to "Max"—the brilliant paragraphist of *Capital*, who printed it in that journal—that there was very little likelihood of his coming out to India as journalist, he having already refused an offer. Any way, it is sincerely to be hoped that the proposed Indo—English daily of Bombay, which has been long in process of incubation, may see the light before the end of the present year.

XII.—THE *TIMES OF INDIA*.

Of the existing Bombay papers, the only one that requires any particular mention is the *Times of India*, which has changed editorial hands. Mr. J. Lovat Fraser—who has just completed a tour in India as the special correspondent of the *Times* (London), the staff of which he has joined since his retirement from the editorship of the *Times of India*—is undoubtedly a brilliant journalist, but it seems that among his many gifts, he does not possess the saving grace of tact. It was, no doubt, the want of this requisite endowment that led him to measure strength with Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, by supporting against him a caucus in the Bombay Municipal Corporation, which was led by Mr. Harrison, then Accountant-General of Bombay, who has since been transferred to Calcutta. The *Times of India*, under Mr. Lovat Fraser, supported the caucus tooth and nail, with the result that its policy at the time produced very great dissatisfaction amongst the educated Indians in the Western Presidency. At a large meeting held at Bombay to protest against the caucus, under the presidentship of the Honb'le Mr. Gokhale, some young enthusiasts, who had evidently run amok, tore away copies of the *Times of India* and trampled the pieces under foot. The whole affair caused great sensation all over the country and it is said that it produced a marked effect on the advertisement columns of the paper. Just then it was announced that Mr. Lovat Fraser was going away on leave and he left the country no more to return on the staff of that paper. The proprietors, it is said, thought it necessary that to rehabilitate the paper in its former position, there should be a change in the editorial chair and thus it came about that Mr. Lovat Fraser retired to make room for Mr. Stanley Reed, the present editor of the *Times of India*. Mr. Reed is a journalist of considerable experience, and had been on the staff of the paper from before. He travelled as the representative of the paper along with the party of the Prince of Wales and his sketch of the Prince's tour was rightly considered by Sir Walter Lawrence to be so accurate and excellent a piece of literary work, that he gave up the idea of writing out an account of the tour himself and accepted Mr. Reed's work as the official record of the tour, to which he contributed a preface to mark his appreciation. The *Times of India Illustrated Weekly*, which also in its present form as an illustrated journal, came into existence at the time of the Prince's tour, owes its inception and success to the enthusiasm and energy of Mr. Reed. Though absorbed in the onerous duties incidental to

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the editorship of a leading Anglo-Indian daily, Mr. Reed takes the keenest interest in the fortunes of the *Illustrated Weekly* and the reading public in this country has every reason to feel grateful to him for his having supplied a long-felt want—that of a high class illustrated weekly journal. The *Times of India Illustrated Weekly* is now an ideal journal in India for home reading and recreation. Beautifully got-up, printed on glazed paper, specially manufactured for the purpose and which excellently takes the impression, packed with news from all parts of the Indian Empire, replete with the choicest contributions printed in the daily edition of the paper, comprising not only selections from the editorials of the daily *Times* but also special contributions, besides an interesting serial story—above all plentifully illustrated in the best style, with a four page illustrated supplement in each issue, containing splendid illustrations specially taken for the journal, it need hardly be said that the *Times of India Illustrated Weekly* is a paper which naturally appeals to a large section of the public—Anglo-Indian and Indian alike—and the success it has already attained in so short a time is richly deserved by this very pushful and enterprising journal, which we strongly commend to our readers, and which for the well-edited letter-press and beautiful pictures it gives, is certainly cheap for Rs. 12 a year.

So far as the daily *Times* is concerned, educated Indians have every reason to be satisfied with its policy as laid down by Mr. Reed. Not that the paper can be said to be "pro-Indian," but neither is it—like many of the other Anglo-Indian papers—"anti-Indian." It reflects the views and opinions of the thoughtful, enlightened and liberal section of the Anglo-Indian community in Western India and it supports all that it regards as reasonable and legitimate in the aspirations of the educated Indians. On the whole, it is conducted by Mr. Reed with scrupulous fairness and there is nothing in its pages, as a rule, which may be taken to be calculated to offend the feelings of any reasonable Indian Nationalist. The *Times of India*, under the editorship of Mr. Reed has reverted to the best traditions of the paper and so long as it adheres to its present policy, it is bound to command the respect of educated Indians.

XIII.—*ODDS AND ENDS.*

The other papers need not occupy us long. Anglo-vernacular journalism is a marked and an important feature of the press of the Bombay presidency and it is therefore not surprising to find that the *Parsi*—which was started as an illustrated English monthly and was afterwards converted into an illustrated weekly—has joined the ranks of the Anglo-Gujerati weeklies. Its Gujerati portion is considerably in excess of the English, while the illustrations, which formerly used to be scattered all over its pages, are now published in a four-page supplement, between the English and the Gujerati portions. The only other change of any consequence has been the discontinuance by the *Bombay Gazette* of the publication of its weekly edition for inland post, which used to be called the *Bombay Gazette Weekly Budget*, to distinguish it from the other weekly edition for foreign post—the *Bombay Gazette Overland Edition*. The latter is now utilized for inland post, but in the copies circulated in this country, a special supplement is inserted, containing reprint of such

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additional matter from the daily editions, as is likely to interest readers in India. This is about all that need be said about the history of the press in the Bombay presidency during the last two years. A word will be permissible, however, in commendation of the exceptionally good work done by the *Indian Social Reformer*, in moulding public opinion on absolntely right lines and in representing the views of the most advanced, the most patriotic and the most cultured classes of educated Indians. Though confining itself principally to social reform topics, the *Indian Social Reformer* deals with all aspects of Indian activity and progress. Its editor, Mr. K. Natarajan, B.A., is one of the most cultured Indians of the present generation and he brings to bear upon his writings a rare and ripe scholarship, a sound judgment and a very catholic and cosmopolitan temperament. The *Indian Social Reformer* is a journal of which educated Indians may well feel proud.

THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

XIV.—*OLD AND NEW.*

The history of the press in the Madras Presidency, during the period under survey, has not been important. It can be summed up by saying that two Indian monthlies and one Anglo-Indian monthly have ceased to exist, one Anglo-Indian weekly has changed its title and two Indian monthlies, and one Indian fortnightly, have seen the light. This seems a poor record for a province in which English is said to be more widely known than in any other Indian province. The first of the two weeklies that ceased to exist was the *Liberal*, an illustrated comic journal We wrote of it, in our last sketch in terms of appreciation and particularly of its cartoons. During the short term of its existence its bright, frank and humourous way of depicting men and measures secured for it a large amount of appreciation from the public and it was widely felt that the *Liberal* supplied a long-felt want in the ranks of Indian journalism. Its untimely death is, therefore, to be regretted. Though its politics were sane and sober and its cartoons never stepped the bounds of propriety and law, nevertheless its printers refused to continue printing the paper, for fear of being grabbed by the police under the new Press Act. The cartoon with which the *Liberal* closed its career was quite in keeping with its high standard. A storm was depicted as raging in the country when "buffoons should seek shelter," for "in stormy days, no time for jokes." In the political firmament, there were the following storm signals: "Repression," "Bombs," "Police Espionage," "Seditious Prosecutions," "Prohibition of Meetings," Confiscation of Press" and "Transportation for Sedition." In a valedictory article headed "Ourselves," the *Liberal* gave the following reasons for the cessation of the paper:—

It is our painful duty to announce to our subscribers and readers that we have resolved to discontinue the publication of the journal for the present. In the last week the printers of the paper, have given notice that they are unwilling to print and publish the journal hereafter on account of the penal confiscation clauses of the New Press Act. The proprietors of big respectable printing presses would not like to run the risk of losing their valuable properties for the sake of the pittance which they might receive as printing charges of weekly newspapers. Further, we are not enamoured of the policy of seditious prosecutions of our rulers, and in these stirring days one is likely to lose one's mental balance and imagine in every bush an officer. A Pinhey might hold

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that there is no place for comic illustrated journalism in a subject-country, filled with inflammable materials. In England and America a certain amount of latitude is allowed for humourous and comic journals. But India is not England. If the present law of sedition as laid down in the Penal Code is literally enforced, every cartoon and every critical article might be considered as bringing the administration into contempt or ridicule. As J. D Mayne has said, half the population of India would be in the dock if the law of defamation as laid down in Section 499 of the Penal Code were to be literally enforced. But our Judges and Magistrates are bent upon straining the law of sedition. After the conviction and sentence of Mr. Tilak, one may safely hold that there is no liberty of the press in British India. The appointment of a Censor or Director-General of Newspapers is only a question of time, as Lord Minto has assured us that a general Press law is an imperative necessity. When a house is on fire, the owner is likely to resent a joke rather than appreciate it. What might appear as a harmless joke in peaceful times, might be taken as rank sedition when a storm is raging. We have no special desire to be His Majesty's involuntary guests in Port Blair or the Penitentiary. No benefit accrues to the country by recklessly frittering away one's freedom. One can be useful to the people in one's own humble way outside the jail than inside it. We have therefore resolved to stop the publication of the journal.

The other journal which ceased to exist is the *Muslim Patriot*. In stopping its publication it simply said that "it is our painful duty to announce to our readers the necessity that has arisen of stopping the publication of the *Muslim Patriot* with the issue of the present number." In our previous sketch, we commended this paper as an excellent exponent of the opinion of liberal and enlightened Mussalmans and, considering that by far the greater portion of the Mussalman press in this country is disposed to take a narrow and communal view of public affairs, the discontinuance of a broad-minded organ of Mussalman public opinion, like the *Muslim Patriot*, is decidedly a loss to Indian journalism. During its short existence of about a year and a half it did excellent work in representing enlightened Mussalman public opinion and it is sincerely to be hoped that its conductors will be able to revive its publication, which, they said in the last issue of the paper, they hoped to do.

The Anglo-Indian monthly which was started and which ceased to exist, during the period under review, was called the *New Asiatic Review*. It was started by Messrs. C. M. Barrow and J. C. Adam as joint editors and on the death of the former a couple of months after the review came into existence, Mr. W. F. Grahame C. S. (*Retired*) was associated as a joint editor. But the periodical lasted just a year. The room for a high-class and ably-conducted monthly is so well occupied in Madras by Mr. Natesan's well-known *Indian Review*, that the Anglo-Indian publication had no chance in the competition. The Anglo-Indian weekly that assumed a new title was the *Eastern Guardian*. If now appears under the nomenclature of the *Anglo-Indian*, and as the organ of the Anglo-Indian Association of Southern India, Limited, it is devoted to the interests of the "domiciled community." The three new Indian publications that have seen the light are the two monthlies—the *New Reformer* and the *International Police Service Magazine*—and the fortnightly—the *Illustrated Criminal Investigation and the Law Digest*—which is issued from Vellore. These three periodicals were duly characterized by us in our survey of "The English Press of the Madras Presidency," which appeared in the issue of this review for December last. It is sufficient to state here that that the first—in the words of its prospectus—is "chiefly devoted to the eradication of those false and selfish desires which now alienate men

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one from the other and the establishment in their place of reason, justice and love as springs of action;" while the two latter—as their names indicate—are devoted to reports of criminal cases, detective stories, and matters within the purview of the science of Criminology. These observations bring to a close all that could be said about the births and deaths of journals and periodicals in the Madras Presidency, during the period the under notice.

XV.—THE ANGLO-INDIAN DAILIES.

Of the other journals and periodicals published in the Madras Presidency, there is no necessity to write here, as we presented a sketch of all the existing leading publications—Indian and Anglo-Indian—in our article on "The English Press of the Madras Presidency," referred to above. As a matter of fact, the number in the Southern Presidency of leading papers, journals and periodicals—putting out of consideration, those devoted to class or professional interests—is not large; and the five dailies—two Anglo-Indian (the *Madras Mail* and the *Madras Times*) and three Indian (the *Hindu*, the *Indian Patriot* and the *Madras Standard*) the one Indian weekly, the *Wednesday Review*, published at Trichinopoly and the one Indian monthly, the *Indian Review*, practically exhaust the catalogue of the more important publications of the Madras Presidency. All these were characterized by us at sufficient length in our sketch printed in December last and it is therefore unnecessary to repeat what was said then.

One or two points may, however, be noted in amplification of what we said at the time. In writing about the *Madras Times*, we said that apart from its views and policy, it was an excellent newspaper, its news service being specially commendable. The *Madras Times*, in printing our characterization, said that it was evidently expected to be pleased with this compliment and that it was quite satisfied with our commendation. That our compliment was rightly bestowed is apparent from the following paragraph which the *Madras Times* recently published, under the heading "Just Pride:—

> Of the three morning papers in Calcutta, neither the *Statesman*, nor the *Englishman*, in their issues, dated 11th inst., had any reference to the murder of Mr. Biswas, which occurred at Alipore on the previous day at 4-30 P.M. The *Indian Daily News* had not got the news in the body of its issue, but on a separate inset leaflet giving a very brief account. The *Madras Times*, however, had a full account in its morning issue of 11th inst., and we consider it a ground for justifiable pride to be able to supply our readers with news from the metropolis before the Calcutta papers themselves have published it.

The *Madras Times*, further, found fault with us for speaking highly of the three Indian dailies of Madras and for our quoting the testimony of the *Pioneer* in high appreciation of one of them, on the ground that all these papers had since deteriorated and that the observations of the *Pioneer* could not apply to the present condition. It further seemed to dislike our appreciative reference to the views and the policy of its Anglo-Indian contemporary—the *Madras Mail*. The reasons for all that the *Madras Times* said are obvious. During the period under survey, it has waged a bitter war not only with its Indian contemporaries, but on some important questions with even its Anglo-Indian contemporary of the *Madras Mail*. Hence evidently its dislike of all that we said. It is a pity that an ably-conducted paper like the *Madras Times* should take a view of men and affairs, which should not only lead to recrimination with its Indian contemporaries, but also place it in opposition on some important questions with

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even an Anglo-Indian paper of the status and standing of the *Madras Mail*. One can scarcely open any of the Indian dailies of Madras without lighting upon something in criticism of what had appeared in the *Madras Times*. In fact, the very great tension between the Indian papers and the *Madras Times* is placed beyond doubt by a perusual of the following observations, which appeared sometime back in the leading columns of the *Hindu* :—

Our Anglo-Indian contemporary of the *Madras Times* has, for some time past, been engaged in a campaign of vilification of educated Indians and their public activities. It had the audacity to declare not long ago that all the Indian papers in Madras, with the exception of the *Muhamedan*, have been writing seditious articles. There was a time when the *Madras Times* played a noble and worthy part, during the editorship of the late Mr. William Digby, C.I.E., and latterly of Mr. Glyn Barlow, when its mission was simply to cement union and brotherhood between the different communities and to help to heal racial differences and animosities. How grievously it has discarded its good traditions, and what a calamitous career of journalistic exploitation it has embarked upon, will become apparent from the following circular letter which its present director has unblushingly issued and which is going the round of "all Europeans and loyal Indians, official and non-official" :—

"Sir,—We venture to claim that the *Madras Times* has recently assumed the lead in the Southern presidency in voicing Anglo-Indian opinion on the subject of the so-called Unrest in India. The present inaction and weakness of the Government of India, the lukewarmness in the attitude of the Moderate Indian party, and the dangerous tactics of Extremists have been the features of the movement which it has been our main object to criticise and expose. That frank, outspokenness and unbiassed criticism are absolutely essential to the cause of law and order at the present juncture, will, we think, be generally conceded. The present is no time for Anglo-Indian Journals to sit on the fence. We send herewith some leading articles written at intervals during the past two years showing the strong line that we have taken up, and consistently adhered to, on the necessity for preserving law and order for putting down sedition with a strong hand. We have a purpose and we have a duty, and we ask all Europeans and loyal Indians, official or non-official, to rally round us and afford us that support which is necessary to our undertaking. We trust that we may enrol your name as a subscriber."

In regard to the *Madras Times*' relations with the *Madras Mail* and its own view as to the relative position of the two Anglo-Indian dailies in Southern India, our readers will be able to from an opinion from a perusal of the following extract from the landing columns of the former. Noticing the forthcoming Imperial Press Conference, this is what the *Madras Times* said :—

Writing about the Ceylon representative to be sent to attend the Imperial Press Conference the *Ceylon Observer* recently remarked that the Conference was a onesided affair got up by leading Tariff Reform journalists and their friends. It has now been called upon to withdraw that statement, as it is pointed out that the Committee is representative of all sections of the English Press. The *Ceylon Observer* now admits the fact, but goes on to call attention to a mis-statement by the Hony. Secy. in the *Times* to the effect that the method of the Committee "was to leave each centre or city to elect its own delegate in its own way." It points out that this was not done in Ceylon and that no invitation was received by the oldest paper in the island. We can make the same statement as regards Madras. The *Madras Times*, which certainly is the oldest paper in the Presidency still in existence, was not consulted or invited, though we make no grievance of it, for we must admit that, until recently, our esteemed contemporary the *Madras Mail's* position as the leader of Anglo-Indian opinion was unchallenged.

When all is said, however, there can be no doubt that not only for its excellent news service but equally so for its outspoken utterances, the *Madras Times* should be read by all Indian publicists and public men, who desire to keep themselves in touch with the views and sentiments of that (we fear) large section of the Anglo-Indian public, which is frankly illiberal and reactionary. Apart from it, the *Madras Times* is generally an amusing paper, of which the

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following paragraph is a typical sample. For subtle, literary conceit it will be hard to beat :—

From among the platitudes put into His Majesty's mouth by his Ministers it is a relief to find an assailable point. Did His Majesty really say that "*under these circumstances* the provision necessary for the coming year will require most serious consideration"? or is it a vulgar mistake of the telegraphing clerk? We are quite aware that Macaulay and Dickens and many other great writers of English have used the same slovenly expression, but never before have we seen it in a State document. How is it possible to be under that which stands around you? It is an expression which will never be found in the leading columns of the *Times* or any of the London papers which aspire to literary merit, and we trust that it will never be found in the editorial columns of the *Madras Times*. But here it is staring the public in the face, in a King's speech! an English King who should be master of his own lang uage. Does it mean that all opposition to the phrase is pedantic and that in future it is to be the fashion, set by Royalty, to make use of it. Even so, we fear that it will fall like President Roosevelt's spelling on irresponsive ears, for it is like a false note in music. It so jars upon the ear of a thinking writer that its adoption would be impossible.

Here is an ethnological gem from a recent issue of the *Madras Times*, which we would earnestly commend to the leaders of the All-India Muslim League. It is with reference to the alleged "differences" between the Hindus and the Mussalmans :—

The change lies not only in the different style of tying the *pagri* or of cutting the hair, nor in the beard, nor in the substitution of *pyjama* or *lungi* for the *dhoti*. The man's whole carriage, bearing and expression is different. Where the philosophic Hindu walks along the street with an expression as if his eyes were turned into his own head and he regards the outside world merely in relation to his own identity, the Muslim strides along looking out upon the world and reflecting what he will do in it.

Such is the *Madras Times* of to-day—an outspoken and vigorous champion of the European community but a strong and determined opponent of Indian progress. It has early this month moved its offices into larger premises on the Mount Road and its first issue from its new office contained a leading article on "The Madras Times" itself, in which it was announced that the paper would be sold in future at one anna a copy. In regard to its principles and policy, the following extracts from that article, will give our readers an idea as to what to expect from the *Madras Times* :—

The events of the past year have amply justified the position we then took up, although by many it was considered alarmist. More recently we have steadily combated all that we consider dangerous in Lord Morley's scheme of reforms, and we believe that we have carried a certain portion of the best intellects among Indians with us. But unfortunately the Indian distrust of these ill-considered innovations in the system of government is timid and latent. It shall be our endeavour to stir up this feeling into expression, for we feel certain that India at the present moment is hurrying toward a great danger.

This is how it appeals for support :—

On the principle that spices and stimulants are good for the palate and assist digestion of heavy food, may we express a hope that those conservative gentlemen who prefer to get their news through means to which, through the force of habit, they have succumbed for years, may, owing to this reduction in price, add the *Madras Times* to their other journals and thus give support to a small band of Englishmen who are fighting against heavy odds for their country's cause.

The *Madras Mail* under its present talented editor, Mr. W. A. Lawson, has wisely adhered to the policy laid down by his predecessor, the late lamented Mr. Beauchamp, C. I. E., and it continues to be the organ of all that is progressive, liberal and enlightened, in the Anglo-Indian community in Southern India. May it always adhere to its present policy.

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CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS AND COMMENTS.

N. B.—The contributions under this heading refer to matters previously treated in the *Hindustan Review*. Criticism of any article will, as a rule, be limited to a single issue. The discussion ends with a reply from the original writer.—Ed.

(*a*)—"A Study of Indian Nationalism."

By Mr. P. P. Gomes.

THE very learned and instructive article on the subject of "Indian Nationalism" in the *Hindustan Review* for January last, furnishes much information on different nationalities, from which it seems that the writer has read much and travelled to various countries. Thus he has acquired correct information. He has also studied the wants, conditions and sufferings of the masses or village communities by personal visits to villages and outlying hamlets. Hence he makes the following suggestions:

For the upkeep of such a confederacy of diverse communities two things are necessary—1*st*, mutual sympathy, and *2ndly*, knowledge of common wants. We should first try our prentice hands on such small matters as the arbitration of village feuds, maintenance of village industries, village sanitation, national (? English) education, establishment of co-operative societies, village water-supply, conservation of food-grains, (medical aid rendered by travelling Doctors or Pensioned Apothecaries—a suggestion of one of our Bombay Governors), etc., * * * * *

Mere cry for nationalism signifies nothing but a mere emptiness of heart.

The above and other remarks of the writer, Mr. Mukerji, seem to be practicable, and are similar to my suggestions on pp. 92—93 of the *Hindustan Review* for January, 1909, and reforms as these may be carried out as early as practicable by our benign Government, which is contemplating at present "Indian Reforms," some of which have benefitted the educated Indian classes in securing very high Government appointments, and there remains still the work of doing good to the poor or masses in villages, where their wants and sufferings are very acute, *viz.*, *so-called* plague, famines, legal matters, industries, etc., etc., etc.

There is much room still to increase and expand our industries for securing speedily the happiness and prosperity of the poor subjects in villages. And this can best be secured by bringing fallow, culturable land in the proximity of rivers and brooks and Railway lines under plough, as well as those fertile lands on hills and valleys, which are fertilized by grass and foliage manure. They can cultivate grain crops, vegetable and

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potato and sweet potato crops, pulses, oil-seeds, cotton, flax, and forests, because there is a great cry for unusually dear prices of food-stuffs. These crops can be cultivated according to the capacities or qualities of different soils. And in order to protect these crops, irrigation works may be constructed, in preference to communications, for which purpose Lord Curzon's Irrigation Commission has recommended several schemes and works all over India, the greatest of which was the "Himalaya Hills Scheme." For this purpose several crores of rupees were sanctioned. These irrigation works are not only *protective* but *productive* also, as they yield a respectable rate of interest on capital outlay, which is proved at once from our present Irrigation Reports. Then the construction of Railway branches on Indian Railways will also provide labour and permanent occupation to the idle and unemployed; and the Indian Railways have yielded a very high rate of interest also. Agriculture, Horticulture, Arboriculture, Irrigation works, and *new* Railway Lines will pay very high rate of interest on capital outlay, as well as secure to Government a higher rate of assessment, thus swelling and increasing Government revenue so as to secure "Prosperity Budgets," by which high taxation may be reducible.

There are many other matters also which require urgent reforms; but as one I. C. S. gentleman told me—"One thing at a time." Hence I reserve them for another time.

The first Reforms may be in accordance with Mr. Mukerji's suggestions because that gentleman seems to have carefully studied the wants of the poor in villages, which are similar to my suggestions. I have studied also the various subjects by personally travelling to different villages and to distant Provinces in India, and I have seen the sufferings of the poor subjects. Therefore I have ventured to humbly place my humble views after having practically seen the workings of our agricultural and horticultural farms by irrigation works and their successful results.

(b)—Professor Andrews on Education in India.

By Mr. Ratan Lal, B.A.

I hope you will allow me to contradict Professor Andrews when he says in his articles on Indian Education in the recent issues

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of the *Hindustan Review*, ".....both the movements (meaning the movements of S. Dayanand and S. Vivekanund) have inevitably drawn towards the sphere of politics or national reform."

Whether 'politics' and 'national reform' mean the same thing or not I do not know and need not discuss. But being a member of the Arya Samaj I can speak with authority that the movement of Rishi Dayanand is neither political nor national. It is, as can be easily ascertained by a cursory glance over the history and literature of the Arya Samaj, an essentially religious body, and there is no connecting link between the Vedic Dharma and politics. Religion and politics have their own different spheres and a missionary need not be a political agitator. The Rev. Mr. Andrews has advanced no arguments in support of his contention. I am, therefore, not in a position to sift this point further. Dharma, moreover, is not the monopoly of this nation or that. It is meant for all and is for all. The Arya Samaj, which is nothing if it is not Vedic Dharma, cannot, consequently, be a national body. It is a universal church and all invidious distinctions of caste, creed and colour disappear before it like mist before fire.

If Professor Andrews is serious about what he says, I hope the columns of the *Hindustan Review*, will be opened for a discussion on this vital topic, but if, as I take it, it was only a passing inadvertent remark, the learned and fair-minded missionary will see his way to withdraw his words.

———:o:———

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TOPICS OF THE DAY: THE REFORMS.

The Indian Councils Bill—The Points Gained—Governors in Council for Lieutenant-Governors—Provincial Executive Councils—Appointment of Indians on Executive Councils—The Supreme Legislative Council—Provincial Legislative Councils—Muslim Representation—Deported and Convicted Persons—Property and Educational Qualifications in Candidates—Officials and Elections—Debates on Budgets—Quorum at Meetings—Meetings of Councils—Local Government Boards—The First Indian Law Member—The Government and the Arya Samaj.

I.

HIS MAJESTY the King-Emperor said in his gracious speech at the opening of Parliament that the reception of the measures designed by his Government for improving Indian administration had given him deep satisfaction, and that it was his 'strong desire that the steps to be taken for giving effect to the policy announced in my message of last November to the princes and people of India may impartially protect the interests and advance the welfare of all races, classes and communities in my Indian dominions.' True to his word Lord Morley lost not a minute in introducing the Indian Councils Bill into the House of Lords and it is so far satisfactory that it has been already read a third time in it.

The Bill may be described as merely a skeleton measure. It leaves a great deal—far too much one might say—to executive regulations. It provides for the expansion of the Councils, confers the right of election on the people, sanctions increase in the strength of the Executive Councils of Madras and Bombay, and empowers members to move resolutions, vote upon the budgets and put questions. There was another clause providing for the establishment of Excutive Councils in the provinces governed by Lieutenant-Governors, but this has been rejected by the Lords. It may yet be reinstated by the Government in the House of Commons.

From the speeches of the Conservative Lords in the course of the debate in the House of Lords it becomes evident against what forces a reforming statesman has to contend. Of all these speeches Lord Curzon's performances easily stand out as being all that they should not have been, coming as they did from one who for seven long years ate the salt of India and who is still not unabashed to proclaim his friendliness to her best interests. His lordship, we regret, had not dignity enough to hesitate to refer to some of the best and most influential sections of the population as 'sharks in human disguise who preyed on these unhappy people.' Almost every one of Lord Morley's proposals has been opposed by him in strident and offensive language

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and with a zeal which we could wish were employed in a better cause. Lord MacDonnell sits on the Radical benches. He is an Irishman and a Nationalist and Home Ruler, and there was some hope that he would stand by Lord Morley. He preferred instead to support Lord Curzon against Lord Morley. Lord Midleton and Lord Lansdowne paid homage to the better side by lavishing wordy sympathy on the proposals in general, but attacked almost every specific item of these. Lord Cromer did somewhat better, and Lord Ampthill still more so. Lord Ripon, Lord Reay and Lord Courtney supported Lord Morley.

We have reserved to the last Lord Morley's own speeches. They fully sustained the great statesman's reputation as a friend of Liberalism and the successor and disciple of Mill and Gladstone. Except in one respect they were the pure milk of large-hearted statesmanship, and the people of India cannot be too grateful to his lordship for the manly stand he has made for reform of the Indian Government and of Indian administration. Several are the epoch-marking passages in the speeches, on which successive generations of the Indian reform party will love to dwell with satisfaction and gratitude. And those of our countrymen who live in a world of abstraction and unreality of their own and affect to see no good in this great Liberal statesman simply because he has committed some serious mistakes, may do worse than put Lord Morley's and Lord Curzon's speeches side by side and draw proper lessons from the contrast between these. It is all very well for arm-chair critics to aim at theoretical perfection, but the practical statesman who has to handle actual affairs has no clean slate to write upon, he may not be content with merely beating his head against the stone wall of reaction, prejudice and vested interests, he has to accept inevitable compromises and sacrifice his own wishes and intentions for the sake of doing something at all. As Mr. Gladstone said, often it is only the second best that is attainable in politics. Certainly from the Indian point of view there are flaws in Lord Morley's proposals of reform which it is the duty of the Indian reformer to point out and to get remedied if he can, and we are glad that effort is being directed towards this end. At the same time the Indians themselves have to, as most of them do, remember that half a loaf is better than no bread and most of them are, and everyone ought to be, careful that their criticism and agitation are directed against the imperfections of the scheme and not against the scheme itself. The warning addressed by Lord Morley to the deputation of the Moslem League cannot be too often repeated that if the present scheme miscarries it will be long before there is a combination of Secretary of State and Viceroy such as the present, who will both be equally bent on reform. We cannot therefore too strongly condemn the

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passages in the Bengalee leaders' manifesto and the address of the Hindu Sabha Panjab to Lord Minto in which preference is expressed for the abandonment of the scheme, if the concessions to the Muslim League are not withdrawn. The signatories to the manifesto and the address are public-spirited men who command our esteem, but we are constrained to say that rarely have political incapacity, want of judgment and lack of good sense gone farther than when these distinguished men allowed themselves to commit this opinion to paper. It is in a spirit of appreciation of the scheme as a whole but of anxious desire to improve some important portions of it, that we have to approach a consideration of the Bill and the cognate proposals which do not form part of it.

II.

The appointment of an Indian member on the Governor-General's Executive Council, the enlargement of the Executive Councils of the Governors of Madras and Bombay so as to admit of the appointment of an Indian member on each of them, the concession by statute of the right of election of a portion of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, the right of discussion of the financial proposals of the Governments, Imperial and Provincial, section by section, and of the moving of amendments thereto and of voting on them, the right of discussion of general administrative questions and of moving resolutions thereon, the right of putting supplementary questions, the extension of local self-government by conferring real powers on municipalities and local boards and relaxing the official control over them, and the creation (or revival) of village *punchayets* with some substantive powers,—these are reforms for which the Indian national party has been striving for nearly a quarter of a century, and these are now proposed to be conceded in larger or smaller measure. If any one doubts whether the new privileges that are to be ours are such as are worth having—if any one cherishes this feeling even after the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's lucid exposition at the Madras Congress and in his admirably terse article in the March *Contemporary Review*—let him study the very clear statement of our other illustrious countryman, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, published in the *Indian Review* for January, and he will not fail to form the opinion that the reforms of Lord Morley

are solid and substantial, and are precisely in the direction in which the Indian National Congress has demanded reforms during the last twenty years and more. In one word (says Mr. Dutt), the changes announced are calculated to give the people of India a substantial share in the control and direction of their own concerns. The voice of the people will find expression through recognised official channels; the wishes and opinions of the people will influence and shape the internal administration of the country. * * *

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The path has now been opened; and if we are loyal to ourselves—to our cherished objects, our past declarations, our persistent endeavours—we have it in our power now to make this scheme a success, and to live and work as responsible, self-respecting citizens, rather than as irresponsible critics. The future, for good or for evil, lies in our own hands.

III

Our first regret in connection with the Reform proposals is that Lord Morley has not accepted in its entirety the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation and sought to substitute Governors appointed from England for Lieutenant-Governors who are of the Indian Civil Service. It makes all the difference in the world whether an Indian province is governed by a statesman like Sir George Clarke or by a Civilian administrator like Sir Bampfylde Fuller. At the best the I. C. S. Lieutenant-Governor is a capable and sympathetic administrator imbued with the prejudices of a lifetime spent as a bureaucrat amid a people with a growing civic life, and interested in upholding and maintaining the system that is, at the worst he degenerates into a Sir Bampfylde Fuller and makes himself impossible. Hardly if ever—barring honourable exceptions—does he educate himself above his environments or is able to take an elevated view of national problems as a British statesman trained in the free public life of England would be apt to do. India needs in her service broad-minded statesmen—not merely efficient administrators. And it will long remain a matter of regret with us that Lord Morley has not taken his courage in both the hands and proposed this wholesome and much needed reform, albeit it is sweeping. He might have thought that this would involve the deprivation to the Civil Service of its most glorious prizes and that owing to the outcry of the beneficed bureaucracy which would be injured by the proposal he would be unable to carry it through the House of Lords. This fear cannot be dismissed as groundless, but has his more moderate proposal to establish Executive Councils with the Lieutenant-Governors retained, been accepted by this body which like the Bourbons of old, never learns and never forgets anything and which is the ancient and consistent enemy of all progress and every righteous cause? Was it not Richard Cobden who said that the privileged and usurping few would oppose a mild and cautious reform as strongly as a more daring one, while the former would not evoke any great enthusiasm in the multitude, and that therefore reformers must cling to first principles and not be afraid of proposing sweeping innovations when these might seem to them called for? Lord Morley might at least have proposed this reform in the case of the Lower Provinces and the United Provinces, which are large areas inhabited by advanced people to whom Governorships with Executive Councils were promised so long ago as 1833. But is the

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opportunity hopelessly lost? May not Lord Morley quietly give effect to the Act of 1833 and thus teach a lesson in political strategy as well as far-sighted statesmanship to the unrepentant Lords who sit in the hereditary chamber, who had not the grace or the good sense to accept his most modest proposal embodied in the now famous clause three of the Councils Bill? It will be a lesson indeed by which even they may profit.

IV.

It was a proposal entirely in the direction of progress that Executive Councils should be established in the larger provinces with the double object of introducing something like a Cabinet system of Government where at present it is a single-man rule and of associating one of the people themselves directly with the administration. The present is a patriarchal system which the people have outgrown. The opponents of Indian aspirations may exhaust their loquacious powers in talking of the virtues of a paternal and personal rule in an oriental country, but as the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces has well said in his admirable Note on the Reforms

> the Government, even if it be absolute, autocratic or bureaucratic has during the past 50 years endeavoured to create round itself a constitutional environment, framed not on Eastern but on Western lines. The progress obtained during that period has again been progress on Western lines. Any step forward must similarly be on Western lines in order to satisfy public opinion, which itself has been formed not from Eastern but from Western sources of inspiration. A step forward which can be described as a reversion to Oriental methods will be apt to be regarded as a step backward by the very class who are calling for progress. If any landholders have been found to clamour for more representation, it has not been because they were landholders, but because they have imbibed Western education. If any Mahomedans have pressed for adequate representation, it is not because they were Mahomedans but because they were educated Mahomedans. (*Papers relating to Constitutional Reform in India*, Vol. III, p. 1422.)

This is admirably put, and almost every educated Indian will be found to be in substantial agreement with the Honourable Mr. Craddock. Why is the Indian reform party grieved at the deletion of clause three? Because if there were Executive Councils with one of their number as a member thereof,

> the Indian member will have a portfolio, *i.e.*, will be the head of an important department; and he will also have a share in the discussion of all questions coming up from all departments to the full Council. We will suppose the Indian member to be a man of average ability; he will still reflect the views and opinions of his countrymen, and Provincial administration will not hereafter be shaped without consultation of Indian feeling and Indian sentiment. (Mr. R. C. DUTT, article in the *Indian Review*, January 1909.)

Here again, moderate and responsible Indian opinion will be found to be willing that progress should be gradual and cautious, that

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Executive Councils need not be brought into existence all at once in every province, that it will be a good beginning if the administrative machinery is so developed and improved in the Lower Provinces and the United Provinces to start with. And it will not be statesmanship not to attach weight to this opinion so widely prevalent.

V.

It is a pity that it is not part of the statute that at least one of the members of every Executive Council shall be an Indian. Whether because of the fear that such a clause would not be accepted by the House of Lords, or of his unwillingness to recognise race distinctions in an Act of Parliament (a perfectly intelligible position for either reason), Lord Morley has been decidedly opposed to incorporate this in the statute, preferring as he said to 'leave it to practice and usage growing into confirmed rule.' The people of India will be pardoned, however, if they do not feel the same sense of security that one of their number will always be so appointed unless such appointment is made obligatory by statute. As the learned President of the last Congress happily remarked, there will not always be a Morley at the India Office and a Minto at the Government House—very often we have to content ourselves with the Curzons and George Hamiltons of British politics—and then, will these respect precedent as if it were 'a confirmed rule'? As for the objection that race distinctions should not be recognised or ratified by statute, this is all very well in theory, but what happens in everyday administration? Indians are excluded from most of the prizes of the public service on no other ground but that they are not Europeans. The legal disability was removed long years ago, but the political objection against their preferment has remained. When we plead for statutory guarantees, we are told that these are not only superfluous but will be a step backward as being a recognition for the first time of a reactionary principle. When however we take these political purists at their word and ask for high appointments for our countrymen, we are suddenly told that no Indian may aspire to them as for political reasons they are reserved for members of the 'ruling' race. Did not the Court of Directors tell the Government of Lord William Bentinck that the meaning of the Charter Act of 1833 was that thenceforward there was to be 'no governing caste in India'? And yet, seventy-six years after that enactment, not only is there 'the governing caste' very much alive, but it is actually kicking. Why, did not Lord Morley himself tell the deputation of the Muslim League that it would be a serious thing to appoint two Indians to the Governor-General's Executive Council? And did not Lord Crewe say in his speech in the second reading debate that there were certain memberships of the Governor-General's Executive

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Council which 'obviously' could never be filled by an Indian? No, no, the truth is your Anglo-Indian monopolists will resist in the future as strongly as they have done in the past, the smallest enlargement of the area that may be occupied by educated Indians as it necessarily involves a corresponding curtailment of their own exclusive possession, and the only certain safeguard for the people is a statutory provision that a minimum number of seats, even if it be but one to start with, shall be theirs in all circumstances. It is a pity that Lord Morley has not felt himself so sure of this as the people who are the actual sufferers, by sad experience.

VI.

The proposals of the Government of India in regard to the constitution of the Supreme Legislative Council were on the whole unexceptionable and might have been accepted by the Secretary of State. But having decided to dispense with the official majority in the Provincial Legislative Councils Lord Morley has felt that the standing official majority on the Supreme Council must not be disturbed. As a matter of fact the Government of India themselves did not propose to do away with it. According to their scheme, 32 out of 63 members were to be officials and out of the 31 non-officials three would always be nominated members and two more for some time to come. Of the 26 men who would always be elected members, two were to represent European commerce, seven the large landholders and five the Mahomedan community. In the circumstances, where was the danger which Lord Morley feared, that the Imperial supremacy would in any degree be compromised or that the Council might not be able constantly and uninterruptedly to fulfil the constitutional obligations that it owes to the Imperial Parliament and to His Majesty's Government if the Council was constituted as the Government of India proposed? The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces was perfectly right when he wrote:—'There is, however, no real risk in these narrow majorities, for the circumstances must be very rare in which the Government would be opposed in any vital matter both by all three [two] members representing Chambers of Commerce as well as by the experts.' Sir Andrew Fraser expressed a like opinion. Writing of the Imperial Legislative Council itself, the ex-Lieutenant-Governor wrote thus:—'It would probably suffice if the officials and non-officials were equal in number. It is inconceivable that all the non-official members, coming as they will from so many different classes, and representing so many different interests, will ever combine against the Government: and even if they did so they would not be in a majority, if the officials, excluding the Viceroy, were equal to them in number.' Lord Morley's own argument

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with reference to the Provincial Legislative Councils holds equally good of the Imperial Council :

With a Council, however, representing divergent interests, and realising together with its increased powers, its greater responsibility, a combination of all the non-official members to resist a measure proposed by the Government would be unlikely, and some non-officials at least would probably cast their votes on the side of the Government. If however a combination of all the non-official members against the Government were to occur, that might be a very good reason for thinking that the proposed measure was really open to objection, and should not be proceeded with. (Vol. I, p. 8.)

The Government of India themselves sustained their recommendation in a masterly passage which may profitably be quoted :

We have stated in the last paragraph our reasons for deeming it essential to retain the power of procuring, in the last resort, the support of a majority of officials in our Legislative Councils. Subject to this essential condition, we are prepared, in the Councils as constituted for ordinary purposes, to make a far larger concession than has as yet been suggested and to dispense with an official majority. We have every hope that the confidence we are willing to place in the intelligence and public spirit of the non-official members will be justified, and that increased responsibility will bring with it the requisite forbearance. We believe that on all ordinary occasions the Government may reckon with practical certainty upon securing sufficient non-official support to enable them to carry on the work of legislation with a Council containing less than the full quota of official members, and we are willing to give this system a fair trial. Our specification of the Council has been framed accordingly. The provision that of the nominated members not more than 15 shall be officials will enable us to dispense with an official majority for ordinary purposes, and we anticipate that it will hardly ever be necessary to appoint so large a number of officials as would secure an absolute official majority. In short, we propose to work normally with a minority, but to reserve power in the last resort to transform it into a majority. (*Papers*, Vol. I, p. 11.)

We must say that we have missed in Lord Morley's despatch an adequate answer to this, of which he has disapproved but which he might have allowed to stand. We should have thought that Lord Morley would have acted in this instance as he has done in others, on the principle enunciated by the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, that 'the risks attaching to a bold step forward are much less than those entailed by an advance too small.'

VII.

The doing away with official majorities is the most important fact in connection with the reform of the Legislative Councils of the provinces. This is a measure of courageous statesmanship for which Lord Morley is entitled to grateful appreciation. Having regard to the composition of the non-official element in the Councils we need not be too sanguine of the immediate practical results of this reform, but that its moral effect will be considerable and may be far-reaching there can be no doubt. The concession of the Muslim League's demand

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for excessive representation, however, is bound to deprive the reform of some of its practical utility. We do not mean that every Mahomedan member will make it a point of invariably supporting every Government measure, but from their past record and more especially, from Mr. Ameer Ali's language before the Secretary of State we are warranted in thinking that as a rule they will not exhibit the same independence in their relations with the Government as the non-Moslem members may be expected to do.

Another point we wish to notice is that the electors, we mean the people at large, and the elected members will still be removed from one another by more than one stage. From the schemes of the several Provincial Governments it is easy to see that the Mahomedans will probably enjoy direct representation. We may refer to the proposals of Sir John Hewett's Government as an instance in point. Those among Mahomedans who pay land revenue and income-tax over a certain amount, Mahomedan Fellows of the University, and Mahomedan graduates of over five years' standing, are proposed to be formed into an electoral college for returning Mahomedan members to the Provincial Council. In the case of the rest of the population, however the rate-payers will elect members of the Municipalities, these will elect voting delegates, these latter will elect members of the Provincial Councils, and these last will elect the members of the Supreme Council. Thus it will remain a treble-distilled and a quadruple-distilled process of election. It would be unfortunate if along with progressive innovations in other directions a step forward would not be taken in this matter as well. On two points we are clear. If the Mahomedans are to have direct representation, so must the rest of the people, who, if anything, are more advanced educationally than they are. We do not mean that the Mahomedans should not have it, our position is that there must be equality and impartiality of treatment all round. We do not comprehend the logic of conferring more extended privileges on the less advanced than on the more advanced section of the people.

Our second point is that if there is not to be a direct system of election, the one adopted should at least be one step less indirect than what is in vogue and is proposed to be continued. Our proposal is a very simple one: do away with the voting delegates between the members of the Municipal and District Boards and the Councillors who are to represent them. If to those be added honorary munsiffs and honorary magistrates, all payers of land revenue of Rs. 2,000, say, and of income-tax, on an equal amount, and all graduates of more than five years' standing, an electorate, satisfactory yet manageable, will be formed which may vote directly for members of the Provincial Council. And as there will be one member for every three districts or so (we speak here of the United Provinces), there ought not to be

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much difficulty in bringing the electors together at a convenient centre. The number of members that are to be sent up to the Supreme Council being however limited to two, the Provinces may be divided into two electoral groups. Voting delegates may be elected by members of the aforesaid electorate at the rate of one, two or three for each district as may be determined by the Local Government in accordance with some intelligible test, and these may meet, one set at Allahabad and one at Lucknow, as is done at present in the case of elections to the Local Council, to return the two members of the Supreme Council. By this expedient the electors, who ultimately are the people at large, and their representatives in the Councils, will at least be brought one stage nearer eaeh other.

Two other points that must be insisted on are that the amount of representation given to the general public should, in the Imperial as well as the Provincial Councils, be substantially larger than that given to special interests and special communities together, and that the principle of a non-official majority in the Provincial Councils having been conceded, it is the *elected* non-official members that should be placed in a clear majority over the rest of the Council, officials and nominated non-officials taken together. The normal arrangement is that there should be no special constituencies at all, but owing to exceptional causes these are to be created. This does not however mean that they should have a larger representation than the members returned by the general electorate. The point in fact is so obvious that we do not think we need labour it. We have only a word to say on the latter point, too. If the non-official majority is not to be reduced to a nullity, it is the elected members that must constitute a majority. The more so after the pronouncement of Mr. Syed Ameer Ali, to which we have referred.

VIII

The portion of the scheme that excited the liveliest interest and roused the keenest controversy—feelings of satisfaction and disappointment, thankfulness and resentment, alternating in either section of the populace—is the special representation of the Musalman community. How the Government of India's original proposal in favour of separate class representation were greeted with a universal chorus of disapproval and indignation, need not be told afresh. The Government of Madras carried the principle to a *reductio ad absurdum* by the tentative scheme they drew up to give effect to the proposal of the Government of India in this regard. To use their own language—

> a scheme was accordingly drawn up in which the principle of class representation was worked out rigorously, perhaps more rigorously than the Government of India contemplated...and public opinion, as represented in both official and non-official comments, has rapidly crystallised into distinctly

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adverse criticism of the principles themselves. (*Papers*, Vol. II, p. 41.) No part of the Government of India's proposals was received with more general and decided disapprobation than this last suggestion. Apart from the very great practical difficulty of forming class electorates, the proposal to introduce the principle of race, caste and religious representation has been almost universally condemned as likely to perpetuate differences and to strengthen barriers which the growth of civilisation is gradually removing. (*Ibid*, p. 49.)

Thanks to a statement in Lord Minto's speech to the Mahomedan deputation in October 1906, the proposal to give separate representation to a single community was retained in the final proposals of the Government of India. But Lord Morley proposed to modify the scheme in such a manner as to render easy a continuance of the harmonious co-operation of the Moslem and non-Moslem Indians in public life. This was sought to be achieved by the now historic plan of composite electoral colleges. Owing to the subsequent agitation of the Muslim League here and in England—agitation which we suspect has been largely fomented by Anglo-Indian ill-wishers of India's national progress, which at any rate has received the eager support of these men—the mixed electorate scheme has been dropped and the authoritative announcement made that Mahomedans will have separate electorates as well as be given a number of seats in excess of their numerical strength. We think it our duty to point out that if this scheme were carried out, the Government of India and the Secretary of State would have gone against the weight of opinion of the various Provincial Governments. Indeed, barring Sir John Hewett, every Provincial Government has more or less opposed the proposal to give preferential treatment to the Mahomedan. And even Sir John Hewett has strongly opposed the concession in regard to Municipal and Local Board elections. Thus, the Government of Madras expressed the opinion:—

> The Mahomedan community of this Presidency is not of sufficient importance to warrant the reservation for it of any large number of seats on the local Legislative Council. (*Papers*, Vol. II, p. 51.)
>
> The Madras Government therefore consider that, while it might be possible to form an electorate in accordance with religion in certain confined areas, it would be impracticable to adopt religion as the basis of a franchise generally in the Presidency. (*Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 245).

The Government of Bombay wrote:—

> The Mahomedans are widely scattered over the Presidency and are at present unorganised for the purposes of common action. It is therefore impossible to suggest any satisfactory scheme for the creation of a special electorate. In process of time the Mahomedans and other communities may become politically consolidated, and it might then be possible to secure representatives nominated by central associations. In present circumstances the Governor in Council is strongly of opinion that the proportionate representation of Mahomedans both on the Advisory and the Legislative Council

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can be attained only by careful nomination. The claims of other communities cannot be overlooked.... (*Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 379.)

The Government of the Lower Provinces said that the special classes to be represented would be selected by the Lieutenant-Governor as occasion seemed to require; and suitable arrangements for electing representatives would be made. (*Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 547.)

The Government of the United Provinces supported the Mahomedan demand for separate electorates for the Legislative Councils, but rigorously opposed the same in regard to Municipal and District Boards. They wrote as follows :—

It cannot be said that the present system affects them unfavourably...it is only in a few exceptional cases that Mahomedans fail to obtain a fair share of the representation, and the Lieutenant-Governor thinks it would be a pity to disturb the generally amicable relations at present existing between Hindus and Mahomedans by introducing religious distinctions into the electoral system.....It would be impossible, therefore without making the boards unwieldy, to apply to either the principle of class representation, and to ignore the actual organisation and deal with the district or town as a whole would undoubtedly impair the efficiency and usefulness of the boards.....the Lieutenant-Governor agrees with the general consensus of opinion, official and non-official, that there is no necessity for any radical change of principle, and that the application to local bodies of any system of class representation, appears to him uncalled for and inexpedient. (*Papers*, Vol. II, pp. 624, 625 and 626.)

The Government of the Punjab remarked that 'the circumstance that elective privileges of the kind exclusively enjoyed would be a distinctive privilege of their religion' explained the welcome which the proposal had met among the Mahomedans, and uttered the warning that it was 'incumbent on an impartial government not to lend its countenance to any such accentuation of a specially privileged position.' Sir Louis Dane then referred to the case of the Sikhs and said :—

Another forcible objection is connected with the claims of the Sikhs. It is necessary to dilate on these. They are urgently pressed by many of the Sikh gentlemen and are of course generally admitted by European officers. There is no good reason in the case of the Punjab at least for refusing to the Sikhs a recognition accorded to the Mahomedans. Such recognition, while differing in extent, should be *ejus dem generis*. If elective privileges are conferred on Mahomedans, why not on Sikhs also ? To do so would, however, further intensify the dissatisfaction of the Hindus at being excluded from elective privileges. Only by nomination can the rights of both Mahomedan and Sikh minorities be secured without giving rise to the charge of class preference. (*Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 714.)

The Government of Burma pointed out :—

The same arguments apply to the Budhist community which is also entitled to special measure of representation. The members of the Budhist community in Burma may be estimated at present at about nine millions, and I am to recommend that of the four non-officials to be nominated by the

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Viceroy to represent minorities or special interests, one should be a Burmese Buddhist. (*Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 1125.)

The Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam was 'of opinion that it is not necessary to form electoral classes or colleges on the basis of race, caste or religion, or on the basis of occupations such as landholders, cultivators, traders and professional men.' Wrote Sir Lancelot Hare :—

In Eastern Bengal where the Mahomedan voters largely exceed the Hindu voters, it is not necessary to adopt such a measure in order to protect the Mahomedan voters, and it does not appear that the Hindus are at all desirous of such a measure. The Hindus have, under the present system, secured a more than a proportional share of representation, and though it is true that certain Mahomedans have expressed their views in favour of such a measure, it is easy for them to protect themselves if they wish to do so by attending the voting poll. It is due to the apathy of the Mahomedan voter that he has not secured representation in proportion to his numbers, and it would seem better to advise him to show more activity in exercising the powers that he possesses than to protect him by such a measure as is under consideration. It may be further noticed that the adoption of such a rule would certainly be held by the Hindus to be a measure adverse to themselves, and in the absence of any very strong demand by the Mahomedans for such protection it does not seem to the Lieutenant-Governor advisable to adopt such a measure. (*Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 1207.)

Lastly, there is the valuable opinion of the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, which is as follows :—

I do not think it advisable to create constituencies made of artificial electorates with no common tie but that of creed or occupation, corresponding to no local area and belonging to no organised association already in existence. It would, in my judgment, be better to have such elective powers as may be thought suitable, to be exercised according to the inclination of the elective bodies, * * and not to anticipate that lawyers and schoolmasters will oust the landholding classes, or that constituencies which are mainly Hindu will not return Mahomedans. If any classes are found not to be adequately represented among the elected members, the deficiency can be made good by nomination. (*Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 1411.)

Sir John Hewett has insisted that on account of the comparative backwardness of the United Provinces in the spread of education the people here are not entitled to the same concessions as the more advanced people of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. In other words, education should be the test. The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces in his Note made a pregnant observation to which attention must be called before we leave this subject of Mahomedan representation. Said the Honourable Mr. Craddock with just force :—'*It is on education that the whole case for extended Councils is based.*' Indeed, the expanded and reformed Councils will fail to perform their responsible functions with any degree of satisfaction to anybody concerned unless the whole scheme of elections is based on educational qualifications. And yet we are told the Secretary of State and the

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Government of India have decided to concede to the less educated community rights which will not be enjoyed by more advanced sections of the people. The Mahomedans will most probably have direct representation, the non-Moslem Indians will have to be content with a system of representation which will be very indirect indeed. The Mahomedans will have more than proportional representation, the non-Moslems will have as a consquence less than their rightful share of it. The Mahomedans will have most probably the right of a double vote, the non-Moslems only a single vote. Graduates will be enfranchised if they are Muslims, not if they are Hindus or Parsees. And all this in the face of the weighty consensus of opinion of Provincial Governments, which we have cited and which we must say is absolutely convincing. We desire only to say that if all this is to be done, it can only be accepted by the non-Moslems on the score of expediency as tending to bring about a compromise, which is so essential to the peaceful progress of the country. We, therefore, hope that both parties will accept the scheme formulated by Sir Harvey Adamson, in the last budget debate and which is concurred in by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. If we may add one word more, it is to express a very earnest hope that communal distinctions may not be recognised at least in regard to municipal and local board elections for the grave reasons urged by the Government of these Provinces. Otherwise grievous indeed will be the manifestations of sectarian ill-will that may be witnessed in many a town, particulary in Northern India.

IX.

It is intended that convicted persons should be permanently disqualified for election to the Councils, and it is being considered whether deported men should not be disqualified too. We must absolutely object to this unmerited punishment and degradation of men against whom no specific charge has been brought and of whose offence no one in the world knows anything except the prepetrators of the injustice themselves—if even they. First to have spirited away a man from home and friends and kept him in *durance vile* for an indefinite term without giving him an opportunity of vindicating his innocence, aye, without even telling him for what he has been so maltreated, and next to place on him the stamp of inferiority for the rest of his life by depriving him of his rights of citizenship, is to add insult to injury of which Lord Morley at least ought not to be capable. This infliction of a double wrong on individuals many of whom are very worthy men cannot be tolerated by those immediately affected or by the community to which they belong. The path of honour—which is also the path of wisdom—for a reforming statesman to tread should have been to repeal the obsolete and barbarous weapon which, howso-

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ever convenient a possession of absolute governments, hangs like a Damocles' sword over the head of every courageous patriot, be he never so loyal. Not only not to have done this but to consider whether the men so wronged should be humiliated for life is a proceeding which is not worthy of a British Liberal Government, and we hope that Lord Morley, who has not yet made up his mind, will take a correct decision on the matter.

Then as regards convicted men it is only offences involving moral turpitude that must be so penalised. We do not mean that political offences must be condoned ; to be sure, they both deserve and require to be punished, but they are not such that the offenders must be outcasted for ever. On the highest ground of expediency we urge that these men should not be disqualified. After all it is the desire and the interest of the Government to produce loyal men—men with a sense of responsibility, with moderation, self-restraint, and the other qualities which make of a man a dutiful citizen. Is it not the best way of achieving this object to afford opportunities to those who err, to find out the mistake of their ways and to correct and reform themselves ? Political responsibility is a surer antidote to political extremism than the severest punishment. They are wise words which the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces has uttered and we cannot do better than quote them as they have a direct bearing on this point :—

> The orators who make eloquent speeches at Congress meetings, or the writers who pen violent articles in the newspapers, are not restrained by any of that feeling of responsibility that must serve to restrain a member of Council ; they are not face to face with the high officers of the State in the unemotional atmosphere of a Council Chamber. Let the most capable men among them find an increased opportunity of making their opinions heard, and their opinions will assume a more sober tinge. Granted that there may be some who will play to the gallery, their play will not be so unlicensed as it would be outside..... When a man knows that nothing that he says is likely to be put into effect, he lets his tongue or pen run away with him, but the risk that what he urges might have serious consequences is apt to check a reckless flow, and to induce more sober expression. (*Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 1423.)

Herein is a reply to all that Lords Lansdowne and Middleton urged in favour of exclusion, and, as we think, there is more statesmanship in the above than in the opinion expressed by these two noble lords. Bring the men into touch with the realities of the situation, make them feel the difficulties of administration, let them understand the divergent points of view which have to be considered and the many interests to be conciliated, and ten to one they well become less confident of their own infallibility, they will be less ready to assume that those who cannot see eye to eye with them must be fools if not knaves, they will be genuinely anxious to get on with others and make themselves useful instead of riding for a heavy fall in an

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unequal combat with the powers of the State. We are opposed to the exclusion of deported persons on moral grounds, and of political offenders on political grounds.

X.

The proposal to impose a property qualification on candidates seeking election should be withdrawn. Once you settle the qualifications of the electors—and one of these must be literacy—you ought not to fetter their discretion in returning their representatives except that these should have a fair knowledge of English, this being the language in which the business of the Councils is transacted. We are sorry that the Governments of Madras and the United Provinces proposed a property qualification and not an educational one. Sir Arthur Lawley wrote as if a high limit in respect of the former did away with the necessity for the latter; and Sir John Hewett, while proposing that candidates should pay 'either land revenue of not less than Rs. 3,000 per annum or income-tax on an income of not less than that amount,' declined to act on the suggestion (put forward by the Honourable Pandit Sundar Lal) that a knowledge of English should be insisted on, on the ground that 'such a rule might exclude members whose prosence in the Councils would be desirable.' We wonder how the presence of any man would be 'desirable.' if he was blissfully innocent of what was transpiring before his very eyes. The days are gone by when respectable mediocrities—of whom it could be asked in the language of Sidney Smith, 'how many acres make a wise acre?'—whose speeches have to be written by one and read by another for them—have a legitimate place in the Councils of the Empire. This farcical—and pathetic—proceeding must be made impossible at all costs. It is as unnecessary as unwise, and it will not make for efficiency, if for the sake of gratifying the vanity of a few men of wealth and, it may be,—though only incidentally,—for getting command of a few votes for those in power, the facts to which the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces has called attention are overlooked, *viz.*, that education has supplanted 'birth as the basis of authority,' that 'the Indian literate classes have jumped a whole grade in the process of evolution over the heads of the upper classes,' that the aristocracy do not actually fill 'the position in the scale which they should occupy,' that 'it is upon education that the whole case for extended Councils is based,' and that 'the policy should be to encourage them to educate themselves, and not to confer upon them duties or dignities for which they are unfitted.' As regards property qualification, some of the best men of the nation are poor men and poverty, while it may be a misfortune, is no crime. Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Madan Mohan Malaviya are not

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rich men, but where in the whole land can the people hope to get truer friends than these to uphold their cause in the Councils. No, no; the policy recommended by the Governments of Madras and the United Provinces ought to be reversed—and education must be the test, not property.

XI.

There is one class of men who must be absolutely debarred from voting at elections or seeking election, and that is Government officials. It is independent spokesmen of the people who are wanted, and even angels if they are Government servants cannot be that, at least they cannot inspire confidence in the public mind that their action in the Councils is not influenced by their official position. As there is a certain number of officials nominated by the Government, there is no reason why others of their class should seek entrance into the Councils through the door of election. Everyone knows what power for good or evil officials in the districts—the pettiest among them—possess, and it is essential that they must be strictly told not to influence elections in any manner. We are glad that the Government of Madras are with us in this respect, for they wrote that 'persons in the service of Government, other than hereditary village officers, would not be permitted to vote or to stand as candidates.' Again, 'the Government propose to debar Government officials from standing for election.'

XII.

There are certain heads of the Imperial and Provincial Budgets on the Revenue and the Expenditure side which it is intended to exclude from debate, but which should be included in the heads for debate. (Vol. I, pp. 39—40.) We do not understand why Stamps, Customs, Assessed Taxes, Courts of Law, Army, State Railways, and Provincial Rates should be excluded from debate. We can understand subjects like Tributes from Indian States, Special Defence Works and Marine being excluded, but not any of those we have mentioned above. Why should it not be in the power of a member of Council to move for a revised scale of court fees, for the exclusion from or inclusion in the tariff of particular descriptions of goods, for enhancement of the taxable minimum for income tax, for reduction in Army expenditure, for increased outlay on the provision of carriages for third class passengers or revision of the goods tariff of the railways so that indigenous industries might be advantaged? Surely none of these matters touches the foreign relations of the Government, it does not affect the relations between the Government of India and the Indian States, it does not compromise the position of the British Government.

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XIII.

We are glad that a quorum is to be fixed for meetings of the Councils. We hope that the attendance of a certain number of elected members will be made necessary to form a quorum. At present only the official members—a few of these even—may sit and pass any laws they deem fit. Often are meetings of the Imperial Council held at Simla at which almost none of the additional members may be present, and yet laws, sometimes of great moment, are passed thereat. This must at all costs be avoided if there is to be any reality about the proceedings of the Councils.

XIV.

At present meetings of the Provincial Councils are held at distant intervals. This ought not to be any longer. Sir John Hewett has suggested that these should henceforth be held once every quarter whether there be actual legislative business or not. This might suffice under present conditions, but we fear it will not quite do in the altered circumstances that will come into existence. We rather agree with the Government of the Punjab who suggested that the Councils might be summoned

> once a month at least from November to April and twice between May and October, whether or not there was legislative business for discussion. This would give members an opportunity of ventilating matters of public interest and importance, and would enable Government to issue such explanations as the circumstances of any case might render desirable. (*Papers*, Vol. II, p. 723.)

We would further propose that the right should be given to the members of both the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils to make a requisition to call a meeting of the Council for any specific purpose. It may be accepted by Government that there is occasion to convene it if, say, a fourth or fifth of the members so desire.

XV.

There remains for mention one suggestion of Lord Morley's in regard to local self-government, which we think may usefully be given effect to. It was a suggestion first made by the Bombay Presidency Association several years ago in its memorial on the Bombay District Municipalities Bill and which wholly commends itself to us. We refer to the creation of a Local Goverement Board in every province, for 'guiding and instructing' local bodies, 'and correcting abuses,' as the Local Government Board does in England. It is not one centralised Imperial Board for the whole country that is wanted or desirable, we should aim at having one such Board for each province. One-half of its members should be non-official Indians who have qualified themselves for the responsible position by service or municipal or local boards, and the President of the Board should be one of the members of the Executive Council.

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XVI.

The appointment of the Honourable Mr. S. P. Sinha as Law Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, is in many respects the most important step that has yet been taken in elevating the political status of Indians under British rule. At last a native of India is a member of the Government of India. At last it can be said as Lord Morley did say, that an Indian is 'one of the King's equal subjects.' This is a step for which the National Congress has asked several times, and this signal triumph of Indian public opinion is a complete and crowing vindication of constitutional agitation. We are sure the day will never come when the British need regret that great day—the 24th February 1909, the birth-day of Mr. Sinha—when this step was announced. On the contrary, it is our firm belief that by acting courageously as they have done, Lords Morley and Minto have done more to broad-base British rule on the people's will and to make it enduring, than a thousand and one votaries of the 'martial law and no d—d nonsense' theory could have hoped to do. We look forward with confidence to the time when further courageous steps in advance in the same direction will be taken by worthy successors of the present Secretary of State and Viceroy. As for these, why, our deepest gratitude is theirs, they will be remembered by posterity as real statesmen who had a firm faith that the path of national honour was also the path of wisdom and safety.

Of the merits of the particular appointment made it is superfluous to say anything as even those who are most hostile to the step taken on political grounds approve of it on personal grounds. The Honourable Mr. S. P. Sinha is an ornament of his profession, a man of high character and great attainments and one who is besides in thorough sympathy with the aspirations of his countrymen. Do we not remember his admirable speech at the Calcutta Congress of 1896 and was he not also at the Calcutta Congress of 1901? The appointment of Mr. Sinha is one of historic importance and he throughly deserves it.

XVII.

Of the many acts of indiscretion of which British statesmanship has been guilty in dealing with the present political situation in India, none is so much to be deplored as the treatment it has meted out to the Arya Samaj. The Arya Samaj is a movement which has set to itself the task of religious and social reform. The one aim of its great founder Dayanand was to cry halt to the Hindus on their downward march of social and religious degradation and to lead them back to the Vedas. He believed, rightly or wrongly, that not only the salvation of the Hindus but that of humanity itself depended on establishing the Vedic ideals of human conduct. Vedas were to him the sovereign remedy, the Divine specific for all the ills that human soul is heir to.

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With this view he wrote the *Satyarth Prakash*—and with this view alone he founded the Arya Samaj. So far as we are aware, there is not a single passage in his numerous works, not a single incident in his eventful life, that can proclaim him a political agitator. His noble mission has been continued, after him, by his followers. They have proved themselves to be a band of earnest and selfless workers inspired with, and aspiring to realize, the ideal set before them by their great leader. In all philanthropic movements the Arya Samajists have taken a prominent part. Whenever the spectre of famine has appeared in the land, the Arya Samaj has brought relief to the famished. It has sent its youths to relieve distress and want without distinction of race, creed and colour. Its volunteers have scoured over the deserts of Rajputana to save the orphans from pangs of starvation. If has founded a number of orphanages in which the waifs and strays are fostered with parental care, are taught useful occupations, and brought up as useful citizens. When the Kangra valley was laid waste by a terrible earthquake, the Arya Samaj was the first to appear on the scene with a message of hope and comfort to the sufferers. It has brought into existence two most excellent educational institutions, the Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore and the Gurukula at Kangri—which aims at reviving the ancient system of Brahamacharya. It has founded a number of schools at which secular education is supplemented by moral and religious training. It has founded the Kanya Maha Vidayalaya at Jullunder, which has evolved a model system of female education. Its hand is visible in the Kanya Pathalla at Dehra Doon, so highly spoken of by His Honor, Sir John Hewett. It has raised the low classes, has removed the obstacles in the way of foreign travel, and has weakened the barriers of caste. It has done all this and more. But it has done this simply, it is said, by its hostile critics—to throw a cloak over its real character, which is alleged to be political propoganda. We are grieved to say that the society which has done so much and bids fair to do more for the amelioration of the people should be counted not among the helpful allies of the Government, but among its secret foes. Is not the Government itself engaged upon the same task of reform? Why is then the Arya Samaj regarded with suspicion and distrust by the authorities? Why are its adherents harrassed and even presecuted? Why then do the police watch the movements of its leaders, report the utterances of its speakers, pry into its books and registers and collect the names of its members. Has it done anything overtly or even covertly to deserve this? Can the Government point out a single instance in which the Arya Samaj as a body has taken part in political agitation? Of course, we know that a few of its members and prominent adherents hold distinct political views and have openly worked in the political camp.

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But have they done so as Arya Samajists? Surely to deny the Arya Samajists the right of free discussion on political matters, which is every British subject's birth-right, will be sheer injustice. If the existence of political agitators in other religious communities does not justify the branding of the followers of these faiths, why should it justify such a conclusion in the case of the followers of the Arya Samaj? The Arya Samajist does not ask the government not to bring to justice an Arya Samajist if he has offended against the law of the land, but it rightly asks the Government not to visit the sins of individuals upon the whole community. In what way has the Arya Samaj offended? He must have read the lessons of history to little or no purpose who thinks that political espionage and persecution are successful in rooting out discontent and disaffection. They serve admirably to suppress discontent but never to uproot it. We believe the Arya Samaj is ready to meet the situation squarely and fairly. If the Government desires to know the real character of the Arya Samaj—although to our mind it is not shrouded in any mystery which wants clearing up—let it invite the leaders of the Samaj to a conference and discuss the situation fairly, freely and above all courteously and we are confident the whole atmosphere will be clear. We lay stress on the last, for we are afraid that discourteous treatment like that of the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson towards the deputation which waited upon him soon after the arrest of Lala Lajpat Rai, will serve as a check on the free expression of opinion. We believe the Arya Samaj leaders will gladly welcome such a proposal, for we are certain that they are as desirous of ending this unpleasant situation sa the Government itself. Let the Government meet the Samaj half-way. The present time seems to be the most opportune for such a conference. This is the time when the government is engaged upon the noble work of reform and conciliation, and the clearing up of the situation with respect to the Arya Samaj will add one more measure to the already fairly long list of reforms for which a whole community, which wields a great influence in society, shall be ever grateful. In this connection we earnestly invite the attention of the authorities, to the speech of Lala Munshi Ram, the Governor of the Gurukula—which he delivered at the last anniversary of the Lahore Arya Samaj—which most admirably and exhaustively deals with the relations between the Arya Samaj and the Government and which is published in the *Vedic Magazine* for March last.

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THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I.—"*I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard.*" (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Liberator*)

MOTTO II.—"Minds may doubt and hearts may fail, when called to face new modes of thought or points of view; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange." (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation.*)

The Kayastha Conference.

THE Kayastha Conference opened at the Mayo Hall, Allahabad, on Saturday, the 10th April, in the presence of a large gathering of delegates and visitors who had assembled from all parts of the United Provinces. Munshi Narsingh Prasad, Rais and Government Pleader, Gorakhpur, was elected President of the Conference. Munshi Govind Prasad, Vakil, High Court, as President of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates, and Munshi Gulzari Lal, Vakil, High Court, and Secretary of the Conference, read out the report of the past year. The President delivered his inaugural address during the course of which he dwelt on various subjects in connection with the Kayasth community. The second sitting of the Conference took place on Sunday. After considerable discussion it was resolved to keep the constitution of the Conference unchanged and to include both educational and social questions in its programme, as hitherto. A committee was formed to take measures for the improvement of education among the Kayastha community, and another committee to collect funds for the Kayastha Patshala, Allahabad, in order to enable it to be raised to the status of a first grade college. It was announced that Chaudhry Mahadeo Prasad, rais of Allahabad, had promised to contribute one lakh of rupees towards this object, *if three lakhs were collected from other donors.* The appeal for funds on behalf of the Kayastha Patshala was heartily responded to, over Rs. 30,000 being subscribed on the spot. The last sitting of the Conference was held on Monday. Among the visitors were the Hon. Mr. Gokhale who came with Mr. S. Sinha, on his way back from Bhagalpore, and was passing through Allahabad to Bombay, Sir George Knox, Mr. Justice Aikman, and several others. The

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subjects discussed were female education, technical education, visits to foreign countries, and intermarriage. The Conference resolved that members of the community visiting foreign countries should be readmitted into caste on their return, and also that intermarriage between the different sub-sections of the community be allowed. The report of the committee on social reform appointed at the last conference was read and adopted. Mr. Gokhale addressed a few words to the audience on the object and advantage of caste conferences. The sittings of the conference were well attended throughout. We hope to be able to print in our next issue a detailed report of the proceedings of the Conference, which was, on the whole, a great success and the credit for which is principally due to the President whose inaugural address and conduct in the chair deserve special commendation.

Prize distribution at the Kayastha Pathshala

THE annual prize distribution at the Kayastha Patshala took place Monday, the 5th inst., at 5-15 p.m. The meeting was very largely attended. Amongst those present were the Hon. Mr. Justice Aikman, the Hon. P. Sunder Lal, the Hon. P. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Messrs. Moore, Bacon, Mackenzie, Sayed Abdul Raoof, Sayed Ahmad Karim, Sayed Muhammad Ishaq, Messrs. Durgacharn Banerji, Lalit Mohan Banerji, B. C. Chaterji of Lahore, P. Rajnath Saheb, M. Murli Dhar of Sitapur, Thakur Bishamber Nath Singh, Talukdar of Biswan, M. Bhagat Behari Lal of Rampur and M. Kamta Prasad Dana of Gwalior. The meeting was presided over by the Hon. Mr. C. F. de la Fosse, M. A., Director of Public Instruction. The business of the afternoon commenced with a prayer and recitation of Sanskrit slokas. After this the Secretary, B. Jang Bahadur Lal, read the report which showed that great progress had been made within the past few years both in finance and in education. Within the last four years Rs. 85,000 odd had been added to the assets and the number of students had increased from 43 in the college and 303 in the school to 117 in the college and 500 in the school, respectively. The report further showed that the managing committee contemplated the raising of the status of the institution to that of a first-grade college, and that as a preliminary step towards this end the general body of Trustees had sanctioned

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the sum of a lakh of rupees for erection of buildings and the acquisition of lands and for this latter purpose an application had been already made to the Government through the Director of Public Instruction. 175 prizes, amongst which was a gold watch and chain awarded by Chaudhari B. Mahadeo Prasad, were distributed. The arrangements were so excellent that the distribution took very little time. This reflects credit on the Principal and his staff. The chairman in his speech expressed his gratification at the improvements, both in financial and educational matters, during the administration of the present President, M. Gokul Prasad, and his sympathy with the aim of the managing committee to raise the standard of the institution to that of a first-grade college, and said that he would rejoice to see the day when they would succeed in accomplishing it. He exhorted the Committee to take the opportunity of the coming Kayastha Conference to enlist the sympathy and support of the members in carrying out this scheme. He went on to say that the Kayastha Pathshala had been peculiarly fortunate in those who had filled the office of President, but there had been no worthier successor of the first president, M. Hanuman Prasad, than his descendant, M. Gokul Prasad, who now occupies that post. He was confident that under his leadership the Pathshala had before it a career of wider usefulness and increased prosperity. A vote of thanks to the chair and the visitors, amongst whom special mention was made of Mr. Justice Aikman, proposed by the President and carried by acclamation brought the proceedings to a close.

The Pathshala and the Conference.

The following observations of the *Advocate* and the letter of "A Kayastha" to the *Indian People*, will be read with interest :—

Some time ago we published an editorial note taking exception to the action of the authorities of the Kayastha Pathshala in refusing the use of their building for the holding of the next session of the Kayastha Conference on the ground that the Conference was infected with the social reform bacilli. In reply to our complaint, the *Indian People* of Allahabad had published a defence of the Pathshala authorities and a letter to the same effect had also appeared in our columns over the signature of Mr. Govind Pershad. In the defence of the Pathshala authorities it is stated that (1) they were not influenced at all by the consideration that Social Reform formed a part of the programme of the Conference in arriving at their decision, but (2) that the Conference is not going to be held in the Pathshala because (*a*) "the Confer-

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ence will be held at a time when the University Examinations will also be going on," and (*b*) "the Pathshala Hall could not afford sufficient or suitable accommodation for the Conference to meet." This defence of the Pathshala authorities is contrary to facts, as is apparent from the paragraphs which appear in the last number of the *Hindustan Review* in connection with this subject and from the letter of "A Kayastha" which appears in the *Indian People* of the 13th of March. "A Kayastha" who seems to possess a firsthand knowledge of the fact, states plainly that at a meeting of the Kayasthas of Allahabad held early in December last "it was definitely said by the Pathshala authorities that they were ready to allow the use of the Pathshala building for holding the meeting of the educational section of the Conference but declined to allow its use for the social reform section because as they said they were afraid of the local Kayesthas." As for the two pleas set up in defence of the Pathshala authorities by the *Indian People*, they seem to be an after-thought. It is strange that our contemporary should have forgotten that the only two University Examinations with which the Pathshala is concerned, *viz.*, the Matriculation and the Intermediate, will begin on the 22nd of March and will not be going on during the Easter holidays. The second plea is that the Pathshala hall is not big enough to hold the meeting of the Conference. But surely this is a matter for the Reception Committee to decide, for it is this committee which is the best judge of it. That the Reception Committee does not think the Pathshala Hall to be unsuited to its purpose is apparent from the fact that it appointed a deputation to wait on Mr. Gokul Pershad in order to request him "to allow both the educational and social sections of the Conference to hold their sittings in the Pathshala premises." We are sorry to see that not content with eschewing social reform, the authorities of the Pathshala are permitting the use of such untenable arguments in their defence. This is hardly worthy of the governing body of an educational institution.—The *Advocate*.

Sir,—My attention has been drawn to an editorial note published in your issue of the 28th February, 1909, dealing with the above question. Allow me to point out to you that your information is not quite accurate. A meeting of the Kayasth gentlemen of Allahabad was held early in December last in the Pathshala hall at the request of Munshi Kamta Pershad Dana and in this meeting the officials of the Reception Committee of the Kayasth Conference, and many of the officials of the Pathshala Conference in the Pathshala Committee were present. The question of holding the Conference in the Pathshala building was brought forward and I can assure you that it was definitely said by the Pathshala authorities that they were ready to allow the use of the Pathshala building for holding the meeting of the educational section of the Conference, but declined to allow its use for the Social Reform section, because as they said they were afraid of displeasing the local Kayasthas. As it was not thought advisable to hold the meetings of the two sections separately, therefore the meeting decided to hold the session of the Conference in some building other than that of the Kayasth Pathshala. These being the facts, and I can vouch for them, because I was personally present at that meeting, the defence of the Pathshala authorities published by you in your editorial note is inaccurate. I am, however, glad to find that the Pathshala authorities have so far softened down as to allow the use of their building for the accommodation of delegates.—A KAYASTHA (in the *Indian People*.)

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A "Science Company."

The readers of the *Hindustan Review* will be glad to learn that Mr. Mahesh Charan Sinha intends to float a Joint Stock Company, with a view to publish scientific books in the vernaculars. The recent appreciation of his *Hindi Chemistry*, which will shortly be out, has encouraged him to believe that a concern like this is likely to succeed both financially as well as educationally. He has been receiving numerous letters from every part of India making enquiries about industrial and every-day practical problems before businessmen and factory owners. There are others again, who have asked him to write text-books on Physics, Botany, Mechanics, Agricultural implements, Soil Chemistry, Irrigation, Horticulture, Sanitation, Fruit Preservation, etc. But while Mr. Mahesh Charan Sinha thinks that these subjects are supremely important and text-books on them are calculated to do immense good to the public, he regrets that his means and the time at his disposal do not permit him to undertake the work single-handed. Having had the experience of writing the *Hindi Chemistry*, he feels that the help of educated and intelligent men is needed, but this cannot be had unless they are adequately paid. Besides that a library of scientific books is needed for reference. For these reasons he proposes to start a limited liability company with a capital of Rs. 1,00,000 to be divided into 20,000 shares of Rs. 5 each. Those interested in the proposal may communicate with him direct. His address is—7, Elgin Road, Allahabad.

———

Its Propectus.

We print below the prospectus which Mr. Mahesh Charan has issued :—

When I was in Japan, one thing which struck me most was the facility and the depth with which the Japanese have adapted themselves to the changed conditions of the world and the more so to the entirely new developments of the scientific world.

On examining the causes which have led to the remarkable growth and expansion of Japan I found that their adherence to their own language, and the tendency to stick to their old, uncouth, unscientific, laconic and in no way very rich language of the country folk, in perference to all other languages which either were much richer or better suited than their own—I mean the Chinese in particular which had almost eclipsed the Japanese—seemed to be a potent factor in building up modern Japan.

It was surpassingly amazing to see the ordinary coolies and the young boys and girls understanding scientific terms without any difficulty, and

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buying Thermometers, Hydrometers, Measure glasses, Balances, Flasks and Chemicals at the ordinary grocers shop as though they were quite common-place things. But a closer acquaintance with the Japanese life and methods showed me ere long that the real secret of this was the study of modern science in the language of their own country. Cheap scientific handbooks in Japanese are sold at every crossing of Tokyo, which to put it briefly seemed to be the surest indication of showing how modern science was brought to the door of an apathetic, unmoving and ignorant Asiatic people.

To me it was an eye-opener. And one thing stronger still which I saw was that more scientific books—English, German and French—are sold in Japan than I have ever seen them sold in India, in spite of the fact that we can talk and write much better English than the Japanese, and in spite of the fact that they like to read in their own language and we like to read English primarily and our own language secondarily. This means that we can, by improving and enriching science in our language, not only do good to our own race but in no way can injure the business of the foreign book-maker, whom rather we shall patronize more than hithertofore, because being better equipped to appreciate him.

On seeing Japan I was convinced that we as a nation can never raise ourselves unless we are taught to think and reason in the mothers language. But this conviction grew stronger when I visited that most practical and democratic country on the globe which has surprised the nations of the world with its science, art, learning, industry, education, commerce, equality and liberty—I mean the United States of America. There for the first time I saw how to educate a large number of people at the smallest cost; and what it is to popularise knowledge on such a scale as to be able to announce a new discovery every sixth month. But scrutinizing it deeper I found that it was all due to a free press and a large number of private companies which have made it a business to throw open the floodgates of scientific knowledge broadcast and make it dwell in the humblest cottage by means of easy popular publications on every scientific subject and keep the people informed of every up-to-date change by means of scientific journals.

Having had the good fortune to study scientific literature, prescribed or unprescribed, in and out of college, I made up my mind to give a share in my education to my countrymen by writing in the language of our country at least on those subjects which I had studied in the college, for instance, Chemistry, educational and industrial, Pharmacy, Agriculture, Botany, Horticulture, Floriculture, Zoology, Geology, Bacteriology, Mineralogy, Cattle-Breeding, Physics, Electricity, Steam Engine, Farm implements, Fruit preservation, Dry farming, Irrigation, Physiology, Food Chemistry, Sanitation and the like.

At first I thought that I will continue to publish books in my own humble way, but the time and money which it takes to write books on such important subjects, showed me that it would be to essay the impossible if I were to depend entirely on my private resources alone. The most important thing necessary to carry out this scheme is the existence of an up-to-date library on

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scientific subjects. Even the limited number of books which I read as a part of prescribed course in my American Oregon Agriculture State College, I can not get here; and even the most prominent booksellers in India cannot supply the books which are sold for cents in the bookstalls of American cities. Besides that it requires the assistance of intelligent and well educated men who cannot work *gratis* at your bidding.

For these reasons I propose to start a Joint Stock Company called the "Science Company of India" Limited, Allahabad—with the object of publishing science books on the above-mentioned subjects and other allied subjects in Hindi, Urdu and other dialects of India whenever possible. Being a new venture of its kind in India I propose to start with a modest capital of Rs. 1,00,000, to be divided into 20,000, shares of Rs. 5 each. I am sure that apart from serving the interests of science in vernacular language it is bound to be a business success as well, and I think I can safely predict that the company will declare a handsome profit of an average of 20 per cent. Judging from the warmth and readiness with which the public has greeted my first Hindi Chemistry or Rasayan Shastra, I feel bold to say that the company shall be a success in every way.

The Pathshalla and Officials

The *Indian People* writes as follows :—

The M. A.-O. College, Aligarh, the Central Hindu College, Benares, and the Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad, are the models of sectarian Colleges in these Provinces. Of these, the Kayastha Pathshala is the poorest in the matter of endowment. Of late, the attention of the authorities has been directed to these institutions with a view to make their work more perfect. The Kayastha Pathshala is no longer the special institution for the provincial Kayasthas. The name at present can only testify to the tradition of its birth. It is a matter of satisfaction, therefore, that the people of the country are awakening to the needs of institutions like the Pathshala, and it is a matter of still greater satisfaction to note that Government officers in the mofassil should take up the cause of the institution in addition to their multifarious engagements and should be ever ready to further the cause of the Pathshala. The names of Messrs. W. R. G. Moir, I. C. S., and A. C. Stiffe, I. C. S., the District Judge and the District Magistrate, respectively, of the Jaunpur district, may be mentioned in this respect as laying the Pathshala Committee under a deep obligation. They did more than could be expected of busy officials like them in making the deputation sent last month to Jaunpur for raising funds in aid of the Pathshala a perfect success. Both of them subscribed handsomely and, what is of more value, suggested the formation of a permanent local Committee to realise subscriptions for the Pathshala from time to time. Indeed if other District officers prove as sympathetic as these two gentlemen, much can be achieved by the deputations sent to the different parts of the country for raising funds for the Pathshala. The Pathshala is badly in need of funds and is deserving of every support. The Pathshala authorities will do well also to examine the methods which the Benares Central Hindu College authorities pursue for raising Funds.

Indian Press, Allahabad.

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M. Ganga Prasad Varma, Editor and Proprietor, "The Advocate" and "The Hindustani" and Municipal Commissioner, Lucknow.

B. Madan Mohan Khanna, Accountant, Allahabad Bank Ltd., Allahabad.

Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of Kasimbazar.

B. Sri Ram Chandra Naik Kalia, Banker, Zamindar and Municipal Commissioner, Benares.

B. Symsundar Das, B.A. Benares, (Secretary.)

B. Joogal Kishore, Banker and Honorary Secretary, Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares (Assistant Secretary.)

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B. Kalyan Das, Merchant, Benares.

Legal Adviser

Babu Gauri Shankar Prasad, B A., LL B, High Court Vakil.

Opinion

The *Advocate* of Lucknow writes thus in its issue of 18th February 1909. "The Directors of the Kashi Glass Manufacturing Company are justly eulogised for the care and circumspection they show in proceeding cautiously in the work in order to guard against all causes of failure and bad manufacture. The commercial correspondent of the *Pioneer* who pens the words of praise, hopes that this close attention will materially benefit and advance the prospects of this industry. Out of 121 lakhs worth of glassware imported in 1907-08 articles of the value of 78½ lakhs are such as may easily be manufactured in this country."

The Company has been able to secure the services of Mr. S. R. Sinha as a glass technicist for 15 years. The factory will be situated in the near vicinity of Barakar, which is most suitable for obtaining raw materials, &c.

For other particulars and share applications apply to the Secretary.

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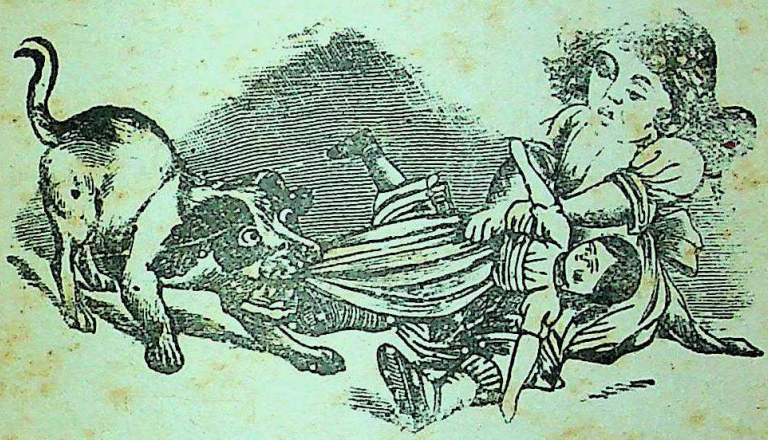

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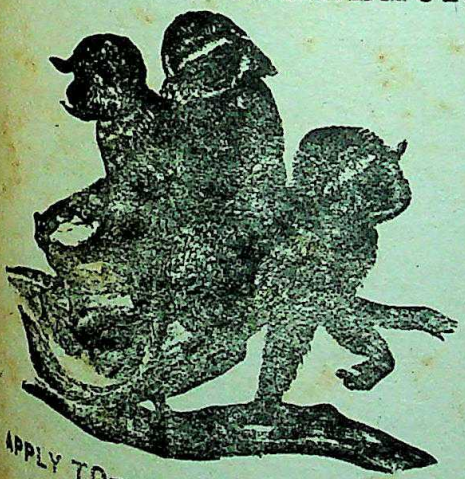

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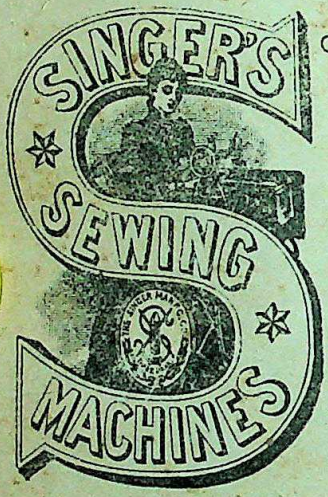

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THE

Hindustan Review

EDITED BY

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, *Bar-at-Law*

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THE GURUKUL.

By Mr. Alfred Nundy, Bar-at-Law.

It is generally admitted that the most striking feature of Hinduism is its elasticity and receptivity. Monotheism, pantheism, atheism, agnosticism and demonolatry have each one their devoted adherents, who cordially fraternise with one other and together constitute the Hindu community. The pious have given to them complete liberty to worship any one and anything they please, without being reproached for departing from the ranks of orthodoxy; and hence, as stated by Sir Alfred Lyall, "the Indian pantheon, like the palace in the Persian parable, is but a caravanserai," where the thirty-three million deities are found jostling each other, and constantly making room for others to take their place. As with gods, so with the ceremonial, as also with pious acts calculated to facilitate the attainment of salvation. No restriction whatever is placed on individual predilection. Foremost amongst such acts of devotion are pilgrimages to hallowed shrines or to sacred rivers, whose holy waters are credited with wiping out the foulest sins. Once upon a time a line of human boxes could be noticed along the principal routes to venerated spots, but if such is not the case at present it does not necessarily follow that pilgrimages are now at a discount or that the number of pilgrims has diminished to any appreciable extent. If anything, there is an increase, with the difference that instead of long journeys on foot, often through dense jungles, where they fell easy victims to robbers and wild animals or to pestilence and fatigue, they now find themselves transported in a few hours or days by the network of railways which are now to be found in India. The facilities for travelling have stimulated the zeal of the devoted Hindu and pilgrimages are not now the monopoly of the rich or the extra pious, but are indulged in by people of all classes and conditions of life, who frequently combine pleasure and sight-seeing with the piety which is supposed to prompt them to take up the role of a pilgrim.

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Such were my reflections while travelling from Lahore to Hardwar on my way to the Gurukul. Not only were the ordinary trains overcrowded but special trains were being run, and at each station I noticed a large number of passengers were being left behind for want of accommodation. It would be idle to suppose that all these were bound for the Gurukul for none but a fraction of them had any idea what was implied by the term; and indeed the bulk of them would have frankly admitted that Hardwar was their goal, where they were carrying the incinerated bones of their dead relatives to throw them into the sacred waters of the Ganges or that the object of their journey was to have a dip in the Hari-ki-panari which is credited with possessing the virtue of washing away the foulest sins to which frail mankind is subject. As the number of women was largely in excess of the males the inference would be natural that either the softer sex were by far the greater sinners or that their desire to wipe out the past and make a fresh start was more keen than that of the sterner sex, who perhaps are indifferent as to whether they obtained a remission of their sins or not, or it may be that they entertain a lurking doubt as to the efficacy of the waters of the Ganges to restore to them the innocence with which they were born. That a great many pilgrims are actuated by pious motives in the journey they undertake there can be no doubt, but it requires no great insight into human nature to presume that a fairly large number are influenced by considerations of a more worldly kind. The restrictions to which a Hindu woman is subjected at home must produce in her a longing to vary the monotony of her life in a freer atmosphere, witness to it the fact that at the most sacred objects of Hindu pilgrimage piety and devotion are largely interspersed with fun and frolic, and men and women divested of the restraint imposed by caste and their home surroundings, fraternise with one another and eat and drink and make merry to their hearts content. It is this longing for a little change, for a little excitement or diversion which forms the basis of the feeling which prompts many a pilgrim to undertake a long and arduous journey.

This I found was no less true as regards those whose ostensible object was to visit the Gurukul. Of the 60,000 passengers who took advantage of the concessions granted by the railways for the benefit of the Gurukul, about two-thirds went no further than Hardwar. They never intended doing so when they left their homes. Of the remaining 20,000 who went further, the majority of them were of a class who could hardly be expected to have any idea as to what was implied by the Gurukul, and some of those who had a vague notion in respect to it could by no stretch of the imagination be credited

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with any intense interest in it. The Gurukul had, especially in the minds of the humble village folk, transferred to it some of the sanctity attached to Hardwar, owing to its being situated contiguous to this sacred resort of the Hindus. And then it afforded the occasion for the enjoyment of a picnic for which considerable facilities were afforded by the promoters of the Gurukul by erecting temporary huts and providing a large number of tents for lodging the visitors and by the care taken to minister to their wants by *halwais* and *bunyas*, who could supply ready-made eatables or materials for cooking them. Add to this the natural curiosity inherent in mankind to explore something novel and mysterious and we gain some idea of the motives which impelled a large concourse of people to extend their pilgrimage to a place, which a few years ago was not only not heard of but not in existence. This, however, by no means detracts from the merits of the Gurukul, which no doubt appeals to the intelligent and educated section of the Hindu community for reasons beyond the ken of the ignorant, or of those who ordinarily constitute the mass of the Hindu pilgrims to sacred shrines.

That what is called popular Hinduism contains much that is debasing and corrupt is admitted generally; and the wonder is such a religion should have had given to it a life extending over thousands of years, and should still give evidence of a striking vitality. The strength of Hinduism lies in its tolerance, and in its adaptability to all phases of religious belief. It differs from other religions in this that whereas with them the profession of a common faith keeps together those who owe allegiance to them, Hinduism makes no such demand on its followers. Another striking feature about it is that it is absolutely non-militant. While the Shias and Sunnis, for instance, are at each other's throats whenever they can get an opportunity, the votaries of Shiva or Vishnu may be found living in peace side by side or indeed in the same family. The orthodox Hindu considers a Christian a M'llechh or unclean, and may hesitate to touch him, but has no desire to attain heaven or to accumulate extra merit by taking his life; not so the militant Mahomedan, who while claiming the Christian as a brother with whom he can eat and intermarry, yet in the name of religion and with the view of securing eternal bliss will take the head of a heretic and glory in the act. But though Hinduism is not aggressive, its votaries sometimes offer an amount of passive resistance which is apt to deceive an onlooker into the belief that they are not altogether free from fanaticism. The day after the Gurukul celebration was over they came into collision with the Arya Samajists at Hardwar and severely handled them. But the scrimmage which took place hardly deserves to be ranked as a religious riot. The cham-

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pions of the Hindus were the pandas or priests of Hardwar, who claim a presumptive right to profit by the visit of the pilgrims to this sacred place. That they should be aggrieved by this monopoly being seriously assailed was but natural. Sixty-five thousand rupees in hard cash were collected by the promoters of the Gurukul and land to the value of a lac was donated to them. This was an encroachment not to be allowed to pass by unnoticed, if an opportunity was afforded them to give expression to their feelings. And this opportunity was afforded by their rivals and opponents.

The Arya Samajists are Hindus, for though they preach a crusade against what is called popular Hinduism with its accretions of superstitious beliefs and debasing rites, yet nevertheless they have as much right to call themselves Hindus as any of the numerous sects which are in the quiet enjoyment of that name. They are equally entitled to claim that they are the true representatives of ancient Hinduism, for this position is asserted by the various offshoots of this religion on grounds by no means stronger. But all the same the Arya Samajists have within the short period of their existence aroused the hostility, latent or otherwise, of a large section of the orthodox Hindu community. It is not by reason of their peculiar beliefs or for their departure from the bosom of Brahman orthodoxy but for the aggressive attitude they sometimes adopt. The mild Hindu is indifferent as to the shape and colour of the religion of his brother, or even as to whether the latter has any religion at all, but he is inclined to resent being told, in language which is sometimes both forcible and explicit, that by clinging to the beliefs and superstitions of his ancestors he is showing a want of intelligence not worthy of this enlightened age. And this irritation is all the greater where there is a conviction that there is considerable truth in the accusation that is made. Being himself tolerant and peace-loving, he views with peculiar disfavour the attempts made by the Arya Samaj to force down his throat views that may be very commendable in themselves but which he has neither time nor the inclination to ponder over. On the other hand, the members of this new offshoot from Hinduism entertain the conviction that all creation should subscribe to the articles of faith which find favour with them and to attain this end they assert themselves sometimes in such a manner that they incur the hostility of all and sundry with whom they come into contact. They are not content to adopt a passive attitude, their aim is to convert and proselytize. Hence it is but natural that there should be wanting in them the toleration which characterizes the ordinary Hindu, and that in carrying on their propaganda they are found infusing so much warmth and favour.

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This absence of toleration is not necessarily directed to the outside world but finds expression in their dealings towards one other. Within a few years of its coming into existence, the Arya Samaj split into two important sections, on a matter which to the outside world seemed to be but of trivial importance. Perhaps nowhere in the world has such a strange phenomenon been noticed as the members of an important community bringing about a disruption in their ranks on the question of eating meat. The warmest advocates of vegetarianism never went the length of exalting it into the chief article of faith of a new sect that was to be founded. But in India everything is possible that may be considered impossible outside it. And thus the section of the Arya Samaj which claims the Gurukul as its chief achievement bears the cognomen of "vegetarian" as distinguished from the other which is called the "cultured" or "meat-eating" or "College" party. It is unnecessary here to enter at any length into the reasons for and the method in which this new offshoot from Hinduism was brought into existence by Swami Dayanand. It draws its inspiration from the Vedas and it rejects the superstition and idolatry and the exaltation of the Brahman, which, it considers, constitute serious blots on the present-day Hinduism. While accepting the fourfold division of Hindu society into Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras, it deprecates the existence of caste, which it holds should not be regarded merely as determined by birth ; for a man's occupation, knowledge of the Vedas and manner of living should also be taken into account. The logical conclusion of this would be the abolition of caste, but the Arya Samajists hesitate to advance this view, as it would involve, as in the case of the Brahmans, the cutting themselves off from the Hindu community, which looks not to dogma or ritual as qualifying an individual to retain his membership in it, but his nominal, if not virtual, adhesion to caste rules and caste restrictions. The Brahmos are virtually outcasts from Hinduism and as such exercise no influence upon it, and are indeed a decadent community depending largely on England-returned Hindus to swell their numbers in Bengal. But the Arya Samajists, while entertaining almost similar views as to the value to be attached to caste, have abstained from openly discarding it and do not go in for intermarriage between two unconnected castes, though they are cautiously advancing in this respect by permitting alliances between sub-castes. Being within the fold of Hinduism they are silently undermining it, and those who desire to see it purified from the accretions which have brought about its degeneracy must acknowledge that they are rendering a service to India of no mean value. Dayanand was as much a social as a religious reformer. He set his face resolutely against child marriage,

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and in this respect his followers have benefitted to the fullest extent, for gradually the marriageable age for both boys and girls has been raised and in course of time the extreme limit will be arrived at. The same progress cannot be credited to the remarriage of widows, which was advocated by Dayanand, but even he foresaw the storm of opposition and resentment this would arouse in the Hindu community.

But it is in the matter of education that the Arya Samajists are entitled to claim an unqualified success. They not only believe in the necessity for it, as regards both the girls and the boys who belong to their community, but they have carried their professions into practice by starting schools in important centres, with the result that from the point of view of literacy, they far outstrip all other sections of the Hindus in the Punjab. The "cultured" party have further given an impetus to higher education and the D. A.-V. College in Lahore in point of numbers and as regards funds, and no less with reference to the success of its pupils at University examinations, offers eloquent testimony to the zeal and enthusiasm of its members on a matter which redounds much to their credit. Even the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab was compelled the other day to acknowledge the good work done by the promotors and supporters of the College and to set it up as an example for others to follow. It is in the ordinary course of things that once if differences arise, unless the breach is filled up, these differences go on increasing. And such was the case with the Arya Samaj. The rupture having become an accomplished fact, a departure was made by the receding members as to the manner in which education was to be imparted to the young. The European methods were considered to be ill-adapted to an eastern people and were held to be

> fraught with dangerous results and perilous consequences. The domination of foreign ideas does away with national self-respect. The subject race takes a peculiar delight in aping the customs and manners of the ruling race. It bids adieu to its ancient traditions, indigenous modes of thought and feeling, time-honoured institutions, and tries to pull down all the landmarks of its glorious past and gradually learns to entertain a hearty contempt for the achievements of their forefathers.

Such was the estimate formed of the fruits of the introduction of Western culture in India and most probably it is fairly correct. But there may be some difference of opinion as to how these evils, assuming them to be evils pure and simple, can be corrected. And the necessity for applying remedial measures may also furnish a topic for controversy. Granted that the present methods of education are calculated to produce the evils enumerated above, the question arises whether the salvation of the people from a moral, material and intellectual point of view, is to be obtained by brooding over the past,

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however glorious it may have been, by feeding our self-esteem with the achievements of our forefathers, however great they were, and by scrupulously avoiding the hurting of susceptibilities by striking out a new line for ourselves.

The seceding members of the Arya Samaj felt no hesitation in arriving at a conclusion as regards this matter. The glories of ancient India must be revived and Dayanand himself had left it on record how this could be done. "If India," he wrote, "is to be raised once more to the heights from which it has fallen, and the Western world is to be rescued from the gulf of materialism and anarchism which yawns before it and threatens to swallow it, in no time the *Varnasram bewastha* should be revised." It was considered that the first step in this direction was resuscitating Brahmacharyya, which was to mould the character of the pupil so as to qualify him for a life of peace and happiness in this world. This was to be attained by imparting to him a sound religious instruction in the Vedas and secular knowledge through the medium of the Sanscrit, by placing before him facilities for the development of his physique and above all by removing from his path the temptation and allurements which bring about the ruin of a youth by contact with a vicious world. Where could such a training be obtained? Not in any existing institutions. Nor in any institution to be started having these special objects in view but which was to be run on modern lines. Nothing would suffice for this purpose short of a Gurukul founded on ancient lines. These used to be located in jungles away from the congested centres of humanity and the contamination of town life, hence it was necessary to discover such a spot, and no less necessary to raise funds to create and equip the ideal institution, where the system of Brahmacharya would have full scope for development. We are told in the *Vedic Magazine*, which is the organ of the Gurukul, that Dayanand had thought of establishing a Gurukula, but death prevented him from carrying his scheme into execution. His followers carried out his last wishes. In 1898 the Representative Assembly of the Arya Samajes in the Punjab, passed a resolution that a Gurukula be established if Rs. 30,000 be collected. Our present Governor took a vow that he would not set foot in his house so long as the requisite amount was not collected. In spite of difficulties and disappointments, and a torrent of raillery and derision which would have daunted a less resolute spirit, he not only fulfilled his vow, but after giving up a lucrative practice at the bar, took a pledge to serve the Gurukula for life. It was established in 1901.

By a strange coincidence an ideal spot was placed at the disposal of the promoters of this novel institution, and here its foundations were laid. It is located in a healthy plain at the foot of the Himalayas at a distance of about 5 miles from Hardwar and about 3 miles from Kankhal on the south bank of the Ganges near the village Kangri.

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The village which is valued at about Rs. 30,000 is the gift of Munshi Aman Singh, a philanthropic gentleman who has laid his co-religionists, under a deep debt of gratitude by giving away his entire estate.

Even the hypercritical will have to admit that the spot chosen is well adapted for the resuscitation of the ancient system of Brahmacharya, and by a personal visit I can vouch that the account given of it in the Gurukul prospectus is by no means exaggerated :—

The climate is bracing, exhilarating and extremely delightful. The natural scenery is charming. The ambrosial retreats of nature which are not far off and the close proximity of the river Ganges, which lends a coolness to the breeze, as it blows against the cheek in the hot weather, cannot fail to impress profoundly the imagination of the *Brahmacharies*, to inspire them with a deep reverence for nature and its God, to induce in them habits of serious thought and deep concentration of the mind and to fit them not only for scientific research and philosophical investigation but also for the contemplation of the mysterious problems of life and death which have ever been approached by sages is solitude.

Some seven to eight years have elapsed since the foundation was laid of this novel institution, and it is certainly progressing by leaps and bounds. The temporary tin structures are being gradually substituted by substantial buildings erected for the benefit of the pupils and the staff. The cost is estimated at 5 lacs, a good portion of which amount has already been realised from public benefactions, and the rest there will be no difficulty in raising, having regard to the enthusiasm of the visitors at the anniversary meetings. The idea underlying the revival of the ancient system of Brahmacharya is to discountenance the modern method of bringing up and of training youths, but it is a curious fact that in the Gurukul, though the life is simple and everything savouring of luxury is rigidly proscribed, yet the comfort, the convenience and the health of the pupils are strictly kept in view. The duty of the ancient Brahmachari was to serve his preceptor, even to the tending of his cows and doing menial work for him. He was to live upon whatever he could get by begging and to place all he got before his master and eat only whatever the latter gave him. The ancient *acharya* was a recluse and his hermitage was by no means overflowing with the good things of the world. The plainest of food, the coarsest of raiments, an unpretentious hut as a domicile—this was all that he could place at the disposal of the Brahmacharis. But the modern Gurukul is run on very different lines. The pupils do not roam a-begging, though they admirably perform this duty on the anniversary celebrations as witnessed by the liberal response on the part of visitors whose hearts were touched by the silent appeal of the yellow-clad children for alms, which were to be utilised for their sustenance and for their training. As

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was but natural, women were more deeply affected and I noticed several taking off their jewellery and throwing it into the bag of the initiates to whom on the last day was shrewdly entrusted the task of begging.

The Brahmachari of the modern Gurukul does by no means depend on alms for his sustenance, for from his parents and guardians a minimum sum of Rs. 10 is taken for board, lodging and education. Nor has he to face the uncertainty of his ancient prototype as regards the quantity and quality of his food, for his preceptors have made ample provision in this respect, if the morning diet which I saw served out and which I partook, be taken as a sample. It consisted of bread, dal and vegetables and dahi (curd). Rice pudding (khir) and sweet pudding (halwa) are, I was informed occasionally allowed. Instead of the humble, unpretending huts, the idea is to build an "imposing structure, so that the students after completing their education may carry away with them pleasant recollections and may be daily impressed with the sacred character of the school premises." The buildings that have so far been created constitute in themselves no mean achievement. They consist of 22 class-rooms and dormitories, one science room, one library hall and reading-room, one store-room, one room for kitchen, one room for pantry, two dining halls, two dining-rooms, two rooms for hospital and dispensary, two rooms for the office of the Chief Superintendent, one *Yajnyashala* (a specially built raised platform roofed over) for the performance of *Agnihotra*, four small rooms for devotional purposes, and one small room for accessory purposes. Besides, at a distance of a few yards, there is a decent, though a small, building called the *Ananda Ashram* which is a kind of guest house where male visitors are accommodated. Lala Parmeshwari Das, Supervisor, Delhi, has built a decent *pacca* house at some distance from the school buildings at a cost of about Rs. 4,000. Gentlemen, who visit the institution with their families, are lodged in this *dharmshala*. Besides these, there are quarters for the families of teachers and superintendents. The Governor and chief promoter of the Gurukul, Lala Munshi Ram, lives in a small but neat little bungalow outside the walls which surround the Gurukul, but sufficiently near to be able to exercise a minute and constant supervision.

At present there are about 300 boys ranging from five years of age to twenty. They are drawn from the middle classes which furnish the bulk of the pupils to the ordinary schools and colleges. As to their food and lodging they are not exactly filling the role of the Brahmacharis, but are very much like students of a hostel attached to a modern school or college. In the yellow garb worn by them they

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no doubt recall their prototypes, but after all uniformity of dress is not so very uncommon, but may be seen in many schools in Europe and even in India. There are some matters, however, in respect to which a striking departure may be noticed. The scholars are required to lead a life of strict celibacy up to the age of 25 years, at least. They are further admitted on the understanding, in respect to which their parents and guardians have signed a bond, that they will not be allowed to visit their homes except under special circumstances, such as the serious illness or death of some near relative. Nor are they permitted to visit towns, or in fact leave the precincts of the Gurukul; but during the holidays which extend from the 16th of August to the 15th of October some of them are taken to places which possess some historical or archæological interest. In short the Brahmacharies are practically alienated from the world, no visitors being allowed except at rare intervals—a privilege confined to the nearest relations of the pupil. But the chief distinction of the Gurukul lies in the course of studies which is prescribed for the pupils. There are ten classes in the school department, and a period of ten years is fixed for the student to finish the prescribed course of studies. The medium of instruction is the Arya Bhasha, and it is only in the seventh class, *i. e.*, after a student has been seven years in the Gurukul, that he begins to learn the English alphabet. And it is merely as a second language that English is taken up, but not with the intention of converting it into a medium of imparting knowledge. By the time he has gone through the tenth class he is expected to be able to read Lambs' *Tales from Shakespear* and the *Vicar of Wakefield*. What is the net result? The pupil has a fair prospect of becoming in time a learned Pandit. He has learnt by rote any number of Vedic *mantras*, he has acquired a certain amount of knowledge of Sanscrit literature, and through the medium of the Arya Bhasha he has been taught a little of History, Geography and Mathematics. Moral instruction is insisted upon in each class, and this takes the shape of learning by rote a number of Vedic *mantras* and *slokas*.

The prospectus says nothing about the course of studies to be pursued after the tenth year, for the Gurukul has not been in existence sufficiently long to make this necessary. As however, the main object is the resuscitation of classical Sanscrit and the spread of the Vedic religion, we may easily presume the direction the advanced course is likely to take. That these are objects very excellent in themselves no one will venture to deny. But at the same time it should be made clear that the Gurukul is a theological institution having for its object the training of young men to preach the Vedic religion, or to become learned professors of Sanscrit literature. But the promoters

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of the Gurukul are not prepared to admit this limitation being put on the result of the education imparted by them. They assert that the pupils receive a "sound general" education on lines that are "rational, national and evolutionary," the result of which is the development of their faculties, the formation of their character and the conservation of their energies, so as to equip them not only to fight their way on this world but to become useful agents for advancing the interests of their country. This jumbling of objects, religious and secular, is somewhat confusing, and though calculated to appeal most strongly to those who believe that the salvation of India lies in the revival of ancient learning and ancient methods of education and in the discarding of western culture and western institutions, yet has, I find, aroused in people with a practical turn of mind considerable searching of heart as to whether the Gurukul will after all promote the best interests of their boys. Some few of them would not mind these becoming learned Pandits or missionaries of the Vedic propaganda, but the bulk look forward to the young men taking their place in the world to secure their share of the material advantages it can offer. And it is these, aware of the struggle for existence that is being carried on and of the necessity for being qualified for it, who entertain a strong feeling that the Gurukul to be a success must modify the course of studies so as to adapt them to the exigencies of the present day. A well-balanced mind, a good moral character and a mastery of the Vedic and of Sanscrit literature are excellent gifts, but they can achieve nothing unless a candidate for any position has the knowledge and training necessary for filling that position. Government service and the learned professions are absolutely closed to the Gurukul alumni, for they are reserved for those who possess University certificates. But it might be said they can strike out a new line for themselves. Where is the opportunity for this to be found, except it may be in trade and commercial pursuits? But if this is to be their ultimate fate, where was the necessity for their devoting a good portion of their life in acquiring a knowledge of Sanscrit literature and of Vedic *mantras*, which are of doubtful value to those who rush to engage in the secular pursuits of life. These are considerations which will have to be faced by the promoters of the Gurukul, for as matters stand at present the future of the pupils is an absolute blank.

Then, again, it is open to controversy how far the absolute seclusion insisted upon at the Gurukul is suited to equip the pupils to fill the role of householders when they enter the world. Their very ignorance of it and their innocence are likely to contribute to make them easy victims to the snares, the pitfals, and the wickedness which

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they will have to encounter. To their being celibates while they are Brahmacharis, no objections need be raised, but the period of 25 years of age fixed for their student life seems inordinately long, more especially when after having bid adieu to this life it may be necessary for them to set about to learn something of the secular pursuit they intend taking up. Their being educated in environments where they are free from the temptations which beset the ordinary student is an excellent arrangement, but is it essential for their future welfare that they should be altogether deprived of association with their kith and kin, that they should be entirely divested of interest in their relations and friends and that they should be suddenly launched out to discharge duties towards their family and towards society of which they have been kept in total ignorance. These are matters which deserve reflection. The Gurukul is in the nature of an experiment and Mr. Munshi Ram deserves much credit for his self-sacrificing efforts to do good to his countrymen. He is more likely to attain his object, if instead of looking altogether for inspiration and guidance to the past he were to take into consideration the present also, and weigh carefully how his scheme can be given a practical turn, so that the apprehensions as to the future of the boys may be removed, and they may have secured for them a fair prospect of success when they leave the Gurukul.

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AS AN INDIAN SEES AMERICA—VIII: THE AMERICAN WOMAN.

By Mr. Saint Nihal Singh.

THERE are several distinct types of women that an Indian comes across in America. For instance, there is the woman who is dressed in the height of fashion but has no street manners. She slams doors—has an ungraceful carriage—giggles eternally—talks in a pitch of voice that permits her whisper to be heard at a long distance—and no matter where she is or what she is doing, she is incessantly chewing gum, much in the same fashion as a cow chews a cud. This woman is everlastingly stepping on the toes of other people and violently wedging herself between passers-by, without spending a thought on apologising to the injured party or parties. She is brusque in manner, curt in talk, and impresses the traveller as endeavouring to be "mannish." She affects that she does not care for the society of members of the sterner sex—but this is merely a superficial attitude. She is a coquette—despite her efforts to be a "man." Very often she is a married woman; and even if a "bachelor lady" she is so through punctiliousness—through a sense of pride more than anything else, which incites her to retain her independence. Within her heart of hearts she knows full well that her life would be much happier if led in "double harness" than in her present lonely condition.

In passing it may be mentioned that the American man is extremely inconsistent in his attitude toward woman. He likes this independent type—craves her friendship—calls her a "jolly good fellow"—encourages her to smoke, drink and be merry—invites her to mid-night lunches—praises her "slangy" talk. But, when he gets ready to assume the responsibilities of marriage he seeks a woman of dirctly opposite character for his wife. It is not the so-called "independent" woman but the "home body," a stay-at-home, quiet and submissive little thing that he takes to the altar and installs as the keeper of his house and the queen of his home.

The type of woman who uses "dope" in one form or another is to be frequently met with in America. "Dope" is an

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American word which means stimulating drugs of all kinds. The American woman is developing a strange fascination for taking "dope." Morphine and cocaine "fiends" amongst them are to be found anywhere. The rich and the poor alike are acquiring the pernicious habit. With the society woman, dope-taking is becoming a fad. Last summer jewelled morphine and cocaine hypodermic sets, valued as high as 1,500 rupees, were bought by wealthy New York and Chicago women and presented to their friends as gifts. The government of the country is alive to the substance of this evil practice and is taking measures to nip the institution in the bud in its early stage, but so long as unprincipled doctors and drug-store owners exist in the land —and there is no danger of their being wiped off the face of the United States until the millennium is here, the dopey woman will exist in America.

The "dopey" woman is a pathetic figure. To the casual observer there is a hollowness around her eyes, a yellow hue to her cheeks; and she gives the impression of being but half-intelligent. As an acquaintance or friend, she is not at all dependable; at one time she is apt to be vivacious, affectionate and kindly-disposed and on another occasion she is more than likely to be sour-tempered, captious, capricious and small-minded. At the time when she gets into the habit of taking the drug, she becomes listless, sleepy, uninteresting and half-dead. She gapes, yawns, makes excuses to go into privacy, pumps the "dope" into her veins—and for a certain number of hours she is "herself" once again. As a customer, the woman of this type is very unpleasant to deal with, as very usually she is liable to be fastidious and difficult to please. In more than one sense she makes herself a nuisance—a pest—but after all is said and considered, she is to be pitied, as complete nerve-break-down is her ultimate doom, and not infrequently her last days are spent either in a sanitarium or a lunatic asylum.

My impression is that the American woman takes unnecessary recourse to restoratives which are but a slow poison. They feel weak and faint and resort to many deadly concoctions—usually called pick-me-ups. By means of these dangerous drugs they ruin their nervous systems which, through many causes, is already debilitated. These women, in most instances, take the pick-me-ups on the recommendation of doctors and druggists.

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In a number of cases the writer has known the habit to be acquired by using patent medicines, so lavishly advertised and sold in America, which, until lately, used drugs in their composition which they failed to indicate on the labels. These women are a curse to society in general, as they go about directing other women to use their favorite poisons in case of fatigue or brain-fag, when probably all that is needed is a little quiet, a few hours' rest and keeping away from exciting plays and social functions.

Closely analogous to the "dopey" woman is the "dog-ey" type—largely to be met with in America. I have taken the liberty to coin this word to express myself, as I find there is no suitable term available in the English language to designate this peculiar occidental institution. This type of woman is inordinately fond of a pet—usually a dog or a cat, and sometimes a snake, panther, monkey or bear. This class of womanhood addresses the object of her affection as "dear," and treats it in a manner which appears ridiculous to everyone else. Usually it is the "idle rich" woman who belongs to this category. She wears the snake (a real, not an imitation—but a dead one) as a necklace; uses live chameleons for charms. A chimpanzee is dressed like a man in costly evening dress and is made to eat dinner at the table, to the great amusement of the guests. Society women even put reins around the necks of their favourite geese and drive them through the streets.

I once lived for a short time in a house where the landlady was a "dog-ey" woman. She used to call "Snow Ball"—her dog—her son, her preciousness, her sweetness, her darling baby. To suit her action to the words, she would kiss him a thousand times a day. The dog was washed in the dish-pan over the kitchen sink, fed from the same fork which the woman used to eat her food. This performance used to impress me as uncanny in the extreme, and I used to wonder how an intelligent, well-bred woman could be obsessed to such an extent.

One evening my query was answered. It was cold, dreary and stormy outside. The fire was burning briskly in the old-fashioned grate, but its cheeriness only heightened the unhappiness of the solitary occupant of the room. Beside the landlady, on a tripod stand, lay a bottle of whiskey and a pitcher of water. The whiskey which she imbibed rendered the drinker re-

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miniscent of past years of her life. A tornado of tears swept over her person. Through clouded brain she could faintly see the parting point where her sweetheart went out of her life, leaving a void which neither her pet dog nor drink could fill. And there, reclining in a rocking chair, in a very unenviable state of mind, sat the poor woman, her heir turned snow-white, thinned and shortened by time, hanging loosely upon her shoulders; a fork in her hand with which she alternately fed herself and the dog crouching at her feet. I read the tale in an instant.*

Another type of American woman which interests a Hindu traveller in the United States is the "made-up kind." This is the most frequently met woman in America. Her smile is artificial—because if she laughs heartily she is apt to crack the enamel with which her sheens are plastered to make them appear to have the blush of youth. She has false hair, false teeth, and perhaps, false eyes. More than likely some of the flesh is not her own—pads are fastened to different parts of her body to produce certain desired effects. The average American woman makes desperate efforts to preserve her beauty or bring it back if it has faded. She applies cold cream, powder and pigments and even undergoes surgical operations in order to have bones of their noses or cheeks filed and turned in shape. They have new skin grafted on their faces, or wrinkles are removed by cutting away a portion of the skin and pulling it up tight over the flesh. Hollows in the cheeks are filled out by injecting with a syringe a substance which forms a solid lump under the skin, and produces a rounded-out effect, without injuring the woman. American surgeons are performing won- ders in this department of life.

I gained my first acquaintance with the "made-up" kind of woman, or rather learned the extent to which the American woman as a rule is made up—in Seattle. Curiosity impelled me to go through the Woman's Department of a large dry goods store. The daughter of a missionary friend acted as my guide, adding to my vocabulary such words as "Qrats," "switches," "puffs," "waves," "bustles," "bust-forms," and giving me a liberal education relative to things heathen eyes are seldom

* I learn from an American newspaper that there are 500,000 women in Chicago, and that in the last year they have bought £1,650,000 worth of human hair, which aggregated twenty-eight tons in weight.

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privileged to see. One booth impressed me more than all the others combined. It was the counter where the "ready made garments for women" were sold. So far in my life I had looked upon woman's toilet as a very complicated affair. This impression was deepened by the fascinating study of the morning in the department store. I could very well understand that some members of the sterner sex, simpler in taste or limited in resources, might submit to the ordeal of wearing ready made or semi ready made clothes; but it was more than I could conceive that an American woman would wear anything but a tailor-made suit.

I was greatly perplexed. Mustering all my courage, I went to the counter and spoke to the saleslady somewhat in this wise:

"Beg your pardon, Ma'am—but if you'll please excuse my impertinence. I want to ask you a question. It is not peering curiosity that I want to satisfy—but I am in this country, far from home, to learn a few things, and if you will answer my question you will grealy help me in securing my education."

"Well, what is it?"

There was not much in the words to encourage me. But the smile that played about her lips and the twinkle in her eye made me feel at liberty to state to her the query which was perplexing my Oriental mind. I was barely through making my statement when I saw her chuckling with irrepressible amusement. Cutting me off in the middle of a sentence, she began:

"Well, you knew God made man?"

"Yes."

"He made infinite moulds, casting no two men in the same?"

"Yes."

"Therefore you will admit that no readymade dress designed for one will fit another?"

"Yes."

"You see, therefore, that it is foolish to have an establishment for selling semi-ready or ready-made clothes for men?"

"I see."

"Well, the women in America, on the contrary, are *made* by the department stores after a certain style—all alike—like the prototype. Thus you see a garment made for one fits perfectly any other woman. You see? Eh?"

And I saw!

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THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE OF JOURNALISTS.

By Mr. T. S. Narayanah.

IT was proposed sometime ago that some half a dozen English editors should be invited to India to see for themselves the actual state of affairs in this country, so that they might, on their return home, exert their influence to disabuse the minds of the British public of the many false notions they were labouring under, regarding India and her people. Many people held that the visit would be fruitful of many good results. We had, however, our own doubts on the point. The proposal itself was somehow dropped and we felt little sorry for it. Now we are going to have an Imperial Journalistic Conference in London, and as we think that the Conference would be able to do much more good to the people than an informal visit of a handful of British editors could have done, we heartily welcome it.

Conferences are generally held by persons having more or less common ideals, aims and aspirations. They serve to gather together at one place, now and then, workers from various parts of the Empire in order to give them the inspiration of success and the consolation of brotherly sympathy. Speaking about the Indian Social Conference, the late lamented Mahadev Govind Ranade once said: "The Conference brings the individual workers together from all parts of the country and when we exchange notes with one another, those of us who may have lagged behind are encouraged to persevere in the work by the example of their fellow workers who have attained better success or struggled manfully with their difficulties." The object of any conference is to create among its members a dissatisfaction with their present condition. The proposed conference of journalists from the various parts of the British Empire is therefore to create a dissatisfaction with their present condition by discovering to them their drawbacks. It is to make them realise certain courses of conduct as to their duties and to place before them certain ideals for their acceptance and assimilation. What are then the drawbacks of the modern journalist? What are the ideals which the Conference is to preach to pressmen for their acceptance and their assimilation? What is the sort of dissatisfaction which the Conference is to create among news-

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paper editors? These questions seem to exhaust the scope of the proposed Conference and these questions I beg to briefly consider here.

We little know now what programme of work the Conference may follow. It is however hoped that the proposed Conference will supply the want of an organised institution that would tend to consolidate the isolated influence of eminent journalists of the British Empire, by promoting among them sympathy, high aims and noble aspirations. It is ardently hoped that the Conference will provide journalists with a code of journalistic morality. To collect news from the various parts of the world and supply them to the people is the least significant of the manifold duties of an editor. The mission of the public press is not so much to cater news to people, or provide them with light-reading matter in the form of fiction or poetry, as to expose the evils of the people and Governments. It is not however, to be understood that the work of a journalist is only destructive criticism. The journalist has not only to expose the evils of individuals and nations but also help them on towards a higher and better life.

It is not unoften we find that in their discussion of subjects editors take sides without the least interest in them, and at best with the minimum knowledge of them. They oppose or advocate a cause as if they have nothing to lose or gain by its results. They write on questions, upon a proper solution of which depends the rise or fall of a nation, without the least personal interest in or accurate knowledge of such subjects. They seldom seem to remember their duties and write more to keep their kettles boiling than to help their readers to grapple with the problems of life. We are afraid a great many editors of the present day have no settled principles to govern them. They are creatures of the moment. They cannot boldly set their face against things which they cannot countenance with feelings of honour. They cannot criticise measures which they know to be injurious to the constitution. They do not expose officials of whose vagaries they are convinced. They are seldom honest in their opinions and scarcely disinterested.

Especially in India, the condition of the journalist is very deplorable. The Indian journalist is rarely able to look at questions of public interest apart from bias or self-interest He

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forgets he is the accredited leader of the people and can better or spoil their happiness. The Indian press as well as the Anglo-Indian press has limitations of its own. The Indian editor always tries to exaggerate matters and find flaws in the Government. On the other hand, the Anglo-Indian journalist cannot look at questions of policy and administration without Imperial spectacles. His prejudice against the Indians prevents him from seeing things in their true colours, as the discontent of the Indian prevents him from understanding the work of the British in its right spirit. There has of late been a bitter war going on between the two sections of the Indian press, which if it has resulted in any thing has tended to widen the gulf between the East and the West. The present unrest in India is as much due to the absurd effusions of the Indian editor, as it is to the misunderstanding of facts by his Anglo-Indian brother. The obvious duty of the Journalists' Conference is to bring home to the Indian as well as the Anglo-Indian journalist the mischief they are causing to the country by their biased writings. The Conference has to teach those Englishmen that make their bread in India by newspaper-writing that there is what is called journalistic morality, the violation of which is as great a sin as the violation of any of the ten commandments. On the other hand, it is equally a duty of the Conference to check the violence of language and point out the impropriety of methods adopted by Indian journalists to spread their doctrines.

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ORPHANAGE PROBLEM IN INDIA.

By Mr. B. R. Ransing, B. A., LL. B.

Shriyut Lala Lajpat Rai in his admirable article on 'Social efficiency' in *Modern Review* has very well considered the social question on all sides. Truly therein he said 'that the condition of these lower classes is deplorable and requires immediate attention on all hands. Large numbers of them are being lost to the Hindu community, because the latter would not give them any social status and would not otherwise improve their condition. These are the classes which suffer most in times of scarcity and famine and it is absolutely necessary that effective measures be adopted to educate them, to lift them up in the social scale and to give them work which will enable them to get sufficient food.' Among the problems of diverse kinds which are agitating to-day the public mind of India, an important place should be given to this problem of the amelioration of the condition of masses and the savings of the lives of orphan children. The necessity of Indian orphanages at important places throughout India is being keenly felt in the days of famine, scarcity, plague and other terrible calamities.

The first orphanage in Bombay presidency was established at Pandharpur in 1877 by Rao Bahadur Lalshankar Umiashankar, who was a sub-judge there and who might aptly be called the father of orphanages of the western part of India. This is the only orphanage in Bombay presidency where foundlings are admitted. The terrible famines of 1897, and of 1900-01 were keenly felt in various parts of Bombay presidency and the result of these famines was many orphanages conducted solely by the public. Since this time various orphanages have been established in Bombay presidency, *viz.*, at Surat, Dhulia, Bombay, Barsi, Jamnagar, Vyaru and other places.

The function of an orphanage is three-fold; *first*, to rescue orphans from death; *second*, to make the orphanages their real homes and *third*, to train them in same trade or profession. By sketching a short description and history of a typical institution of the kind (The Victoria Orphanage, Dhulia) I hope I shall be able to throw some light on this Orphanage question.

The famine of 1900-01 was keenly felt in the Khandesh District, which was the largest in the Bombay presidency (it has been lately partitioned) and hundreds were left homeless and penniless orphans. At that time there was a movement in Dhulia as to how to make in Khandesh District a fit memorial to our beloved Queen and Empress

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Victoria, the Good, who had left us in 1901. The sympathy of Queen Victoria for the lower classes in England was well-known to us. At that time we fortunately got a good advisor in Mr. Dayaram Gidumal, the well-known philanthrophist of the western part of India and who was then the District Judge here. So it was decided in 1902 in a public meeting under the presidentship of Mr. Dayaram Gidumal to start 'the Victoria Orphanage' at Dhulia in memory of Queen Victoria and the Dhulia Charitable Society was also formed to further this project. The society obtained a substantial grant of Rs. 26,802 from the Indian Charitable funds and the public also contributed about Rs. 2,000 towards this society. This was the nucleous which formed the basis of the Victoria Orphanage. A bungalow with a large compound was placed at the disposal by Messrs. Cowasji and Sorabji Dadabhai Dubhas, the Abkari Contractors.

At the beginning about 100 orphans were admitted. These orphans were of various castes, *viz.*, the Bhils (the aborginies of the District) and such lower castes as the Mangs, Kolis and Mahars, the pariahs of this part of country. The history of these orphans are touching. One of them was found waiting among the dead in the mountains of Satpura, dividing the District from H. H. Holkar's dominions. The necessity of the orphanage was also keenly felt when the plague devastated the small town of Dhulia in 1903. At that time plague was very severe and in the town many orphans were left as the consequences of it. These orphans were admitted in the orphanage and the most interesting fact was among those who were admitted were two orphans of the highest caste, I mean, the Brahmins. When the orphans attain the age of 22, *i.e.*, when they are able to earn their livelihood, they are discharged. The society also looks after their marriages and many orphans, male and female, are married suitably according to their religion.

There are now about 50 orphans in the orphanage. These orphans are of various castes and creeds and their religious scruples are being keenly watched. For instance, some years ago, the *sunnat* ceremony of two Mahomedan orphans was duly celebrated aided by local Mahomedan panchayats. The orphans are taught the principles of their religions in a lucid and simple way and telling them good stories from the Puranas form a daily item of the programme. The Bhajan or prayer is being daily practised twice before the meals. In short, every effort is being made to make them as comfortable as possible. Here I may note that our ladies should take interest in the orphanages and should often visit them and look after the comforts of the orphans who should have a love of the woman though not of a mother.

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As to the third function of the orphanage, *viz.*, to train them in some trade or profession the orphans are being taught hand-loom work. The handloom work and caning work of the orphans are good and the orphans have obtained silver medals for their works in the Surat and Dhulia exhibitions. It is a wonder to see lame and crippled orphans, who would be otherwise useless, working on hand-looms and thus fitting themselves well for the struggles of life. The orphans, male and female, are all taught to read and write the vernacular and in intelligent instances, they are taught higher education. One of the orphans, *viz.*, a Mahomedan is at present in the local High School. In short, every effort is being made to develop their intellectual powers. The Khandesh District is presumably an agricultural district and it is therefore thought that advantage might be gained if the orphans were taught agriculture on modern basis. This scheme which is on the anvil requires great pecuniary help from the public.

Such is the short description of a typical orphanage. By means of this description, I mean to put this important question forefront. The nation should advance on all sides, *viz.*, politically, socially, morally and religiously. True happiness is the goal of human aspirations. What more happiness is there than discharging the duty we owe to poor and destitute children of the soil? All religions proclaim the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. Our Aryan religion and Budhistic religion embody the above principles. The Indians are proverbially charitable, the existence of public rest houses, ghats, on the rivers, pinjarapoles, public eating-houses—all these testify to Indian charity. When Indian charity has so much done for the relief of animals and birds, will it fail to relieve pain and misery of helpless orphans? The spirit of charity is not wanting in us but what we want is to guide this charity in a proper channel. For, now a days we see in some castes charity being misapplied in feeding useless and indolent persons, encouraging idleness. This and many other misapplication of charity should be stopped. Co-operation is wanted for such work and by means of co-operation we may be able to give a national awakening, *viz.*, in founding orphanages and in bettering the condition of the masses.

As to the missionaries, it is no use to blame them, although it is true that large numbers were and are taken away from the Hindu fold. For this, the fault lies with us, as we did not do the work which was ours. No man can deny that the missionaries save lives in times of plague, famines and other calamities and the credit of this purpose is due to them. But now a new spirit is abroad in this country and this problem is agitating the public mind of India. Who will not remember with delight the yeoman service done by

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Shriyut Lala Lajpat Rai and his volunteers assisted by servants of India Society, Poona, in N. W. Provinces during the last famine? In the Bombay presidency also the Seva Sadana started by Mr. Malabari, another Bomhay Parsee philanthropist, the pioneer efforts of the Prathana Samaja, Bombay, for the depressed classes, the efforts of men like Dr. Bhandarkar and Mr. Shinde on this side—all these show signs of awakening.

The problems of the depressed classes and orphanages are links of one chain and therefore inseparable. If we peep into our Pauranic literature—not to say of our Vedic times, we see though there were four chief castes (the Brahmins, the Kshatrias, the Vaishyas, the Sudras) a man by his own deeds could rise to higher level of status and *vice versa*. A Brahmin was a Brahmin not by birth but by deeds, that is to say, that mere birth right to any status of life was not the standard by which a person could fix his status. Was not the famous bard Valmiki, the author of the Ramayana, a mere koli or a fisherman in his previous stages of his life? Was not the famous sage Vishwamitra, a Kshtriya King? Was not the famous Sage Narada, a mere dasi-putra by his birth? Hundreds of such examples can be shown from the Puranas. But there came a dark time in India during which the Sudras were permanently crushed down in their status. We see however some glimpses now and then in our history of improving the status of the lower classes. In ancient times, it is well known that Lord Gautama, the founder of the Buddhistic religion, devoted great part of life in relieving the distress of the lower classes. The Buddhistic missionaries, wherever they went, found hospitals for the poor and charitable homes for the depressed classes. If we descend to comparatively modern times, *i.e.*, about 200-300 years ago, we see many sages in our Maharastra or the Deccan belonging to lower classes. These sages by their advice improved the condition of the masses. Tukaram, the most popular saint of the Deccan, was a mere Vaishya or trader by caste. Gora, the famous saint, was a were potter by caste. Rohidas, another saint, was a shoe-maker by his caste. It can be seen from the above that intellect and purity can be found even in the lowest strata of our Society. There are now five and and half crores of the lower classes in the whole of India. I cannot conceive the result if these five crores of our brethren go to other religion. What we want is to lift them up in their social status by giving them education so that they may become useful members of our society.

Here I may suggest that a conference of all orphanage institutions in India should annually meet, to discuss the question of the amelioration of the condition of Indian orphans, to compare notes as regards work being done in this direction by men in different parts of India

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and to devise means whereby the co-operation between different orphanages were to be secured. The orphanage conference of this kind was held at Surat in 1907, under the presidentship of Justice Chandavarkar but the conference was limited to the Bombay presidency and the scope should now be extended to whole India.

I conclude this article in words of Justice Chandavarkar in his address at the Orphanage Conference at Surat in 1907 :

Now that we are asking for political rights and Swarajya, care and solicitude we might show for the bettering of the condition of the masses and the successful administration of the institutions governed and managed by us are test of our fitness. If we fail here, would fail elsewhere also. This is the work we must take upon our own hands and upon our own shoulders. We must save our own children, lift them up, train them and make useful members of society and then that step would react on our own souls, on our nation for as John Bright once said, that the nation lived in the cottage and Max Muller reiterated that India dwelt in villages and not in towns.

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VERNACULAR LITERATURE IN NORTH INDIA.

By Mr. Madho Ram, B. A.

THOUGH it goes without saying that political agitation is a very important means of helping our motherland in the present times, yet there is undoubtedly a very large number of our countrymen who by temperament or on account of the circumstances in which they are placed, cannot take any strong interest in politics. We cannot easily blame them. But this must be admitted that it is possible for them to do a great deal to improve the condition of their less-favoured brethren and to bring sunshine into their dull and miserable lives. There is appalling poverty in this land of plenty; there is abysmal ignorance in this home of religion and philosophy. We want the whole country to be crowded with schools and colleges because we think it is the right of every man and woman to receive education. It is useless however to expect the Government to move as fast in this matter as we would wish it to. Its point of view sometimes is not the same as ours. But it is really sad to find that though there is no restriction on our going to the liquor shop and getting ourselves dead drunk, there is a great restriction by means of high fees and hard rules on our right and desire to get educated. By a strange irony of fate, liquor is cheap in this land of the Rishis but knowledge is dear. And though the action of the Government can be swift like thought in passing laws for the punishment of sedition, its movement becomes snail-like in putting into effect such a beneficent measure as free education in the primary schools.

Under these circumstances, the complaint of our Anglo-Indian critics that the people of India do not know how to keep their homes and surroundings clean and to take the necessary steps to ward off cholera, plague and other diseases, does not come with a good grace. When they have not received the necessary education, it is difficult for them to understand the value of cleanliness and sanitation. But it is not wise in these days to write about the Government. I would therefore most gladly take my stand on the noble principle of self-help and humbly beseech my countrymen to take active measures to educate the masses. And where else shall I go for examples of phenomenal munificence

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to help the cause of education than to the land of our rulers and their cousins, the Americans? Besides many other philanthropists, just consider how Andrew Carnegie, the multimillionaire has been spending his wealth in founding reading rooms and libraries on both sides of the Atlantic, and how Cecil Rhodes willed away a fabulous sum to the Oxford University in order that scholarships may be given to young men from America, Germany and the British Colonies for study at that historic seat of learning. In our own country we find in addition to mission schools and colleges, several leper asylums, orphanages and dispensaries for women maintained with the money of England and America. We shall have to emulate the self-sacrifice which good men and women in the West undergo to better the lives of their fellowmen before we can say that we have done our duty by our brethren. In India itself, the illustrious example of Vidyasagar who gave away his all to help the cause of social reform and education and to relieve the needy and the distressed, and of Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia and Mr. J. N. Tata who made the princely gift of thirty lakhs of rupees for scientific research is enough to put life into our drooping spirits. Above all the promptitude with which our countrymen here and abroad have contributed their hundreds and thousands to the funds opened by Lala Lajpat Rai and other workers for the relief of famine-stricken people, shows that our cause is not hopeless and that the bonds of nationality and the desire to undergo some sacrifice for the people are becoming stronger day by day. Good orphanages are gradually coming into existence, but we are still waiting for the day when there will be a large number of charitable dispensaries in the country maintained by the rich for the benefit of the poor. The Parsis of Bombay have already led the way in this respect. Let the other communities follow their noble example. The opening of schools and colleges, orphanages and hospitals, does not however exhaust the list of what we should do to increase the efficiency of our people.

The work of the politician and the journalist, of the social reformer and the philanthropist, has to be supplemented by the historian, the novelist and the poet. Hitherto we have had excellent biographies, some in English and some in the Vernacular, of Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Keshab Chandra Sen, Vidyasagar, Mr. Ranade, Baba

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Nanak, Mahatama Buddha, Sri Krishna, Mazini, Garibaldi and of some other distinguished persons. But of history proper we have very little except Moulvi Muhamad Husain Azad's *Darbar-e-Akbari* and Mr. Ranade's *History of the Mahrattas*, Mr. R. C. Dutt's *Ancient India* and P. N. Bose's *History of Hindu Civilization under the British Rule*. The last three works are in English. In Bengali fiction, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's Novels top the list. Mr. R. C. Dutt has also written two excellent novels, Jiwan Prabhat (The Morning of Life) and Sansar (The Lake of Palms). In Urdu M. Abdul Halim, Sharar, has written besides others some good novels, concerning the days of Muhamadan supremacy in Spain and elsewhere. Moulvi Nazir Ahmad's *Toubat-un-Nasooh* and other stories give a delightful insight into the life of Delhi Muhamadans. The works of Pandit Ratan Nath Sarshar of Lucknow are a mine of pleasant reading. His famous work *Fasana Azad* sent the Urdu knowing world into an ecstasy of delight, the like of which has not been seen in the history of Urdu literature.

Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt and Miss Toru Dutt wrote poetry of a very high order in Bengali and English. There have been other poets also in Bengal. But so far as Urdu is concerned, though there is a large mass of poetry in it over which many able graduates are spending their energies, there is little or nothing in it to match Bankim's *Bande Mataram*, Byron's *Ode to Greece*, Shelley's *Ode to the Skylark*, Byron's *Address to the Ocean*, Kali Das's *Meghduta* or Scott's patriotic poetry. The fact is that Urdu poetry has not as yet adapted itself to the needs of the present times and is still clinging to the traditions of its royal patrons, the last Nawab of Oudh and the last King of Delhi. I am happy to say that Maulvi Muhamad Husain, Azad, Maulana Altaf Husain, Hali and Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal have broken new ground and have written poetry which is as much elevated in tone as it is free from jaw-breaking Arabic and Persian words. Iqbal's poem *Hindostan Hamara* has the ring of *Bande Mataram* in it, and has simply captured the student world, so much so that the Panjab Text-Book Committee became afraid of it and, if I am informed correctly, refused to include it among the poems prescribed for the secondary standard. May the race of Azad and Iqbal ever live among the makers of new Urdu literature.

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There is probably a respectable literature in Gujerati and Mahratti, Tamil and Telugu. But my remarks are confined to Upper India only and are based on my limited knowledge of its literary achievements, which though brilliant can be counted on one's fingers. I have written nothing in a carping spirit. I realise full well that education in a foreign tongue acts like a dead weight on our popular genius and that though we owe a deep debt of gratitude to the English language for giving us great ideas, specially those relating to patriotism and public spirit, it can not be denied that our genius can not find fit expression and development in any but our own language. The history of English literature makes this proposition perfectly clear. As long as English was neglected and Latin continued to be the medium of education for the clergy and the nobles, the literary output was very poor. But when in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, the medium of education was changed from Latin to English, the genius of the English people began to make itself felt and the English language acquired great strength and beauty. And now the mighty English Literature as it has grown in the hands of Chaucer and Spencer, Shakespeare and Milton, Dryden and Pope, Byron and Shelley, Wordsworth and Tennyson, Macaulay and Carlyle, Dickens and George Eliot, fascinates us all and few can withstand its charms. It is, therefore, that a large number of Indians cultivate the English language with great assiduity and find it very pleasant to talk and write it. In fact, it is doubtful if there is any other country in which the people can use a foreign tongue with that power and ease with which the Indians use English. But it must be admitted that this command over English has been acquired by the Indians at a very great sacrifice. It is to our good that we should go on reading English as a second language. But it is high time that our educated men gave greater thought to the development of our vernaculars. The efforts of the Nagri Pracharni Sabha of Benares in widening the scope of Hindi Bhasha deserve the thanks of the public and will go a great way in consolidating the foundations of modern Hindi literature. It will be a happy day for India when Mr. Sarada Charan Mitter's proposal to have a common script for the different vernaculars of the country is accepted by our men of light and leading and put into practice with an enthusiasm well worthy of its importance. It is a pity

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that the signeficance of Mr. Mitter's proposal has not yet been realised by the general public. But there is no reason to despair. Nor have we to go very far to find materials for building a grand Indian literature. There is enough in the past history of our country, in the beautiful scenery and romantic associations of its majestic rivers and mountains and in the daily life of the people of its different provinces to give work to the historian and to inspire the poet and the novelist. We are at the beginning of the period of an Indian Renaissance. Let us make this period glorious by enriching our literature with translations from English, Sanskrit and other languages and by writing such historical works, novels and poems as may raise the tone of our people. India had a great literature in the past. There is no reason why it should not have a greater literature now when we are in touch with the whole world. The genius of Bankim and Dutt, Ranade and Azad, has lighted the way. Let us walk in their footsteps.

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MOSQUITOES.

By Mr. R. Rollo Platel.

THE mosquito has been a good deal in the public view during the last few years, ever since the discovery that certain species of this gnat are responsible for malaria, yellow fever and other diseases. It need hardly be said that the mosquito has always been a good deal in the public ear. It is a wonderful insect, and although much has been studied regarding it, there is no man living who could faithfully declare that he is acquainted with even a fraction of the life-history and habits of the tiny creature and its numerous ramifications. The mosquito has the honour of belonging to the dipterous order of insects, which are most generally characterised by the possession of two wings, and are hence separated from the *Hymenoptera*, which include bees and wasps. The title *Diptera* was conferred on the family of the mosquito in ancient times by so celebrated an authority as Aristotle. But as there are dipterous insects—those of the genera known as *Malophagus*, for instance—which are destitute of wings, it becomes necessary to mention other distinguishing characteristics of the order. These are the possession of six legs furnished with five-jointed tarsi, a proboscis, two palpi, two antennæ or feelers, three ocelli and two halteres or poisers. The wings are transparent like gauze, and are horizontally placed. The nervures are not numerous and are generally longitudinally disposed. The proboscis and mouth are so constructed as to allow only of the extraction and upward transmission of fluids. When the fluid is contained in tough substance, the insect brings into use certain delicate lancet-like contrivances within the proboscis for the purpose of wounding and penetrating, in view to allowing the fluid to escape. By the pressure of these lancets, the fluid is forced to run up and enter the asophagus. In general, the eyes of dipterous insects are large, more particularly in the males. Sometimes, they occupy nearly the whole of the head. The poisers constitute two small organs of slender form, furnished at the apex with knobs, situated at the base of the thorax on each side and immediately behind the attachment of the wings. The poisers are probably used to inflate the little knobs with air in order to preserve the equilibrium of the insect when on the wings. The *Diptera* have been divided into two great sections known as the *Nemocera* and the *Brachocera*, the points of difference being the shape and size of the head, body, proboscis, feelers and other members. The mosquito is placed in the former section and the

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family to which it is assigned is known as the *Culicidæ*. This family embraces several genera, of which those that cause most annoyance are *Anopheles*, *Stogomyia*, *Culex* and *Panoplites*. It is the genus *Anopheles* which form the intermediate host of the blood parasites that cause malaria, the gnats acting also as distributors of these germs from person to person. Some fifty-five species of anopheles are known at present, of which nine are from Africa, twenty-three from Asia, five from North and South America, six from Europe, four from Australia and four from the West Indies. They are most abundant in India, the Malay Peninsula and West and Central Africa. Only certain of their species seem to act as intermediate hosts of the malarial parasite, which is injected into the blood of the victim along with the mosquito saliva. The *Anopheles* are nearly all blood suckers in the female sex, both sexes having long palpi. In colour, *Anopheles* is usually brownish or slaty, but sometimes buff, and the thorax frequently has a dark stripe on each side. The wings in nearly all species have a dappled or speckled appearance, owing to the occurrence of blotches on the front margin and to the arrangement of the scales covering the veins in alternating light and dark patches. *Anopheles* is very likely to be confounded with *Culex*, which is the commonest of all mosquitoes, has a world-wide distribution, and is generally a greedy blood-sucker. A distinctive feature is the position assumed in repose. *Culex* has a hump-backed attitude, while in *Anopheles* the proboscis, head and body are in a straight line, and in many species inclined at an angle to the wall, the tail sticking outward. Again, in the female of *Culex*, the palpi are much shorter than the proboscis while in *Anopheles* they are of the same length. The wings in *Culex* have not the same dappled appearance. *Anopheles* is also a more slender insect, with a smaller head, narrower body and thinner legs. There are further differences in the other stages of life. *Culex* is the largest genus of the *Culicidæ* and contains over three hundred species. While *Anopheles* lays its eggs on the water of natural puddles, ponds, or slowly-moving streams, on which they float singly or attached to other objects are clustertd together in patterns, the ova of *Culex*, on the other hand, are deposited in any stagnant water, including cesspools, drains, cisterns or water collected in any vessel. When ready to deposit her eggs, the female *Culex* flies instinctively and by preference to stagnant water to perform one of the most deeply-interesting functions of insect life. Placing her two front legs on any floating substance she may find, she rests her centre legs ever as lightly on the surface of the water and crosses her hind legs in the form of the letter X. Then, she deposits her first egg on the surface of the

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water in the angle formed by her crossed legs. Besides the first, another tiny egg is soon dropped, and so on, till in some cases, if not always, about a hundred ova are thus deposited, each one being attached to its neighbours by a cement which remains unaffected by water. The collection represents a tiny raft, the spindle-shaped eggs having their larger head downwards, it being at this end that the head of the coming larva will be placed. So very diminutive are the ova that a hundred of them would not exceed a fifth of an inch in length or a twentieth of an inch in breadth. In a few days, the tiny larva emerges from its egg into the water. It has a large head, a slender body, with two openings at the tail, breathing tubes and other most delicately constructed organs. The little wriggler, as it has been appropriately called, displays much activity in the water, constantly rising to the surface to breathe and immediately descending back to the bottom to feed on whatever it can pick up. It is a voracious consumer, nourishing itself on decomposing vegetable or putrefying animal matter. Meanwhile, it sheds its skin several times and is also largely devoured by fish, which find it an easily-procured and invigorating delicacy. The wriggler at its dinner furnishes a profoundly interesting study. With its two nippers, it holds the tiny particles of food which it cuts up with two round brittle-edged blades that are protruded for the purpose. When the larva enters the secondary or pupa stage, it is found to have undergone a remarkable change of structure. Whereas in the larval form, respiration was affected by means of breathing tubes, it is now affected by means of two ingenious projections provided for the purpose near the thorax. So, when it now rises to the surface to breathe, it holds its head up, having done just the contrary in its larval days. The pupa continues to be active, but it does not feed, and its size increases as the embryonic mosquito goes on evolving, wonderfully, beautifully and gradually, within its case. As the psychological moment approaches, when the mosquito will enter into the lights of the day, the pupa rises to the surface of the water, the thorax rising above it. The hinder parts of the pupa straighten out, its top opens and the head of the developed insect is seen for the first time. The tiny prisoner contracts and expands its abdominal segments, the head and thorax are pushed forward and out sufficiently for to free its legs, the pupa case, which now floats in the water, providing a convenient supper for this purpose. The wings expand, the abdomen is eventually withdrawn from the case and, with a final struggle for emancipation, the newly arrived insect sits for a brief while on its pupal boat, till dried by the air or the sun, its wings acquire power and the mosquito flies away, if a female to begin a career

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of eating and laying, if a male, to take a very back seat in the theatre of mosquito life. The complete transformation from the egg to the insect varies in duration according to the weather, but a month has been found enough for the production of the insect, that is, three or four days to mature the egg, slightly over a fortnight for the larval stage and about a week for the pupal. In regard of one particular species, the entire life round occupies no more than two weeks. The mosquito lives for from three days to about a month. Experiments conducted with one species of *Culex* showed that it could live for about a month if fed on fruits only. A few individuals of the same species (*C. fatigans*) were kept without food of any kind and lived as long as ten days. The female did not lay eggs, however, until she had had a meal of blood. It is now generally recognised that blood is needed in the mosquito diet in order to impart the power of fertilisation. According to Ross, the female will not lay eggs if merely given a blood diet. The feeding has to take place in the presence of the male, that is, fertilisation takes place after feeding. This interesting point has not, however, been exhaustively investigated. The fact has been sufficiently noted though, that certain varieties of mosquitoes are possessed of a remarkable degree of vitality. The salt marsh mosquito, which was so much in evidence in the Russian Camp at Port Arthur during the memorable siege of that citadel by the Japanese, is a fine case in point. It lays its egg in the soft mud in salt meadows and the eggs may remain for months, losing nothing of their vitality. After being dry for a long time, a large percentage hatch out within a few hours of becoming covered with water. The remainder lie dormant for a period long enough to enable the first lot to reach full growth, and then, if they are still water-covered, most of them hatch. A few eggs of each brood lie over till the year following, and all the eggs of the last brood hibernate. The first spring brood of these mosquitoes is the largest of the season, because it contains the accumulation of all the eggs remaining unhatched for any reason from the previous season. During its brief existence, the lady insect deposits at least hundred eggs, fifty of which will turn out if not prematurely destroyed to be female mosquitoes. Taking this fact as the basis of a calculation, H. S. Thomas, in one of his works on angling shows that a single female mosquito would in a year reproduce 488,281, 250,000,000,000,000 of her species. It is a very good thing indeed that mosquitoes are esteemed as food by fish and certain other creatures, for if the little winged insects were allowed to propagate and multiply without check or hindrance, they would soon create an overpopulation problem, for which man's ingenuity might not perhaps be able to find a satisfactory solution. A brief

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description has been given of *Culex* in its larval and pupal stages. It may be mentioned, with particular regard to *Anopheles*, that the ova live in brackish and even in sea water, and that the larve has no breathing tube and floats horizontally on the surface, except when feeding.

As soon as the young mosquito releases itself from its pupal case, it flies instinctively for some wooded ground, covering miles if necessary to get there, but seldom or never crossing a broad expanse of water. We may take it for granted that the mosquito does not live exclusively on animal blood and that, existing as it does to a great extent in densely wooded swamps and marshes, it subsists largely on a vegetable diet, by extracting succulent juices from plants aud trees, which yield products suited to its taste and serviceable to its existence. It is only the female mosquito that attacks its fellow creatures, the male does not possess a proboscis which is built so as to enable the owner to draw up fluids from the animal system. This fact itself ought to correct the popular notion that mosquitoes live exclusively on animal blood. If this notion were correct, what would become of the male mosquito and furthermore, what would become of the entire mosquito species ?.

As for the proboscis of the female mosquito, it is an organ of such an exceedingly delicate structure that wonder has always been expressed regarding its capabilities to extract such a comparatively thick fluid as animal blood and force it upward into the insect's abdomen. It has been suggested, but it is by no means an established fact, that the insect is provided with a chemical liquid, which when diluted with blood, so refines the latter as to admit of its passage along the proboscis and thorax of the mosquito into the abdomen. The process of suction is most ingenious and resembles that employed by the butterfly in sucking up nectar from flowers. The long proboscis may be considered as the lips, the mouth proper being situated in the head at their base. When the lips have reached the fluid, the muscles around the mouth are contracted; this produces a cavity which is necessarily a vacuum, and the fluid naturally rushes in to fill it. When it is filled, the muscles around the mouth relax, a valve at the base of the lips closes and prevents its return, and the fluid is forced down the gullet. The humming sound produced by the musquito and with which we are all more familiar than we care to be is another highly interesting phenomenon, which is deserving of some description, more especially as there are popular misconceptions as to how the sound is produced. It may be mentioned that there are really two sets of sounds, each of which is produced in a distinct manner. The

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deeper notes which go to make up the droning song are due to the rapid vibration of the female insect's wings as she flies, and these vibrations are found by means of a siren to amount to about 3,000 in a minute. The mosquitoes' wings must therefore move with this extraordinary rapidity, which sufficiently accounts for the difficulty in catching one of these tiny creatures. The higher and shriller notes of the complex melody are due to special stridulating organs situated like little drums on the openings of the air tubes; for the adult mosquito does not breathe by one or two air entrances on the tail or back, like the larva, but by a number of spiracies, as they are called, arranged in rows along the sides of the body and communicating with a network of internal air chambers. The music generated by the little drums serves as a means of attracting male mosquitoes, and it has been observed that the long hairs on the antennæ of the males vibrate sympathetically in unison with the notes of a tuning fork, within the range of the sounds emitted by the female.

It may be mentioned that the word mosquito itself is of Spanish origin and signifies "little fly." In English, the generic name is gnat. The early Portuguese settlers in India, who had a pronounced weakness for misnaming animals and plants which they found out here, called the gnat *mosquito vaca*, or cow gnat, no doubt because the little insect is largely found in and about cow pens. But as is known, the creature is found pretty nearly everywhere else too. The mosquito indeed has made a home for itself in nearly every part of the world. It flourishes best in tropical countries, where dense vegetation, swamps of stagnant water, marshes and such places assist it materially to propagate its species. It is found in all European countries and has been traced as far north as the Arctic regions. The insect is mostly nocturnal in its habits, except in dense marshes, and perhaps also in moderately wooded localities, where it is active both by night and day. American mosquitoes have the worst reputation of any in the world, but though travellers, veracions and otherwise, write of the sting of these trans-Atlantic varieties as being more poisonous and painful than the bites of other species, the probability is that the degree of notoriety is attributable to numbers more than to the severity or virulence of the sting. For all their obnoxiousness, mosquitoes serve a useful part in the economy of nature, furnishing in the larval stage, nourishing food for various kinds of fish and helping by their own voracity in that stage to clear water of many of its impurities.

Coming particularly to the important *Anopheles* genera, it may be mentioned that the classification of the various species

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is still in a very early stage although James and other authorities have recently added much to our knowledge of the subject. James has divided the *Anopheles* into four different groups according to the general appearance of the adult insect, the characters of the eggs and larvæ and the habits of the adult insects and their larvæ. In the first group he places four Indian species. The adults of this group are characterised by their small size, by their being generally of a dull brown colour, and by the fact that their eggs are uniformly coloured without any banding at the joints. The eggs are of small size, the upper surface very narrow and the lateral floats near together on this surface. The larvæ possess a pair of well-developed palmate hairs on all the abdominal segments and on the thorax. The members of this group breed almost exclusively in running water. They appear to be the chief malaria bearing species both in India and in Africa. The second group are characterised by their large size and very dark colour. The eggs are characterised by the lower surface being marked off by light coloured lines into polygonal areas, the upper surface being very narrow, while the floats do not reach the margin of this surface. In the larvæ the external pair of frontal hairs are developed into large and prominent cocades and the antennæ possess a large branching hair on the inner surface that is absent in the larvæ of the other groups. This group has been termed the group of wild mosquitoes, the adults being seldom found in houses while the larvæ are usually found in deep natural weed-grown pools in the jungles or under trees. In group three, the adults are of medium size and vary in colour from very dark to a light grey or brown. In the larvæ, although the external frontal hairs are very distinctly branched, they are not developed into the actual cocades which characterise the larvæ of the previous group. The members of the group are occasionally found in houses in small numbers and exceptionally in stables and outhouses in large nnmbers. In the fourth group, the adults are light brown in colour and of moderate size, with dark brown or black spots on the light-coloured wings. In the larvæ, the frontal hairs are simple and unbranched and there are no palmate hairs on the thorax. The eggs have a very broad upper surface and the lateral floats touch the margin of this surface. The members of the group are essentially "domestic" in their habits, being never found at any distance from houses and usually breeding in some shallow muddy pools or puddles among the huts of the poorer classes. *A. Rossii*, one of the members of this group, is perhaps the commonest species in India. It has been found even at elevations above 5,000 feet. In the Punjab, before the rains begin it is practically absent, but in October and November enormous numbers appear. In the Madras Presidency, it breeds largely in the irrigated rice fields. It has been shown by experiments that the three species of the human malaria parasites will develop in this mosquito. James has also added a group to its classification of all species which cannot be classified in the above four groups.

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IF ENGLISH WERE TO BECOME INDIA'S COMMON NATIONAL LANGUAGE.

By Mr. J. N. Banerjea.

THE more India is becoming entangled in the meshes of hard materialism, the harder is growing her peoples' struggle for existence, and with the growth of that struggle, the need of a common language for all the diverse races of her people is becoming more and more manifest. It is a happy sign of the times that there is no conflict of opinion on this point. And there cannot possibly be; for, every one who has given a thought to the problem of the development and growth of India's national life, her material regeneration and particularly to the dreadful problem of her growing poverty, is agreed that the solution lies in the extension of our sphere of work by the unification of our diverse peoples into a common nationality and, as far as practicable, into a common brotherhood, by means of a common medium for the exchange of thoughts and ideas. The olden days of purity and simplicity, of health and plenty in the conventional atmosphere of social, home life, and that with only a very limited knowledge of men and things, are past and gone. Ours is an iron age and we are in the thick of the fiercest battle of life. The atmosphere of society of a narrow constitution can no longer sweeten life as it did in the past. To win in the battle, to live those days of health, peace and plenty over again, the combatants must take recourse to wide and dexterous manœuvring. Society must be broadened, and Indians must be at home everywhere in India.

So, it is the present altered material condition of the country that has engendered the need of a common language or, in other words, the literary unification of its peoples. The common language must, therefore, necessarily be such as to faultlessly fit in with that altered material condition, with not a single screw loose anywhere; for otherwise, it will fail to meet the requirements of the situation and the object will not be attained.

To be able to make the right choice of a language for the whole of India, the first and the chief essential qualification is, therefore, the right understanding of the *material condition of*

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India. It must not be forgotten that there is now such a thing as official India, quite distinct from Indian India, and that the official statistics or the stereotyped prosperity budgets of the former are no guide to the true, inmost condition of the latter. Money earning and money spending or things of the same nature, that form the subject matter of those official papers, never did nor do constitute the key note of the daily life of the Indian. But a purer and sublimer force has all along controlled and guided it, keeping all the comparatively base requirements of the body within reasonable bounds, and thus soothing down life's difficulties and troubles to a large extent.

It was this pure and sublime force which in the olden days governed the division of wealth, gave peace and plenty, health and happiness to the people and preserved the harmony of life and society. The continuous strife and struggle of the present day and their concomitant evils were much less known than now, if not wholly unknown. The appropriation and hoarding of all wealth, wherever available, by a mighty few to the unjust exclusion and consequent suffering of the weak or less powerful millions neither was the rule nor passed for the material prosperity of the country. Every one had his due share in the means of livelihood which thel and could yield. This kept him free from the disastrous consequences of unsatisfied hungers of the body, gave him ample opportunity to try for the satisfaction of the higher hungers of the soul, and thus in place of enormous arrays of incomprehensible and practically misleading figures, India had the healthy smiling faces of her people and their neat and clean homesteads to speak of the real material condition of the country. Such was India in the past as every reader of history knows. And now?

The pressure of extraneous influence has seriously disturbed this old social and economic arrangement of the country. While, on the one hand, this extraneous influence has necessitated ceaseless exertions on the part of the people to keep body and soul together, on the other hand, it has tied them hand and foot to keep them within a very narrow sphere of action. In short, it has wholly changed the face of the country. The ethical principle on which Indian life has all along been based, or in other words, the sublime guiding and controlling force referred to elsewhere, however, still holds sway as ever, for it

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represents one of the most unchangeable sides of Indian life, and there only the extraneous influence has failed to have any serious effect. To enter the gladiatorial arena of wealth by hook or crook and make the fight there the sole pursuit of life is not in keeping with that principle. The easy, the natural and the direct doors which were and ought to be theirs, are all more or less closed against the children of the soil. The result is that the present material condition of the country is a jumble of incompatible elements, necessarily fraught with evils of all sorts. These are eating into the vitals of the country but those who ought to see to it will not see. Where is the wonder then that official India and real India should present different aspects as unlike each other as day and night? Such is however India at present, as every careful observer can very well see.

However, that extraneous influence has come to stay, and as to that inherent force of religion, well, that is a part and parcel of Indian life. We must, therefore, find out, for the improvement of our material condition, ways and means fully suited to the requirements of the present situation and consistent with Indian nature. For a people with common traditions, common history and common faith in the future, what could be more conducive towards the end in view than a common language?

So, the problem now before the country is to find a language on which its common choice may fall to the best advantage of all concerned. To my mind, the problem admits of only one solution and that is the gradual blending of the various current languages into one through the medium of a common alphabet for all. The trend of our national opinion is also naturally in favour of a language of Indian origin. But non-Indian opinion which is no longer a negligible quantity even in the solution of the internal problems of the country, preponderates on the side of English as India's common language in course of time. Apparently this opinion is based on the assumption that English is the largest spoken language of the present age. Surely it is therefore worth our while to consider how far the real national interests of Indian India would be pushed backwards or forwards, how far the objects of broadening Indian society would be attained or frustrated, if English were to become our common national language.

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The origin of most of the classical languages of Europe and India may perhaps be traced to a more or less common source. Yet the current languages of both the countries bear so little similarity to each other that rendering the true inward sense of the one class into the words of the other oftentimes baffles the powers of the linguist, as an almost impossible task. One language fails him to give expression to what he feels in another and oftentimes he gives an imperfect expression. And no wonder; for different climates have given rise to different conditions of life which again have created different social manners and customs as well as different ideas and ideals; and language is but an outward expression of these and nothing else.

To say that a language is not a language at all, if it is not fully and perfectly translatable, is therefore to show a degree of erudition far beyond the aspiration of the ordinary run of mankind; or is it to betray an incomparable lack of acumen and perspicacity to discern and distinguish between nature's idiosyncracies which go to make our environments, our thoughts and sentiments and our ideas and ideals so unlike each other in the different countries? It is no doubt possible to write or speak in a foreign language on the ordinary routine affairs of life of a dry, matter-of-fact nature that are more or less common to all mankind, but there are moments in human life when even one's own mother tongue fails to adequately make known by outward signs what is passing in one's mind. Can a foreign tongue possibly come to one's rescue then? But let that matter of deep and intense feeling alone. Even in the ordinary affairs of life, we see that the translation into one language, of a homely style of writing in another, is oftentimes defective in the extreme. It only shows that a language cannot possibly contain words for things that are unknown in the country of its origin. Then, in the conventional atmosphere of social home life, where is the man, however well read he and his family may be in different languages, who would prefer a foreign tongue for constant talk with his nearest and dearest ones to that of his own motherland? Such a proposal for the substitution of one's own tongue for a foreign one for purposes of homely conversation would surely be received with ridicule and contempt in every country because of the unnatural, artificial and imperfect character it would necessarily impart to the whole conversation.

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And yet, a truly common national language is that and that alone in which every man and woman of the nation ought to be able, not only to read and write, but also to speak and think and even dream.

Judging from the standpoint of consequences, if indeed the prognostications of the European writers and thinkers on the subject were to come true, it would appear that neither in the interests of the English language itself nor in those of India, is the adoption of English as India's common national language desirable. The English language is not yet perfect enough to clothe the deepest or all Indian thoughts in an English garb and perhaps never can be. It is no disparagement to the greatness or beauty of the English language, for proofs of the failure of one language to bring within its vocabulary every thing of a foreign nation, speaking another tongue, are not wanting. To be the common written and spoken language of India, it must therefore have all sorts of orientalisms very largely introduced into it. From the poet who sings the thoughts and sentiments of the nation down to the lowliest peasant woman who picks up the dry cowdung from the pasture land and contrives to live upon a miserable half meal a day procured by the sale of that precious commodity and who, if she happens to have a sickly child, as is invariably the case with the poorest class, depends upon the rank vegetable growth around her hut for the supply of medicines for her child, having nothing to pay for a doctor's fee—all men and women in all stations of life must find words in it for the expression of their thoughts. Is that possible for the English language to accomplish as it is, without borrowing many things from many other languages of many other countries? And how will Englishmen like their own language turned into such a linguistic hodge podge?

But the loss will be greater still to India. A foreign language to become the common language of the country must be constantly studied by its people, with the utmost care and zeal until the baby in its mother's arms begins to warble in the English tongue. Such constant study can not but mean slow but sure abandonment of the current languages of the country itself in course of time and imbibing the effects that the study of history, philosophy, science, poetry, etc., of a foreign country

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can create in the mind. Naturally the student then not only feels a sort of humiliation in his own mind for having been born in a country without a history, and without a past, but in his ignorance he is also apt to do violence even to the best customs and traditions of his motherland. His highest ambition is then to mould his country's society after his ideal foreign fashion; in fact, in his infatuation, he becomes impatient to discard everything national and to transplant all sorts of foreign institutions in his country. To provide for a proper counter active influence, the influence of the study of his own country's history, science, poetry, philosophy, etc., is to frustrate the very object of such constant study of the foreign language, namely its ultimate adoption as the country's national language. So, that is altogether out of the question. Besides, the provision of such a counter active influence is sure to strain the student's mental faculty too much and may thus be regarded as fraught with dangerous consequences.

Obviously therefore, to adopt the English language as India's common national language means gradually to discard the study of the current languages of the country which again in its turn means gradually to forget India's past and all that was good and great and glorious in it; for it is impossible to maintain an equal standard of education both in the English and Indian languages without crushing out all manhood from the students. Now, would India be happy, as she was, with her peculiar English tongue, and English social and economic arrangements? Is England herself happy, with all her empire, her navy, her army and her wealth, in the sense that India was happy?

The answer to this question from the Indian point of view is emphatically in the negative. England has grown fabulously wealthy no doubt, but her desire is insatiable and with the increase of wealth, her want is also proportionately increasing. So, there is as much wealth in England as there is poverty. Hard materialism has become the key note of the country's life. Every man and woman is fighting each other, as it were, to excel in materialism and has almost forgotten each other's natural vocation of life. Thus a social system has grown up which leads to a constant hankering after material gain and nothing else. The whole fabric is like a straw and clay built image with a dazzlingly polished and painted exterior. Westerners are gradually

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coming to realise this themselves and there are English writers who describe modern civilisation as mere lust and money grubbing.

It follows, therefore, that the adoption of English as India's common language to the consequent exclusion of the country's current languages will gradually mean a social and religious revolution to India and a condition of life wholly inconsistent with the ethical principle which has guided it from time immemorial. Besides, in her present political and industrial position, nothing can be more disastrous to India than such social and religious revolution. With all the sublime teachings of her religions, and her philosophy buried deep into oblivion for ever, with no past history, no tradition, no antiquity to show or call her own and with a language neither Eastern nor Western, she can be treated by the proud and galloping West only as an outcaste and a pariah among the nations of the world and then adieu to all hopes of ever having a unified political existence or a place in the comity of nations! Such Western institutions are far more warm than the now proverbial "furcoat" and their adoption will only bring about social leprosy in the Indian climate.

The extraneous influence referred to elsewhere has certainly rendered modifications in the social arrangements of the country necessary, but the adaptability of the Indian religions to varying conditions is admitted on all hands; and based, as the entire Indian social system is on her religions, they can be undoubtedly relied upon for the purpose of the modifications also and no foreign importations are necessary. The spread of English education is desirable only as far as the purposes of Official India demand, but with English as India's common national language, in the true sense of the term, the evolution of the country can never go forward on oiled wheels. To try to fasten that language as such and with it necessarily the western social system on India, is a sort of pugnacious altruism of which India must beware.

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The Hon'ble Mr. SATYENDRA PRASANNA SINHA: A STUDY.

I COME now to what the noble lord regarded as a more serious matter, though it is one not directly dealt with by the Bill. It is the nomination of the Indian member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy. The noble lord said that his objection to such an appointment was not of principle. He admitted that the King's Proclamation announced absolute equality as far as race and religion were concerned, but his objection was one of expediency. The noble lord took the view that if you put an Indian member on the Executive Council of the Viceroy, you admit him to a knowledge, not merely of what might be called local administrative matters, but you give him access, at any rate, to what may be described as the arcana of Government. The noble lord thinks that this is a dangerous step to take. Why? In the first place, he says because the gentleman so appointed, whoever he may be cannot have any previous experience of these high matters. That is an argument you might carry to a great length, not only in India, but elsewhere. A gentleman is often admitted for the first time to the cabinet in this country; he has had no previous experience in official matters but he becomes familiar with high secrets of State; he acquires experience and justifies the confidence reposed in him after he has got there and upon such presumption as his previous training and reputation may create. Unless you are going to lay down as a proposition that no Indian, whatever be his intellectual eminence, or his practical training, like that of Mr. Sinha in the profession of the law, however high he may have attained in that profession in competition not only with men of his own race but with Europeans, unless you are going to lay down the fact that he is an Indian, born in India, and that in itself and for all time permanently and irredeemably disables him from holding this great position of responsibility, I fail to see how it is possible to justify the exclusion of Indians from these positions.

Let me point out also that if you talk about previous experience, who are the people who appointed the men of eminence and distinction who thoroughly justified their selection, and whom we have sent to India in days gone by? As a rule, in the vast majority of cases the Legal Member of the Council, and the Financial Member also, has come from England; and as a rule he has been a man without any previous experience of India before he landed there. Lord Macaulay, one of the most distinguished Englishmen, had never been in India, and had never paid any special attention to it. On his way out he studied the works of St. Chrysostom, and when he came back he wrote brilliant essays on the heroes of Anglo-Indian history. But he landed in India with as small an amount of expert knowledge of its affairs as any man who has crossed the Indian Ocean. So it has been constantly with the Financial Member. As a rule he goes from here to India without any expert acquaintance with the problems of Indian finance. How is it possible for us to say then that we are in the habit of filling these

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posts in this way? How is it possible for us to say that when you get a man like Mr. Sinha, a distinguished gentleman at the head of the legal profession, a man born and bred in India, who has studied the Indian law, common law, customary law, and statute law—how is it possible to say that he is not fitted for such a post as that of Legal Member of the Viceroy's Council? The question is: Are you going to say that it is to one of the inflexible rules of the Empire that, in spite of the terms of the King's Proclamation, a man so eminently qualified as Mr. Sinha is for this post, is to be disqualified because he was born in India and is not a member of our own race. The proposition is not an arguable one, and I believe that my noble friend's action in making that appointment will carry with it the assent of the vast majority of the people of this country. I disclaim, however, on behalf of my noble friend that because Mr. Sinha has been appointed to this place, he is to be a see-saw between Mahomedans and Hindus in this particular position, and that a new rule of succession is to be established. Nothing of the kind. My noble friend plainly indicated when the Mahomedans waited upon him that he did not regard himself as in any sense pledged to anything of the kind. The appointment of Mr. Sinha must be taken as an act which has nothing to do with this Bill, but an appointment made under the powers of the old Act, and not under any new power. The appointment of Mr. Sinha must be taken to mean this, that where a man was shown to be pre-eminently qualified for one of these executive posts on the Viceroy's Council, it is not to be regarded as a disqualification that he is an Indian, and not an English gentleman.—*Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons.*

The noble Marquis opposite said the other day that there was going to be a vacancy in one of the posts on the Viceroy's Executive Council. Now suppose there was in Calcutta an Indian lawyer of large practice and great experience in his profession, a man of sustained professional and personal repute, in close touch with European society and much respected, and an actual holder of important legal offices; am I to say that to that man:—"In spite of all these excellent circumstances to your credit, in spite of your undisputed fitness, in spite of the emphatic declaration of 1833, that fitness is to be the criterion of eligibility, in spite of that noble promise in Queen Victoria's proclamation of 1858—a promise of which every Englishman ought to be for ever proud if he tries to adhere to it and rather ashamed if he tries to betray or mock it—in spite of this, usage and prejudice are so strong that I dare not appoint you, but must appoint instead some stranger to India from Lincoln's Inn or the Temple." Is there one of your Lordships who would envy the Secretary of State who had to hold language of that kind towards a meritorious candidate—one of the King's equal subjects?—*Lord Morley in the House of Lords.*

That passage in his speech in the House of Lords, foreshadowing Mr. Sinha's appointment with the phrase "one of the King's equal subjects," has touched a chord in Indian hearts which will keep vibrating for some time. It is a passage that will live in the history of this country—in any case it will

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remain engraved on the hearts of the people.—*The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in the Viceroy's Council.*

Then there is Mr. Sinha, the Advocate-General of Bengal, a brilliant lawyer, still young, who makes an income that would be regarded with envy even at the English Bar. Mr. Sinha's English friends are fond of saying that he is 'almost an Englishman'; but in truth, except in outward appearance and garb, he is in no sense denationalised, and well understands the ideals and aspirations of his countrymen. Less conservative than Dr. Mookerjee, he is remarkable for the moderation, and still more for the originality, of his political views. He protested, for instance, against any suggestion of the intellectual inferiority of the Mahomedans. Their educational system might be defective, but in intellectual capacity Mahomedans and Hindus were very much on a par. He held Lord Morley's scheme of Electoral Colleges to be just and fair to both parties, and disliked the idea of separate Mahomedan representation, when in most legislative enactments no distinction was made between Hindus and Mahomedans. On the question of Indian members of Executive Councils, Mr. Sinha, who is regarded as one of the candidates for the seat in the Viceroy's Executive Council which Lord Morley proposes to bestow on an Indian, took a line which I have not heard advanced by any other Indian. He said: 'I do not go so far as to say that a man should be appointed simply because he is an Indian. The only possible course is to choose the best available man. If the best man is an Indian his race should be no bar. That is all we ought to expect.' He favoured the creation of an Executive Council in Bengal simply because the Lieutenant-Governor needed further help in his overwhelming duties; and he declined to believe that a general veto was necessary in the case of elections to the Legislative Councils.—*Mr. Lovat Fraser, the special correspondent of The Times.*

With a Viceroy to whese personal initiative I owe this appointment, with colleagues of whose cordial support I am assured, with generous promises of advice and assistance from several of my predecessors in office, with the hearty sympathy and co-operation of all classes in India, Europeans, Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis and all others—including, as I know, the ruling chiefs and the great territorial magnates of the country—and above all, with God's blessing, I have every hope that this experiment, for such it must be called, may not altogether fail. It will be wholly my fault if it does, and I pray the Government to believe, that it will be not the fault but the misfortune of my country that I was chosen. If, on the other hand, when I lay down the reins of my office, you are able to say that my appointment brought our rulers and ourselves nearer to each other even by a hair's breadth, I shall be amply recompensed for the personal sacrifice I have made and I shall feel that I have not lived in vain.—*Mr. S. P. Sinha in reply to the toast at the public dinner given to him at the Calcutta Town Hall.*

Lord Morley has advised His Majesty to appoint Mr. Sinha solely upon the grounds of efficiency. We entirely approve of the step he has taken. There will be no question of Mr. Sinha's legal attainments. They are evidenced by the huge practice which he built at the Bar, and his appointment as Advocate-General—a mark of peculiar distinction and confidence. Once the principle of the change is admitted, the Law Membership is the fittest

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seat to go to an Indian, and there is none more fit than Mr. Sinha to fill it.—The *Times of India.*

It is not that any Englishman in this country would seek to deny the new Legal Member's qualifications for office. If there was ever an Indian gentleman specially marked out for such high distinction, it was surely he who was till recently Advocate-General of Bengal. Mr. Sinha, we may be sure, will be both an adornment to the Council which he joins and a colleague on whose judgment and loyalty Lord Minto and the other members of the Government of India can place implicit trust. There is in short no danger to be feared from a man of Mr. Sinha's stamp, and his many European friends will be the first to offer him their congratulations on the high honour that has been paid him by the Secretary of State and his advisers.—The *Pioneer.*

The appointment of Mr Sinha to the Executive Council is unimpeachable. The best lawyer obtainable has been chosen. Can any one say that to be an Indian is a disqualification? The ground has been cut away from under the feet both of those who desire and those who object to an Indian on the Executive Council. Again it is no question of Hindu or Muhammadan—only of the best man for the Legal Membership, irrespective of race or religion.—The *Civil and Military Gazette.*

Mr. Sinha's legal reputation is high and the choice of an Indian Member for the Viceroy's Executive Council could not have been better.—The *Madras Mail.*

It may be said at once that if the appointment is to go to an Indian, no better selection could have been made.—The *Englishman.*

We welcome the announcement. Mr. Sinha has gained the respect and esteem of his learned brethren of the Bar. The Viceroy is to be congratulated upon the prudence and tact he has displayed in the selection of the first Indian member of the Council.—The *Bombay Gazette.*

The appointment of the Hon'ble Mr. S. P. Sinha will be universally welcomed in India, both on account of the personalitly of the first Indian to enter the Supreme Exceutive Council and upon the fact that a seat in the Council has now been bestowed upon a prominent Indian. The new Law Member has had a brilliant career and will worthily justify the step taken by the Secretary of State.—The *Indian Daily News.*

Mr. Sinha is thoroughly sane, enlightened man who is completely in touch with the best English tradition and whose loyalty rests on the firm basis of what Great Britain has done for India and what India may hope to become with British aid. Not the least valuable of Mr. Sinha's qualities is his independence of charactor, to which the Viceroy in Council may look for a fearless opinion on every public question. Mr. Sinha is by far the ablest lawyer available for the post, and we firmly believe that the future will show him to be a Statesman as well.—The *Empire.*

I have to congratulate Mr. S. P. Sinha, the Advocate-General, on his appointment to be Legal Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the Council itself is also to be congratulated on being strengthened by the addition of such an able and accomplished son of the soil.—Max in *Capital.*

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It seems to be generally accepted that the appointment of Mr. Sinha as Law Member of the Imperial Executive Council is a wise one. Certainly no one more entitled to the post could have been selected; it may also be fairly claimed that the appointment has been made in regard to merit only. And amidst the political excitement engendered in other directions it is satisfactory to note that regarding this particular issue there appears to be no ill-feeling on the part of Mahomedans because a Hindu has been appointed to such high office. On the other hand, it seems to be recognized by all Indians that they have been honoured, as a whole, by this appointment of an Indian on the Imperial Executive Council. This is the manner in which the appointment should be accepted. It represents an honest attempt on the part of the Government to admit Indians to high office when, by virtue of merit, they are entitled to hold such and it is a redemption of the pledged word of the late Queen Victoria on that subject. A great experiment is about to be made but to the issue, whatever it may be, we stand committed, practically irrevocably.—The *Indian Daily Telegraph*.

The appointment of Mr. Satyendra Prasanna Sinha to the office of the Law Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India, is a landmark in the history of British rule in India. It is not difficult to see why there should have been so stubborn an opposition to it on the part of Lord Curzon, Lord MacDonnell and others in the House of Lords, not to mention the British press in Great Britain and in India—nor is it at all difficult to see why there should be so much jubilation over it in this country. A breach has been made in the citadel of the Anglo-Indian beaurocracy. This, by no means, implies any ungenerous insinuation against it. It only implies what is true of all human beaurocracies. A beaurocracy is as much entitled to hold to its opinions, its own prejudices, and its own narrow-mindedness as any other body of men with limits and restraints upon sympathetic imagination, and none upon its self-consciousness or self-confidence. The people's jubilation is easier to understand. To them, the appointment is more than the sign and symbol of a theoretic equality as subjects of the King—it is the very realisation of it. It constitutes to their mind the triumph of a just and righteous struggle—the vindication of a claim for which they have been agitating for nearly a quarter of a century. To the right-minded Anglo-Indian it ought to signify as nothing less than an honest and honourable discharge of a debt of conscience —a debt which has been a charge upon the honour and good faith of Great Britain. To Lords Minto and Morley it means nothing more than duty done. To a conscientious man it can

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never be a matter of pride that he has done his duty—but if the keenness of the struggle can contribute any emotion of generous pleasure, that pleasure must assuredly be Lord Morley's and Lord Minto's. And to Mr. Sinha it must bring all the gratification of a great personal sacrifice.

Critics have not been wanting who have plainly told Lord Morley and Lord Minto that between themselves they have sensibly weakened the supremacy of Britain over India. For more of such gratuitous criticism we may be prepared in the future. The Rubicon has, however, been crossed, and time and experience alone can show whether Lords Morley and Minto were less wise than their critics. If Indians have a right to hold any opinion in the matter, that opinion is decisively in favour of Lords Minto and Morley. But contemporary opinion has its own limitations and prophecies very often prove untrue. Meanwhile it is sufficient to take note of contemporary feeling in India. It is, put briefly, a new sensation of self-respect—a relief from the oppressive consciousness of an unwarranted political inferiority. Neither Lord Morley, nor Lord Minto, nor any other person who has imagination enough to picture the situation of a country like India can fail to understand the value or power of this feeling.

The office of the Law Member of India has a history behind itself. It has been occupied by a versatile and brilliant man like Macaulay, an original thinker and a scientific scholar like Maine and a jurist like Fitzjames Stephen. It had its own constitutional fights during the time of Lord Ellenborough and even later, and it has had a career of benevolence and utility for the people of this country, as no doubt it has to account for some blunders. The great German jurist, Thibaut, looked upon codification as one of the most powerful nationalising factors. Who can deny that common codes have not had their share in creating a feeling of oneness in this country. If 'common laws make a common people,' the Law Member of the Viceroy's Council can claim much to his credit. With a Law Member drawn from the body of the people itself, the utility and the beneficence of the office have much to gain. But while thoughts like these occur to one's mind, the career of the new Law Member may well be studied by his countrymen.

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Mr. S. P. Sinha comes from a family of Utter Rahri Kayasthas, which can claim very respectable antiquity. The family was a large one, and in later times its cadets spread over the different parts of Bengal and Behar, such as Dinajpur, Purnea, Bhagalpur, Maldah, Murshidabad aud Birbhum. The branch from which Mr. Sinha is descended has long been settled in Raipur in the district of Birbhum. The Sinhas of Raipur were a prosperous and flourishing people towards the end of the eighteenth century, owning zemindari property and occupying positions of influence in the court of Raja Chitra Sen of Semrupagarh. Originally the family was Vaisnava in religion, but later influences worked a change in the religious ideals of some of its members and a more catholic view of religion came to prevail in the family. Mr. Sinha was born in 1863 and is the youngest of the four sons of Babu Sitikanta Sinha, who held the office of a Moonsiff under the East India Company and later rose to the position of a Sudder Amin—an office corresponding to that of the Subordinate Judge of the present day. He died when the subject of this sketch was only two years old and the responsibility of bringing him up devolved on his mother. Of the four brothers, the eldest, Babu Rama Prasanna Sinha, became a pleader, and was for many years Government Pleader of Birbhum; the second, Babu Rudra Prasanna, took over charge of family affairs, and the third, Mr. Narendra Prasanna, studied medicine in Calcutta, went to England, and succeeded in joining the Indian Medical Service and retired only a few years ago after having reached the rank of a major. Young Satyendra received his early education in the Birbhum Government school, the Head Master of which was in those days a well-known Bengali educationist, Shib Chandra Shome—a martinet of an uncompromising character. The yonng pupil whose great future nobody could exactly foretell, was known for his brightness, attentiveness, good manners, and unremitting industry —qualities which are the possession of many young boys—but which by no means guarantee an uninterrupted success in the actual struggle of life.

In 1877 young Sinha passed the Entrance Examination with credit, standing second in his school and removed to the Presidency College, Calcutta, to recieve h gher education. His elder brother, Narendra Prasanna, was already then a

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student in the Medical College. In 1880, at the age of seventeen Mr. Sinha was, according to the custom of the day then in its full rigour, married to the only daughter of Babu Krishna Chander Mitter, a zemindar of Mahata. Mr. Sinha had passed the First Arts Examination in first class in 1879. A sum of ten thousand rupees, which his father had left in deposit in the firm of Erskine & Co., had just come into the hands of Narendra Prasanna who had come of age, and he and his younger brother planned to "cut and run" to England. Quietly and secretly, they made preparations for their departure, engaged their passage by the City Line and embarked upon their voyage in 1881. Some relations, however, came to know, and they arrived in Calcutta to stop the young lads, but they had already sailed. They gave them a chase up to Diamond Harbour—but reached even that place an hour too late. His countrymen have ample reasons to feel thankful that the relatives were so providentally late. Arrived in England, Mr. Sinha joined the Lincoln's Inn in October 1881. He had not long been there before he made his mark. His knowledge of Latin was of great use to him in his study of Roman law, in which his proficiency won the applause of his examiner, Dr. Hunter. He also attracted the notice of men like Professor Bryce and Professor Frederick Harrison. He obtained the scholarship for Roman Law, Jurisprudence, Constitutional Law and International Law —£50 a year for four years, besides obtaining other prizes. Finally he obtained the Lincoln's Inn scholarship of £100 a year tenable for three years, and was called to the bar in the Trinity Term of 1886. Besides attaining distinction as a law student, Mr. Sinha studied French, German, Spanish and Italian and travelled extensively on the Continent. He returned to India the same year and was enrolled as an advocate of the Calcutta High Court.

During his green days at the bar, Mr. Sinha had to go through the usual process of waiting for an opportunity. But from the very beginning he impressed the solicitors, the counsel and the judges with his shrewdness, common sense and honest hard work. It was not till 1894 that Mr. Sinha got into a fair amount of business—and it was mainly because of his brilliant and able cross-examination of an attorney of the Calcutta Court that he acquired a fair footing in the profession. There

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were men of great talents and ability, long experience and large reputation then occupying the front ranks of the bar in Calcutta —men like Sir Charles Paul, Sir Griffith Evans, Mr. Woodroffe, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Mr. Mamohan Ghose, Mr. T. Palit, Mr. Rajnarayan Mitter and Mr. O'Kinealy. It was no ordinary task for a junior, howsoever able or bright, to push his way to the front but partly aided by his high talents, and partly by the disappearance of these senior men, Mr. Sinha came to occupy quite a leading place by the end of 1900. In December 1903 he was appointed Standing Couusel to the Government of Bengal, being the second Indian to hold that office. In 1906 he officiated as Advocate-General—being the first Indian to rise to that distinction in Calcutta—and in 1908 he was permanently appointed to that office. It is a matter of a common knowledge in Calcutta that for the last several years Mr. Sinha had enjoyed the most lucrative practice in the High Court and the Indian correspondent of the *Times* was not wrong when he said that Mr. Sinha's practice might well be the envy of the members of the Bar in England. His services were as much requisitioned in criminal as in civil cases and there was hardly a case of importance before the Calcutta High Court in which one side or the other was not anxious to retain him. What were the characteristics of Mr. Sinha as an advocate? His greatest quality was his clear-headedness to which he joined a remarkable power of expression. As a cross-examiner, he stood very high at the Bar, and altogether there has not been in recent times a mere brilliant, a more independent and a more striking advocate in Calcutta. His knowledge of the Indian and English laws is vast and accurate, but it will not be so much for his great legal attainments or for his power and skill as an advocate, as for his being the first Indian member of the Viceroy's cabinet, that Mr. Sinha will long be remembered by his countrymen.

In politics, Mr. Sinha has been a Congressman—though his professional engagements left him little time to take a very active part in public affairs. He appeared on the Congress platform in 1896 in Calcutta, and made a very closely-reasoned and striking speech on the Jhallawar question, in which he reviewed with remarkable clearness the relation of the Native Princes to the Government of India. His politics, however, are of the sober and he invariably brings to bear upon political ques-

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tions a cool and dispassionate judgment, taking a practical common-sense view of things—avoiding all extremes of imagination or impulse. With him a political question depends as much upon 'evidence' as the driest question of facts in a trial. Socially, Mr. Sinha has enjoyed the esteem and confidence of all classes of people including the Europeans, and he has taken a leading part in the foundation and development of the Calcutta Club—a meeting place for Europeans and Anglicised Indians. As he himself has said lately, he believes in Britain and British institutions—but this does not mean that he disbelieves in his country or in the ideals of his country. On the contrary, Mr. Sinha is an Indian to the core, and his great sacrifice of his pecuniary gain is perhaps the best commentary upon his loyalty to his country. That the appointment of Mr. Sinha has produced an unparallelled enthusiasm in the country, no one who has followed the Indian papers during the last few weeks, can deny. He has received ovations all round—and from one end of the country to the other, he has been welcomed to this new office.

Mr. Sinha's worth is great, and Providence has given him great opportunities now. Every countrymen of his will pray that he may make the best use of these splendid opportunities —for the benefit of his country. The great experiment which Lord Morley has ventured to try will be watched with interest by every body—and with the best of wishes by Indians. It remains for Mr. Sinha to demonstrate its success, to prove that those who have raised imaginary fears were false in their calculation, and that both Britian and India will gain by the new policy of confidence inaugurated by Lords Minto and Morley.

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THE LATE Mr. N. N. GHOSE: A STUDY.

Blessed is he who hath not sought the praise
That perishes, the rapture that betrays.

THE above couplet well illustrates the life and life-work of the late Mr. Nagendra Nath Ghose, the great educationist, scholar, and journalist, who was, above all, a man of wonderful personality and brilliant attainments. Taking at-a-glance survey over the life of the subject of our sketch, one cannot but be struck with the singular diligence, honesty of purpose, independence of character and sanity of judgment, which characterized Mr. Ghose in all the departments of public activities he took part in. Gifted as Mr. Ghose was far above his average educated countrymen, one cannot but wonder at the comparatively speaking uneventful life led by him. There was nothing, however, to prevent him from aspiring and gaining worldly distinctions and positions had he wished for them; but, he was born with a settled programme of his worldly activities—with fixed purpose and ideas—which he resolutely, through good or evil report, followed to the last. Among the publicists and journalists of his time, he shone the brightest on account of his remarkable independence and strength of character. It is difficult to point out any other publicist in the public life of Bengal who had to call forth such a great amount of moral courage and commendable perseverence in resisting the tide of popular whims and eccentricities. He set his face resolutely against everything he thought unwise, inexpedient and impolitic. He was never deterred from giving expression to his honest convictions, even if he had to encounter the whole battery of his Bengalee contemporaries and incur their wrath, which was very often hurled at him with all the sting of bitterness. It reflects no small credit on the balance of mind and moral courage, backed with sincere and honest conviction, of Mr. Ghose, that he refused to give way to the popular clamour. Amidst bitter feelings of partizanship and racial dissensions, he always kept his head cool and maintained perfect equanimity and level-headedness. That was the great charm and secret of his remarkable personality, which would find, we are sure, better appreciation at the hands

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of succeeding generations, who would be able to judge him impartially and free from prejudices.

His life-story may be thus briefly stated. Mr. Ghose was born in August 1854 at Bogra, in Bengal, in a respectable Kayastha family, where his esteemed father, Babu Bhuggobutty Charan Ghose, who subsequently became a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court, was serving as the first Headmaster of the Government School then recently established. Young Ghose obtained his early education at the Calcutta Hare School, passing the Entrance Examination at the age of 15, and winning a first-grade scholarship. He joined the Presidency College Calcutta and duly passed the First Arts Examination, standing fourth in the University. He studied for B. A. also at the said College, but he sailed for England a few months before he was to appear at the degree examination. In England, he joined the University College, London, where he attended lectures on subjects he felt particular interest in and did not care to go in for any degree examination. For some time he also studied at Cambridge in Christ's College. He utilized to his utmost his short stay in England by devoting himself assiduosly to the study of English literature, philosophy, economics and political science. He was a favourite student of Dr. Martineau, the well-known unitarian philosopher, who took a paternal interest in the education of this young scholarly Indian, having been struck with the remarkable capacity and originality shown by him in his studies. Mr. Ghose learned elocution from Professor C. Plumptre and Jurisprudence from Mr. Sheldon Amos. After a very short preparation of only five months, he appeared at the Indian Civil Service examination and failed to be selected only by a few places, the number of appointments that year being unusually small. In June 1876 he was called to the bar and was subsequently enrolled as an Advocate of the Calcutta High Court, in September 1876. It soon became evident that the High Court was not a place suited to his taste and trend of thought. His inborn taste for literary occupations compelled him to forsake the bar for journalism and education.

Mr. Ghose was eminently successful as an educationist. He was persuaded by the late Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar to accept a Professorship in the Metropolitan Institution. His unique success as a professor secured for him the Principalship of the said College, which he held with credit to himself and

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advantage to the College, till his death. To the last two generations of students in Bengal, he was the most able and lucid expounder of the beauties and mysteries of Burke, Bacon, Shakespeare and Browning, and his death would be felt most keenly by the student community as an irreparable loss. His method of teaching was not paraphrasing and fruitless dictation of notes to help the student to cram and get over the examination "stile," but was a vigorous and clear elucidation of the minds of the great English writers. He seemed to have entered into the very life of the authors and his discourses were marked by deep learning and scholarship one vainly looks for in the majority of present-day professors. The most significant feature of his teaching was that he was able to create a genuine literary interest in the minds of the students, to seek knowledge for its own sake. With a remarkable power of felicitous expression, which endeared Mr. Ghose to his students, his sympathy and love for the students, coupled with his innate taste for literature, made him a most successful teacher, and in this connection it would be no exaggeration to say that his death has left a void very difficult to be filled.

His activities for the educational advancement of the country were not confined to the class room. He took a prominent part in exposing the defects of the old educational system of the Calcutta University and his criticisms, based as they were on his practical experience, were listened to with very great interest and attention. He was a Fellow of the Calcutta University for over twenty years and his services in connection with the University Reform are well-known to need mention. He was a member of the Simla Sub-Committee of 1906, which framed the new regulations of the Calcutta University, which are in force at present. It must have been a source of great gratification to him to find his labours in connection with the University Reform permanently embodied in the New Regulations of the Calcutta University; he lived to see the Calcutta University reorganized on a sounder basis and on the lines he strenuously urged during his lifetime. His services in connection with education, which will no doubt be remembered by a grateful posterity, marks him prominently among the public men of the country, many of whom are not concerned with any definite practical work of public good, except agitation on vague lines.

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Besides being an educationist, Mr. Ghose was a veteran journalist to boot. Having great taste for literature he had aptitude for writing from his very early years. After appearing at the F. A. Examination, he began writing leading articles and editorial paragraphs for a daily paper called the *Indian Post*, and those who read his contributions could never bring themselves to believe that they were from the pen of a College student, in his teens. Just after his return from England, he gave a striking proof of his high literary genius in the essay he wrote entitled "Indian Views of England," which was highly appreciated at that time. He established his reputation as a very forcible writer of polished diction by his pregnant contributions to the *Indian Mirror*, the *Bengalee*, the *Calcutta Review*, and other journals and periodicals. He came into prominence first as editor of the *Indian Echo*. Shortly after, in August 1883, he started the well-known journal, the *Indian Nation*, as a half anna English weekly, in partnership with some friends, but he became its sole proprietor before long. With what success and on what level of excellence, Mr. Ghose conducted his journal, has been universally testified to by the leading Indian and Anglo-Indian papers. India is not even now a congenial soil for journalism, what to speak of twenty-five years back. Numerous are the difficulties a journalist has to encounter in this country and it is not very often that he is able to carry his project through. Mr. Ghose, almost single-handed, without any extraneous help, brought the *Indian Nation* to the position it so deservedly occupied till his death, by sheer force of his literary attainments and the extremely finished style in which his views, at once independent and cogent, were clothed. The volumes of the *Indian Nation* can be very profitably studied by aspirants to journalistic fame as literary models. In the conduct of the *Indian Nation*, Mr. Ghose was seldom swayed by any personal prejudice or bias; he expressed his opinions on current topics fearlessly and independently, without any attempt to play to the gallery and so it not unfrequently happened that he found himself in conflict with the majority of his contemporaries. But it was always a pleasure for his opponents to differ from Mr. Ghose; for, even his bitterest critics will have to admit the high tone of journalistic decorum which always pervaded his writings. In the numerous controversies he entered, he always maintained a digni-

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ed attitude. He never indulged in giving vent to his personal spleen or hitting his opponent below the belt. This was duly appreciated by the late Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who, in course of his speech on the Sedition Bill in 1898, referred to the *Indian Nation* as a newspaper which "can supply criticism without scurrility or malice." And it was only the last year that Lord Minto also paid high compliment to the *Indian Nation* along with the *Indian Mirror*. Thus it is that the memory of Mr. Ghose will be cherished alike by his friends and admirers as also by those who differed from him.

Mr. Ghose's name, we doubt not, will long be remembered in connection with all that is ennobling, best and commendable in Indian journalism. He had a great dislike for "cheap-jack journalism." He was always vigilant in exposing the tactics of those who would "cry for the moon." Some people have gone so far as to say that Mr. Ghose's one object of his life was to support the Government through thick and thin; but those who have followed his writings closely know well how wholly groundless and baseless insinuations are these. He was never found wanting in criticising the measures of the Government with all the force and stress he commanded, when he deemed it necessary in the best interests of the country. He was a great champion of popular rights and rational methods of administration. He criticised many of the retrograde and repressive measures of recent years with remarkable independence. But both from his chair in the College and in the columns of his paper he preached the lesson of sobriety and moderation and exhorted people to be steadfast to "law and order." His mind was too judicial to take one-sided view of things. While many of his contemporaries have been vying with one another in exposing, and very often magnifying, the dark side of the British administration in India, Mr. Ghose's only fault was that he refused to shut his eyes to the bright side of the Government. He very rightly attributed the lack of mental equilibrium in the youths engaged in Anarchists' conspiracy to the mischievous effect of constant and deliberate vilification of the British administration. He condemned and exposed the Extremist propaganda and warned his countrymen against the danger of tolerating its dubious tactics. While advocating the industrial development of the country, he unhesitatingly condemned the boycott movement, as utterly

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detrimental to the best interests of the country and for which, he came in for abuse at the hands of some of his over-zealous and thoughtless countrymen. He suffered various sorts of social persecutions and ostracism for the expression of his honest convictions, but be it said to his great credit, that he stood firm and unwavering by his honest convictions and never allowed any personal considerations to cloud his judgment.

It is really a matter of great regret that Mr. Ghose should not have seriously taken to higher literary pursuits, in place of ephemeral journalism. Among his published writings we have to be content with his critical works *Kristo Das Pal : A study*, the *Memoirs of Raja Nabo Kissen*, and some brochures, the most notable being "Indian Views of England," "Moral Canker," "Contact of the East and West," and "Liberal Education in India." We are glad to learn that he passed the final proof of his last work, *England's Work in India*, on the day proceeding his death.

It is hardly necessary to say anything about his command over the English langauge. His writings have always been and will be read as models of literary composition and criticism. He had a brilliant style, terse yet perspicuous, which was the delight of his readers.

Besides being an educationist and journalist, he was also the holder of a number of honorary offices. He had been a Municipal Commissioner in the days of the old Corporation and took a prominent part in the agitation against the present Calcutta Municipal Act and also served for a long time as Honorary Magistrate. He presided at the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Midnapur and his inaugural address was a splendid performance.

In private life, Mr. Ghose was a perfect gentleman. He was very much averse to self-seeking and self-advertisement. He was the pink of courtesy and paragon of simplicity. He was a loving husband, a kind-hearted father, an agreeable companion, a sagacious adviser and devoted frien . He possessed a most even temper and sociable disposition. He had a deep religious feeling and was keenly interested in understanding the spiritual significance of life. In his later years he got himself initiated into the fold of *Radhaswami* and followed spiritual culture according to the system of that cult.

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Thus has passed away from our midst a man of light and learning sincerely devoted to the best interests of his country, and believing more in *actual living* of a noble life than in being the hero of a hundred platforms, and we cannot do better than close this short study with the following soul-stirring poem of the Amrican poet and social reformer—Earnest Crosby:

"So he died for his faith". That is fine—More than most of us do.
But stay, can you add to that line—"That he lived for it too"?
"In his death he bore witness at last as a martyr to truth."
Did his life do the same in the past, from the days of his youth?
It is easy to die. Men have died for a wish or a whim,
From bravado or passion or pride. Was it harder for him?
But to live, every day to live out all the truth he dreamt?
While his friends met his conduct with doubt and the world with contempt;
Was it thus that he plodded ahead, never turning aside?
Then we'll talk of the life that he led—Never mind how he died.

———000———

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WHO IS TO BLAME ?

By Mr. Husain R. Sayani.

"EVERY great and commanding movement in the annals of the world is the triumph of enthusiasm," said my Hindu friend quoting Emerson whose works he is passionately fond of. "If we have gained substantial political reforms, it is only due to the active enthusiasm and the continuous agitation of the educated Hindus, moderates and extremists as well. Though we, Hindus, have had to suffer all the consequences of official disfavour; though we have had to sacrifice a lot of our valuable time in public matters, and to empty the contents of our purse for the sake of keeping up political agitation, now that we have gained the reforms, in jump the Mahomedans and demand special rights and privileges. Why, they can with as much reason claim them as my maimed arm can claim special rights over the other useful members of my body, Have not the Mussalmans been too lazy, all these years, to do anything? Have not they remained backward merely because of their stupid pride? *That* never-failing vice of fools has always misguided their judgment and kept them blind to the blessings of education. If I had such pride in me, I would have wasted the estate which my father left me, but to which, thanks to my industry and thrift, I have added considerably."

"Yes, you have, replied my friend Casim. "Let the devil have his due. I do not deny that the Hindu is more active and thrifty than the Moslem, though I don't like his activity when it is employed to create discontent; nor do I care much for his over-thriftiness which sometimes makes him live like a miserly beggar. But the question is, my friend, whether the Hindus, during the past fifty years, have so behaved with the Moslems as to warrant a thorough confidence in the latter in them, and to lead the Moslems to a firm belief that if there is a joint electorate, the Hindus would not try to bring in those Mussalmans only who are most likely to side with them in the Council. My answer to the question is that the past scarcely warrants such a confidence. On the contrary,

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it says 'beware of the Hindus, and think twice before you do anything.'"

"Confidence," I put in, "is a plant of slow growth, requiring delicate handling and careful cultivation. But a period of fifty years is a long time and should have brought excellent fruit to this plant, if only it had been nourished and tended as it ought to have been. If one were, however, to look over the past fifty years, one would find that scarcely any serious endeavours have been made, during all these years, by either party, to create and foster friendly feeling between the two communities and to inspire confidence in them for each other. In this matter, however, I blame the Hindus more than the Mahomedans."

"Why should you do so?" retorted my Hindu friend. "The Moslems surely are more to blame in this, for they are incorrigible fanatics. Does not your Mulla, I should say your raving, mad Mulla, even to-day rave as madly against the Hindus as he used to do fifty years ago? Does he not condemn us, good and bad as well, to the bottomless pit, there to be bitten by scorpions and serpents. Don't you kill the cow during your festivals in the very sight of the Hindus, in order to hurt their feelings? Don't you beat the tomtoms before the Hindu temples with a gusto that would deafen the devil himself. Don't you——"

"Sink the raving Mulla, and the ignorant, bigoted, self-seeking priest, whether he be Moslem, Hindu or Christian!" interposed Casim. "It is the ignorant bigot of a priest of any religion who is the greatest block in the way of the advancement of the community to which he belongs. Instead of preaching the right thing, he simply hurls anathemas and curses against those who do not conform strictly to his ideas about religion. As for the other charges I must say that both parties are equally to blame. Besides, these regrettable disturbances do not occur so frequently—nay, they would scarcely occur if the educated and the influential of both the communities knew their moral responsibility in this matter and realised the enormity of the evil caused by these disturbances. But you should remember that as far as conciliation and the creating and fostering of friendly feelings are concerned, for diverse reasons the duty lies more heavily on the Hindus than on the Moslems. In the

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first place the Hindus numerically far exceed the Moslems. Then they are proportionately more educated, I mean as far as the education of the intellect is concerned. As for the training of the character, it is an open question. Then consider the deplorable poverty of the Mussalmans which is perhaps the greatest cause of their backwardness. Poverty is a great block in the way of a people's advancement——

> 'To mortal men great load allotted be
> But of all packs, no pack like poverty.'

"Well quoted, Casim," said I. "If the Hindus truly and sincerely desired a political union with us, they could have proved the sincerity of the desire in a thousand practical ways long before this. At least they would have used every means in their power to prevent widening the breach between us. But as it is, some of these political movements, carried to excess, have widened the breach in some of the provinces. This is, to tell you the truth, a short-sighted policy, for every true statesman must realize the tremendous acceleration that could be given to the national progress and to our getting the devoutly-wished-for political rights and privileges by a political union between these two great communities. Such a union, to my mind, is quite feasible, though it looks practically impossible to many of us, both Hindus and Mussalmans, and by the Europeans it has always been declared as impossible. For it is not that the Indian is not patriotic. The feeling is as strong in his breast as it is in that of the European but it wants refinement and culture. When his mind gets sufficiently informed and is able to see clearly that this political union is indispensable to the realisation of political rights—nay, when it realizes that patriotism cannot but lie in the sacrifice of sectarian interests and racial and religious prejudices for the general good of the country, it will be ready enough to brush aside these prejudices, or at least will not give so much importance to them as it gives now."

"The condition implied in your 'when,' sir, is rather difficult to be accomplished. It is almost impossible."

"It is not," I replied. "It is only a question of the advancement of education. The Indian, or for that matter, the Chinese, or the Soudanese, is as much an animal endowed with reason as the European. The only difference is the

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difference of education. I mean, education of the right sort, for, to tell you the truth, I do not attach so much importance to academical education as you seem to do. What a world of pains we undergo to collect a set of ideas in a college—ideas which, after all, do not go a great way in expounding our sympathies and freeing us from the narrow confines of racial and social prejudices."

"That may be true or not," said my Hindu friend impatiently, "but can't you see if the Mahomedans are given a separate electorate, if the Hindus have no voice whatsoever in the election of the Musalmans, it would mean simply that the latter would send up men to the Council of the type of Kazi Kamalkhan and Moulvi Jamaluddin, who would be only too willing to side with the officials and to oppose the Hindus, in the expectation of getting a Khanbahadur-ship."

"There you are!" said Casim. "How can you trust in us now, because you have always acted in a way that warrants us not to put any trust in you. The fact is that you have been trying all these years, with great success too, to prevent the Mussalmans coming into the Municipal and District Boards and the Legislative Councils. More than that, wherever the Hindu has had any influence, whether in the Government service or in any public or private department, he has tried his influence to prevent the Mussalman getting there, no matter whatever the latter's merits and qualifications. It is the case now of the guilty unable to confide in the innocent. As for the Khanbahadurship, well, the Raobahadurship is a dearer object to some of you than the Khanbahadurship is to us. You would——"

"Shut up!" said the Hindu warmly; "I would bet anything you Moslems would send up men to the councils, who, in point of education and enlightenment, would not compare favourably with the Hindu copying-clerk in my office. My barber's youthful son, who is a matriculate, would do better service than they if he were put in the Council. One can't expect better things from a sect of idle, uneducated beggars like the Moslems."

"Bravo to your barber's son!" said I. "Is he an extremist or a moderate? If he is an extremist, he runs a good chance of getting penal servitude before he gets into the Council. As for the Mussalmans I am sure they will pause, ponder

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and sift their would-be representative's merits before they return him to the Council. The time of the mad mulla and the devil-may-care sort of nawab is past with us. It is the time of Syed Ali Imam and Amir Ali. But what a bigot must be your Hindu enthusiast who assumes a grand pose and lays his hand on his heart as he thunders out ''tis death for us Hindus to accept these reforms. Let us give them up altogether rather than have the Moslems get an advantage over us.'"

"High-caste Hindu!" cried Casim jokingly, turning towards my Hindu friend and assuming a grand pose. "You want us to confide in you! But what have you done for your low-caste co-religionist? Is he not the same despicable dog with you, after a lapse of half a century of advancement in education, as he ever was before? And yet you would have us confide in you! Presumption! Awful Presumption"!

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VIEWS AND REVIEWS.

"The Science of Nature-History." By Mr. V. Sundaram Aiyar.

THE Science of Nature-History * as defined by the author, Mr. Readymoney, is: "A line of study for assigning places to all events in creation in order of time, showing their genesis, which may define themselves," and the book before us treating of this subject is the first of its kind. A detailed review of the very ingenious and carefully thought out plan sketched therein may be deemed necessary. It is written in a very commendious manner and it should be so, as the nature of the work requires it. The author writes:—

"Thoughts which have dethroned God of anthropomorphic attributes and abolished anthropomorphic attributes and abolished anthropomorphic histories of creation and have enthroned unknown cause of events in an unknown palace and crowned Him with philosophic thinking have created nature-history on nature-history basis. A blessing of a religion of earthly use has thus been perfected to human life for the peace of mind and happy unanimity of living." From this it is clear that the author is not an atheist and believes in God but without His anthropomorphic attributes.

"Not to fear nature as our ancestors did; not to worship it; nor to adore it. Nature-history means nature's knowledge, to know it by corresponding the order of ideas to the order of nature in time, that is the order of events in time," and "the Science of Nature-History is to discover the past of nature-history method and to record the past in such a manner as to investigate it and act upon it. Thus nature-history is the practical study of nature."

On page 4, the author of this book gives us an history of the scheme in which he says that he was in the habit of interpreting all events not simply non-living and living, mental and human but also from a scientific point of view. Those who used to argue with the author did not agree with him while speaking

* *Science of Nature-History.* By Nasarvanji Jevanji Readymoney, *The Times of India Press.* Price *Rs.* 1-4-0.

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from the naturalists' point of view. He, therefore, devised a plan which would be of use to all, that could make the mass of people understand the modern discoveries in a very simple manner. The scheme which he explains in his book is given below.

To correspond the order of ideas to the order of nature in time, that is the order of events in time, means nature's history and nature's knowledge. Thus, if all events are analysed in natural order in order of time, that is, if they are connected by the natural relation of succession and resemblance, they would show the origin of those events and also tend to show the relationship of those events. The "genesis of events describes and defines them and therefore it becomes knowledge and the science of all subjects." The process would result in giving the explanation of evolution and the definition of events and in Descriptive Defining Nature-History, which includes human beings and artificial things also. When events are thus recorded with colour pictures as self-explanatory of the text, the records of classification and genesis coincide and the re-search—record results. Thus every event, tabulated and illustrated with the special differentiation which distinguishes it from the preceding events and its place in nature's history or evolution is shown at a glance.

To record an event on this plan is to fix its place in nature. The mode of thinking on events and collecting facts in such a manner as to describe and define events when thinking of and collecting them to the most correct method of study and record and this logical thought ought to be grasped by all. When all facts of events are collected and compiled as suggested these become as the author called it in 1887: "Descriptive Defining Analysis Tables, or work of genesis," or as he at present calls or names it "Descriptive Defining Nature-History Research—Record Illustrated." At the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, U. S. A., there is a scheme of cards preserved in a fire-proof vault in alphabetical order, but the work here suggested is to record every event in Describing Defining Nature-History order. We do not see any reason why this scheme should not be undertaken by students, and the educationists of all countries.

In 1887, he was induced to prepare a guide to enable students to undertake the work of Descriptive Defining Nature-

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History Research-Record. He improved upon it and has brought out the same guide forming as it does a science which he names "Science of Nature-History." He thinks that the scheme of Descriptive Defining Nature-History Research—Record Illustrated is not carried out in full, he hopes tke guide will as a Science of Nature-History be of some use to students for assigning places to all events of nature.

In the tabular statements arranged in order of nature's history suggestions are first made for the events pertaining to heavenly bodies, their structure, functions and environment. The students of astronomy may see for themselves how they may utilise them and in the same manner students of geology, geography, meteorology, bacteriology, botany and zeology may do likewise.

All subjects that affect man are thus treated in a very comprehensive manner nothing missing therefrom, and the reader, by going through them carefully, will find that he derives useful and suggestive knowledge of them. Out of the numerous illustrations of the events enumerated under the heading of "Ordinary actions," let us take the subject of clothing. The anthor says that the practice of covering the body originated from mimicry and not from the notion of decency as generally believed. Primitive man-lived under leaves and trees to pass for such with the object of deceiving birds, beasts of prey and even man. He traces the process down through various stages such as the leaves being made into aprous, followed by plaiting and matting, and then by fibres, cotton, wool, and finally treated to serve as sewn clothes. In the same manner, the functions of paying respect, playing games, bathing, shopping, prayer, and numerous other human functions, and "special actions," resulting in classes of men, such as soldiers, chiefs, civilians, priests and persons engaged in the various industries —all have their proper places assigned to them by Nature. And so also artificial objects are treated, showing how they are to be pondered over with respect to their structure, functions and environment and their genesis and natural history, science, philosophy, utility, economy, all brought together in a manner never devised before in the intellectual and industrial history of the Man.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE ENGLISH PRESS IN INDIA IN 1907-08.

THE UNITED PROVINCES.

XVI.—ODDS AND ENDS.

NOT many changes of importance have occurred in the English press of the United Provinces during the last two years. Both the *Indian People* of Allahabad and the *Advocate* of *Lucknow*—the principal Indian journals—still continue to be bi-weeklies and an Indo-English daily has yet to come. Last year the late Raja Rampal Singh converted his English *Hindustan* (which was then a tri-weekly published at Kalakanker, the Raja's seat) into a daily but some months later, the Raja—who was the editing-proprietor—found himself so acutely attacked by what he called "his hereditary rheumatic pain," that he was obliged to stop the paper. As a matter of fact, the paper was more of a literary pastime to the Raja than calculated to serve public interests. Shortly after, early this year, the Raja died. He was for many years a person of some consequence in the public life of the United Provinces, having been twice returned to the local Legislative Council, and we gladly make room for the following appreciation which appeared in the *Pioneer*:—

We regret to receive news of the death of Raja Rampal Singh, of Kalakankar, in the Partabgarh district. The Raja, who was something of an eccentric in character, was in his early days something of a politician, with views that then appeared advanced, though they might be called retrograde now In the ferment excited by Mr. Gladstone's victory in 1880, he conceived the strange ambition for an Oudh Talukdar of getting a seat in Parliament, and went off to England with that object. The Liberals received his aspirations with great expressions of sympathy, and nominated him to contest mid-Lincolnshire at the next opportunity against Mr. Chaplin, at that time probably the most influential squire in England. It did not take very long for the Raja to discover that Mr. Chaplin would not be easily displaced, and he withdrew from his enterprise without bringing it to the test of an election. On his return to India he went into the business of managing a hotel at Allahabad, but probably wanted the sustained application and grasp of detail required for success in that line of life: for the "Raja's Hotel," as it was called, never showed any symptoms of developing into a Savoy or Ritz. Of latter years, the Raja had resided at his Fort at Kalakankar on the banks of the Ganges. The former fervour of his politics seems for many years past to have entirely abated: but he amused himself, we believe to the last, by bringing out a daily newspaper in the corner of a rural Oudh district.

Another death which might fitly be noticed here is that of the famous novelist and publicist, Mr. Marion Crawford. He came out to India late in the seventies of the last century, to study Sanskrit. Shortly after, he came to occupy the editorial chair of the *Indian Herald*, a daily which had been started by the late lamented Pandit Ajudhia Nath. Here, by his own account, Mr. Crawford put in the hardest work of his life, eighteen months of which proved sufficient for him, but they represented an experience he never regretted. Out of his recollections were evolved his first essay in fiction—*Mr. Isaacs*—and it was as a journalist that he first met the famous character, known to his readers as "Mr. Isaacs," and to us in India by a slightly different name. "If it had not been for that man, I think I should at the moment be a professor of Sanscrit in some American college," Mr. Marion Crawford said not long ago. It was

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after listening to a good story about the original of "Mr. Isaacs" in New York, that an uncle of the novelist's said to him, "Why not make a book of that?" The hint was acted upon, and within one month of its beginning the last page was written. It was published in 1882, and at once achieved a vogue. It was promptly followed by many others which met with an equally favourable reception but Mr. Crawford's most noted achievement was his first novel—*Mr. Isaacs*. At the time of his visit to Simla occult theosophy was in the air. The late Mme. Blavatsky was performing miracles with tea-cups and rose leaves, and there was also at the summer quarters of the Government a certain Mr. Jacobs, a dealer in precious stones and articles of virtu, a remarkable character in many ways These and other local celebrities—including that dashing soldier, Lord William Beresford—served Mr. Crawford as models for the *dramatis personæ* of his ingenious romance, which was at once a success when published in England, while it not unnaturally excited even greater attention in India.

The *Citizen* of Allahabad, which was a weekly at the time we wrote our last survey, was later converted into a bi-weekly. About the time it was so converted, it achieved an unenvied notoriety by denouncing the principal leaders of public opinion in the United Provinces. It professed to be the organ of so-called "Nationalists," or, in other words, of the Extremists and its sole business was to hold up to ridicule the Indian leaders at Allahabad and Lucknow. It is to be feared that by encouraging schoolboys to get rowdy and defy their guardians and teachers, it caused great mischief to discipline and good conduct. But, the conductors evidently found it to their cost that the game was not worth the candle and they, therefore, conveyed the rights and the good-will of the paper to a firm of printers, who now carry it on more as an advertiser rather than an exponent of the public opinion of any section of the people. For all practical purposes, it may be taken to have ceased to exist, at any rate for the time being.

XVII.—THE *INDIAN DAILY TELEGRAPH*.

The other paper which may be said to have undergone a change,—at least, a nominal change—is the *Indian Daily Telegraph* of Lucknow. It was stated by us in our last survey that the Anglo-Indian proprietors of the paper had sold its good-will and their rights in it to a Muhammadan syndicate, which was said to have been formed to take it over as a going concern. It subsequently transpired that no such syndicate could be formed but that the paper had become the sole property of the Hon. Raja Sir Ali Muhammad Khan, one of the Taluqdars of Oudh, who now represents the United Provinces in the Supreme Legislative Council. The paper continues to be edited and managed by an Anglo-Indian staff and in that sense it may still be called an Anglo-Indian paper, though it may more appropriately be characterized as an Anglo-Mussalman paper, but as on describing it as such sometime back we received a remonstrance from the editor, we forbear to do so. Except in the change in the proprietorship and the consequent change in the policy as its inevitable result, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* has fully sustained its reputation as a very well-equipped paper in the matter of its news service and on several occasions it has of late displayed considerable

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enterprise in supplying latest news to its readers. In regard to its policy no sensible person can quarrel with it, far its being Anti-Congress and Anti-Hindu, and Pro-Musalman and Pro-Muslim-League. There is no reason why it should not be all that it is, now that it is owned by a Muhammadan. He who pays the piper has the right to call the tune and no reasonable person need object to the tune of the *Indian Daily Telegraph* being what it is. It is entirely a different matter as to how far its opinion on Indian public affairs can now carry any weight with either the Government or the non-Muslim public. The chief value of the views of an Anglo-Indian paper lies in the fact that it is supposed to be independent of either Hindu or Mussalman influence; and where this is wanting by reason of the so-called Anglo-Indian paper belonging to either a Hindu or a Mussalman proprietor, it is but natural that those who do not belong to the same community as the proprietor—and for the matter of that the Government as well—should take its opinions as those of a paid advocate and not that of an independent critic. This is no fault of the Anglo-Indian conductors of the paper. They may be ever so honest in the expression of their opinion, but the public, under the present conditions of life in this country, is sure to impute the considerations set forth above in judging of the paper's views; and if to-morrow, say, the *Englishman* were to come under Hindoo proprietorship, its views in favour of Hindoo interests—be they ever so honest an expression of the editor's personal opinions—would naturally and rightly be regarded by the Government and the non-Hindus with the same amount of suspicion as that which attaches to-day to the opinions of the *Indian Daily Telegraph* in favour of Mussalman claims. It is thus no body's fault, nor a reflection on any-one. But while no fault need, therefore, be found with the *Telegraph* for the views it professes and propounds, objection has been rightly taken—especially of late—to the method and manner of the dissemination of its opinions. It has of late indulged in most violent invectives against the Government and the Congress party and in sentiments which can serve but one purpose, that of creating bad blood between the Hindus and Mussalmans. An editorial article in a recent issue headed "Government by Gokhale" has given dire offence not only to the Hindus but even—we have reasons to believe—to many of the high officials and thoughtful Europeans. The following extract from the article will speak for itself:—

> This latest surrender will be received as the crowning achievement of Hindu politics. Persisted in—it is a question whether Government will have any other course open to it—the policy will mean that within twenty-five years India will be India no longer, but Hindustan, governed by Hindus, and twenty-five years from the time it is to be doubted whether a British institution worthy of the name will remain—as a British instituti n. Such is the course upon which we are embarking by turning our friends into our enemies, by violating pledges given to those friends, and which Englishmen were once wont to hold sacred, by yielding to disloyal and murderous political agitation, and as a reward for steadfast, loyal and unswerving attachment to the British Throne, betraying the Muhammadans of India—leaving them to their fate. And when our own downfall comes as the price of this great betrayal, we shall realise, too late, the folly and the crime of it.

The *Telegraph* has also had the unfairness not only to refuse publication to Mr. 'Ali Imam's explanation on the subject of Mussalman representation

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but to minimise its importance, by saying that "the peculiar views possessed by Mr. Syed Ali Imam are not those of the Muhammadan community."

The *Observer* of Lahore in assiduously reproducing these effusions of the *Telegraph* remarked that "coming as they do from the pen of an Englishman, they will be read with great interest." "With great interest," indeed, as showing how in our uncongenial climate even Englishmen deteriorate and make light of fomenting quarrels by taking unfair advantage of the unfortunate internecine feuds and factions that still divide the people of this land. It is a policy which no doubt pays those that adopt it, but it can hardly be anything but galling to any true and self-respecting Englishman.

XVIII.—THE *PIONEER*.

The *Pioneer* has fully regained the position it had lost for a short time during the editorship of Mr. W. A. Still, when it often published things possibly offensive to the feelings of educated Indians. In our last survey we remarked that the retirement of Mr. G. M. Chesney—the veteran editor of the paper and a journalist of considerable experience and profound knowledge of Indian public affairs—was a serious loss to the *Pioneer*, for, as we pointed out, so long as Mr. Chesney remained at the helm of the leading Anglo-Indian daily of Upper India, it was always conducted as a paper for gentlemen, written by gentlemen. There was a marked lapse from this high standard during Mr. Chesney's absence and Mr. Still's editorship. For some reason or other, Mr. Still felt compelled to leave India for good, which necessitated Mr. Chesney's return to the editorial chair, and it is all for the best that he had to come back. In the period of storm and stress we have passed during the last two years, it is easy to conceive how matters would have fared with a less experienced and less cool-headed occupant in the editorial chair of the *Pioneer*. It is, of course, impossible for educated Indians to see eye to eye with the *Pioneer* on many important questions—even when the policy is controlled by Mr. Chesney—but there can be no doubt that so long as he is at the helm of affairs, the *Pioneer* cannot rightly be designated the *Daily Howler*, under which name it is referred to by the late Mr. Marion Crawford in his famous romance, *Mr. Isaacs*. Mr. Chesney left last April on a well-earned holiday, as also to represent his paper at the Imperial Press Conference. He is expected back in October. It is sincerely to be hoped that it will be for many years yet that Mr. Chesney will have the health and strength to work as the editor of the *Pioneer*.

The *Pioneer* was recently described by the *Daily News* of London as a "one of the best known papers, in the Panjab!" The occasion of the *Daily News*' writing was with reference to a letter from some Benares students, published in the *Pioneer*, threatening to come to Allahabad to thrash the editor, if there were any more disparaging reference to Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal in that paper, and which led the *Daily News* to write that "the lot of the Anglo-Indian editor in the Panjab, does not seem to be an entirely peaceful one," and then it paid the *Pioneer* the compliment (!) quoted above. "The compliment" said the *Pioneer*, "would have been

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more highly appreciated had it been conveyed in less glaringly inaccurate phraseology." Possibly the *Daily News* writer was lured by the attraction of the figure of alliteration to describe the *Pioneer* as " in the Panjab !"

It is a strange circumstance that during the last twelve months the *Pioneer* has on more than one occasion come into conflict with its Anglo-Indian, rather than with its Indian, contemporaries. It first came to loggerheads with some of the Anglo-Indian papers over the conversion of Mr. Tilak's sentence from transportation to simple imprisonment, which it stated was " very little of a secret " that it " was purely the result of influence brought to bear from England." It, of course, gave its reasons for saying so. Some days later it said : " We are assured officially that the general and strongly seated impression to which currency was given in a recent issue of the *Pioneer* to the effect that the commutation of Tilak's sentence was due to strong outside influence brought to bear on the Government of Bombay, is entirely without truth." Some days later it again repeated its assertion as follows :— " With instances of popular prejudice before us, it would not be any wonder if the public at large persists seeing the hand of Lord Morley in the modification of the Tilak sentence, in spite of all that the Bombay Government and the *Pioneer* as its gramophone, can say to assure them of the utter groundlessness of such a supposition." Of the many paragraphs which appeared on the subject in the Anglo-Indian and Indian papers, the following three might be reproduced here. The first is from the *Times of India*, the second from the *Statesman*, the third from the *Indian Social Reformer*.

In its issue of October 1st the *Pioneer* completely withdraws its assertion that the commutation of the Tilak sentence was due to pressure from Lord Morley. So far so good. It then proceeds to offer an apology to Lord Morley for the temporary misapprehension. That does not go far enough. *The Pioneer* owes an apology to Sir George Clarke for having stated that His Excellency gave way, on a very important point lying wholly within his own discretion, in deference to pressure from home. We hope that, even though it will be tardy, this apology will be offered. Here we may leave this matter with but one remark : the apologia of the *Pioneer* furnishes us with a test by which to gauge the importance of its pontifical pronouncements. When, after a week's cogitation on a public matter, it says "It would appear to be very little of a secret that . . . . ." it means that "this is a rumour too persistent to be ranked as gossip." The incident also provides us with a very instructive clue to the *Pioneer's* reading of the Indian situation. Its picture of the Government of India, as at present constituted, pining to transfer to their own gigantic shoulders a share of the burden too heavy for the Bombay Government, argues as profound an acquaintance with things as they are as—shall we say—its comments on the Alipur tragedy with the classics?—*The Times of India.*

The peculiar ethics of the *Pioneer* as a commentator upon public affairs are exhibited once more in its amazing vagaries over the modification of Mr. Tilak's sentence. On the 28th September it announced that the change was due to Lord Morley's " philosophic Radicalism." This assumed fact was enlarged upon at some length and embellished with conjectures as to the original form of Lord Morley's hypothetical communication and the extent to which it was modified owing to the imaginary protests of the Bombay Government. On the 1st October, having been informed officially that the whole of this story was a baseless fabrication, the *Pioneer* endeavoured to extricate itself from an awkward situation by boldly declaring that it had published the report as a *ballon d'essai* in order to find out the truth ! Finally, having first set a wholly false story in circulation, and then withdrawn it with apologies, the *Pioneer* on Monday last hinted that such is popular prejudice that " it would not be any wonder if the public at large persists in seeing the hand of Lord Morley in the modification of the Tilak sentence." As the popular belief in the responsibility of Lord Curzon for the Partition of Bengal is quoted as an example of the fallaciousness of public judgments on passing events, the *Pioneer* apparently justifies the popular prejudice—if any such

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prejudice exists, outside the office of the Allahabad paper itself—in blaming Lord Morley for the clemency shown to Mr. Tilak, for Lord Curzon was unquestionably the active author of the Partition. It would seem, therefore, that the *Pioneer* thinks that the public would do well to believe its gramophone utterances. Of late, however, it has become difficult to understand whether the Allahabad gramophone is speaking in sorry jest or in foolish earnest. In any case it is a pity that Sir George Clarke did not speak with his own voice, instead of entrusting his message to a journal which has so often been the vehicle of disingenuous official denials.—The *Statesman*.

We must confess we are unable to follow the reasoning of the *Pioneer* in seeking to justify itself for having founded a violent attack on Lord Morley on the basis of an absolute untruth. Commenting on the advice tendered from official quarters not to make assertions of a misleading character without attempting to ascertain the facts, our contemporary says:—"As a general rule, this is a principle which may command assent, but every one knows that there are cases in which it is impossible to get facts by direct inquiry. If only one person has the possession of facts and that person is by the necessities of official position, precluded from speaking, there is not much use in asking." Which, in plain English, means if you cannot get information, you may invent it. If an Indian newspaper had argued thus, the *Pioneer* would not have found words to express its astonishment at the inscrutable processes of "the Asiatic mind." Or if it had been an Administration in which the *Pioneer* is interested, it would have assumed that the authorities must have good reasons to withhold the information. But neither Lord Morley nor Sir George Clarke is anxious to take the *Pioneer* into his confidence. And so they may be traduced on the flimsiest pretext. It is strange that no one ever heard of this rumour, which our contemporary mentions, in Bombay. We trust that the significance of the fact that the *Pioneer* has been compelled to apologise, will not be lost on some other Anglo-Indian journals, which have been in the habit of presuming too much on the nationality of their conductors. Times have changed, and retribution is sure to overtake their impertinences very swiftly in these days.—The *Indian Social Reformer*.

In the quotation from the *Times of India* reference is made in the last line to the *Pioneer's* "comments in the Alipur tragedy." In connection with the *Pioneer's* comments on the murder of Sub-Inspector, Nand Lal Banerji, the *Times of India* reverted to the *Pioneer's* "comments on the Alipur tragedy" as follows:—

There are foggier spots in India than were believed to exist. But if these are the opinions of the *Pioneer*, can we wonder at its advice to the Bengalis to canonise the Alipur murderers, and then its comparing them with classical notorieties whose morals are not mentioned in polite society?

The references of the *Times of India* are to the comments of the *Pioneer* on the murder of the approver in the bomb conspiracy in the Alipur Jail. The paragraph of the *Pioneer* created quite a sensation at the time and it also attracted some attention in Great Britain. The paragraph was strongly condemned by most of the Anglo-Indian papers, of which the following from the *Englishman* may be taken as a sample:—

The attitude of the *Pioneer* in connection with the unrest has been sufficiently remarkable to deserve comment. That journal's remarks on the Alipore jail murder were of a kind that could only be expected from an Extremist organ of the worst type, and, now, with reference to Midnapore we find the following astonishing paragraph: "Here was a story of a bomb conspiracy manufactured for the delectation of the outside world by a band of gay, irresponsible comedians." We are now to see with what avidity the enemies of the Government will seize on the word "manufactured." Hitherto even the most violent Anglo-vernacular sheets have had the grace to refrain from comment on the proceedings at Midnapore till it has been distinctly proved which of the two parties have been indulging in inventions.

It is not necessary to quote here the whole paragraph of the *Pioneer* which must even now be fresh in the mind of our readers but we reproduce the concluding portion of it—to which reference is made in the comments of the *Times of India*—side by side with the concluding portions of the article of

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Bande Mataram (for publishing which that paper was confiscated) as the remarks of the *Pioneer* were relied upon in court by the Calcutta paper:—

BANDE MATARAM.

No more shall the wretch of an Indian who kisses away the heads of his comrades reckon himself safe from the avenging hand. From the moment that Kanai fired the fatal shot the spaces of his country's heaven have been ringing with the echo of a voice: "Beware of traitors!"

THE PIONEER.

Murder has many degrees of blackness. The Alipore crime approaches greyness as much as any such action can. The informer, to save his own skin, was destroying others, and two of the latter resolved to kill him before the sessions, sacrificing themselves for the rest. This is self-devotion, and if the Bengalis like to enthrone these two hereafter in popular remembrance as another Harmodius and Aristogeiton, it is not easy to see how anyone could justly object to the selection.

The only other incident which need be noticed here and in connection with which the Allahabad paper came into conflict with Anglo-Indian public opinion was His Most Gracious Majesty, the King-Emperor's, message to the people of India on the 2nd of November last. The following extract from the *Statesman* contains all the passages in the *Pioneer* to which objection was taken:—

It would be difficult to conceive a more glaring example of newspaper impropriety than is furnished by the *Pioneer's* comments on the Proclamation issued to the people of India by His Majesty, the King. Nor can the *Pioneer* plead ignorance or inexperience of India in extenuation of a line of conduct which is calculated to be productive of most mischievous results. In England a veiled attack on the Sovereign, instigated by a factious desire to discredit a political opponent, would be bitterly resented: in India such a course can only be described as disloyal and pernicious in the extreme. For what is the contention urged by the Allahabad journal in its editorial columns? Simply this: that the Proclamation is not the King's at all, but Lord Morley's; that it is a "frigid utterance put into King Edward's mouth by the Secretary of State for India;" that "the occupant of the Throne has allowed himself to be made a tool by his Minister." "The King," we are told, "is not to be allowed to take the wind out of the sails of the Secretary of state" by making any but the baldest announcements; indeed the language used is "strangely familiar" and has been "said, and better said, in the Budget and Arbroath speeches." And further: "It is vain to be impressive unless one has something particular to say, and it is because there was nothing particular to impart that this manifesto will strike the world as thin, spiritless, and rather superfluous." After indulging in these contemptuous observations the writer in the *Pioneer* is so elated with his own performance that he proceeds to burlesque the Proclamation by treating it as if it were a partisan speech delivered in the House of Commons, and intersperses the King's utterances with such interpolations as "(Cheers from the Opposition)," "(Hear, hear from Sir H. Cotton and Dr. Rutherford)," and "(General applause)." As an example of the lengths to which insolent vulgarity can go this is almost unique. But there are greater interests involved than any question of manners, and no one knows this better than the journal which has so grossly offended. That the King's Proclamation was not written with his own hand may or may not be the fact. Everyone knows that it is the practice of constitutional monarchs to leave the actual drafting of high State pronouncements to their Ministers, and if King Edward adopted this course in the present case, just as Queen Victoria did in regard to the famous Proclamation of half a century ago, he was only following the regular precedent. But to assert that His Majesty did not scrutinise with jealous care the language used in so important a State document, and that the sympathetic sentiments uttered are not those with which he regards his Indian subjects, is a libel of a peculiarly outrageous character. But perhaps it is not surprising that a journal which only a few weeks ago was glorifying assassination, should to-day be engaged in seeking to belittle and stultify His Majesty, the King.

Here is another extract from the *Statesman* assailing the *Pioneer* for its view of the origin of the Reform scheme.

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The *Pioneer*, having committed itself to the theory that the Reforms Scheme is the outcome of Lord Morley's Radicalism and his anxiety to pacify the seditious party in India, declines to acknowledge itself wrong, merely because facts have demolished its surmises. It has to take note of the Viceroy's emphatic declaration that the scheme belongs to the Government of India, and the language used by Lord Minto is so explicit as to make it impossible to ride off on an alleged ambiguity or reserve. "The material," said the Viceroy, "from which the Bill now before Parliament has been manufactured was supplied from the Secretariats of Simla and emanated entirely from the bureaucracy of the Government of India." The *Pioneer* cannot very well dispute the accuracy of a statement so definite, proceeding from the highest authority, and accordingly it admits that Lord Minto's pronouncement puts the origin of the Reforms beyond gainsaying. But it refuses, nevertheless, to surrender its old delusions, and reiterates them on grounds which are truly amazing. "And yet," says the Allahabad oracle, "*in spite of the facts*, can we say that the instinct which the *Times* is following when it adopts the title 'Morley's Indian Reforms' is wholly wrong?" The italics are ours. We confess that in matters of history we have a higher respect for facts than for popular instinct, even when that instinct commends itself to the author of the headlines of the *Times*. Not content, however, with elevating popular fancy above facts, the *Pioneer* proceeds to give an imaginary version of the history of the Reforms by way of indirectly challenging Lord Minto's clear assertions. It acknowledges that the original scheme was the offspring of the Government of India, but "the measure has been lopped of its original distinctive features." Apparently the *Pioneer* is not aware that the original proposals of the Government of India were published for criticism, and that in the light of the suggestions and comments of the Local Governments and public bodies, the scheme was modified to the form in which it appears in "Papers relating to Constitutional Reform in India." The Bill does undoubtedly differ from the first proposals, but it is substantially identical with the revised scheme. Probably the *Pioneer* will dismiss this fact as it has dismissed those of Lord Minto. But the public will form its own opinion of a newspaper which prefers to construct history out of its own imagination.

The only other matter about the *Pioneer* is the following announcement which recently appeared in our contemporary :—

> Commencing from to-day, the *Pioneer* proposes to publish by weekly instalments in each Sunday's issue a new novel by Mrs. Everard Cotes, formerly better known by the literary name of "Sarah Jeannette Duncan." If this should appear to some conservative readers an unwelcome innovation upon the ordinary practice of the paper, it may be said that this is not an ordinary story. The first chapter seems sufficient to indicate that what the writer will be found to have in view is not so much a romance as a "Tract for the Times."

The story is now being published twice a week—on Thursdays and Sundays. It deals with current Indian problems and its characters are easily identifiable. In fact, our local contemporary, the *Indian People*, has already had its say that Vulcan Mills—the Member of the House of Commons—is none other than Mr. Keir Hardie and that Ganendra Thakure is meant to represent Mr. Arabindo Ghose. However that may be, the story is certainly interesting as it displays considerable knowledge, on the whole, of the realities of life in the India of to-day.

XIX.—BEHAR.

The most notable events in the journalistic record of Behar, during the last two years, have been the death of the great Beharee leader, the late lamented Mr. Mahesh Narayan, founder and editor of the *Beharee*; the conversion of the paper, consequent on his death, from a bi-weekly into a weekly; the disappearance of *Motherland*, the sale of the *Behar Herald*, the organ of Bengalee public opinion in Behar, by the heirs of the original proprietor to a private syndicate of Bengalee gentlemen in Behar and the appearance of two new journals—the *Muslim Herald* (a fortnightly) and *Bihar*, a weekly. Mr. Mahesh Narayan died in August 1907, and in the issue of this review for that month we wrote at length in appre-

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ciation of the great services he rendered to his native province as a publicist and patriot, through the medium of his paper. It does not seem that Mr. Mahesh Narayan's mantle has yet fallen on shoulders capable of carrying on his work, with the result that his paper, the *Beharee*, which had been converted into a bi-weekly in the beginning of 1907, had again to assume last year, a weekly form. It is being conducted, however, on the lines laid down by its founder and first editor, and it still retains its premier position as the accredited exponent of Beharee public opinion and is accepted as such by both the Government and the people—both in and outside Behar.

Towards the end of 1906 a Bengalee medical practitioner at Bankipore started an Extremist organ, called *Motherland*. By reason of its violent writings, it produced quite a sensation in the placid political atmosphere of the province of Behar and its articles attracted the attention of the Bankipore correspondent of the *Empire*, who wrote to that paper to say that *Motherland* was sailing quite close to the wind and that if it continued to write in that strain, it would soon get into trouble. But the paper had a very short existence. It did not and could not take kindly, with its "advanced" views of absolute autonomy and boycott, to the uncongenial soil of Behar and it came to an early end, after nearly a year's existence, in November 1907, leaving the *Behar Herald* as the sole representative of Bengalee public opinion in Behar. This paper was started in the seventies of the last century by the late Mr. Guru Prasad Sen, for many years the leader of the Patna bar and a distinguished publicist and public man. Since his death some ten years back, the paper was conducted by same of the Bengalee members of the Patna bar. The proprietory interest in the good-will of the paper and the press has recently been sold by the heirs of the late Mr. Sen to a syndicate of some of the Bengalee residents of Bankipore. Except as an organ of a class which until ten years back was a predominant element in the public life in Behar, but which has now fallen into rear by reason of the upheaval of the indigenous talent in that province, the *Behar Herald* can now scarcely be said to represent any important body of public opinion in that Province

Of the two new journals that have come into existence during the period under review, the older is the fortnightly, the *Muslim Herald*—a name, by the way, which is apt to create confusion, as there is in Bombay an Anglo-Hindustani daily of the same name, and which, we believe, had the honour of an invitation to the last Delhi Durbar. Though only recently started at a small town in the Saran district of the Tirhut Divisiton, it has suddenly come into prominence by reason of its views which, in many matters, are diametrically opposed to that of the organizers of the Muslim League. Its editor is a young gentleman of considerable jouralistic aptitude, possessing the courage of his convictions, but with necessarily limited experience of journalism, this being practically his apprenticeship in the Fourth Estate. The *Muslim Herald* is vigorously written and is more than outspoken in the expression of its opinions. In many matters it is in advance of not only Mussalman public opinion in particular but also Beharee pubilc opinion in general. It has been denouncing in strong language the demand of the Muslim League for class electorates and its views have had the honour of being reproduced in the columns of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* —a rare honour, no doubt, for a Beharee journal. All those who do not share

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the *Muslim Herald's* views, come in for condign punishment at its hands and the leaders of the Muslim League have had a hard time of it, of late. With more experience of the vissicitudes of life, there will certainly come in a greater sobriety and a larger amount of toleration and we look forward to the day when the *Muslim Herald*— published at least as a weekly from Bankipore—will be an important factor in developing and moulding public opinion in Behar, amongst the Mussalman community in particular. The other paper that has seen the light is called, *Bihar*. It has been founded by Babu Kali Kumar, B. L., the eldest son of the Hon'ble Babu Gajadhar Prasad. The editor is not quite a novice in journalism, as he started some year back a temperance organ, the *Bihar Guardian*, which was subsequently incorporated with the *Kayastha Messenger*. In 1906, he started the *Biharee*, which after an existence of some months was merged in its namesake, the *Beharee*, then under the control of the late Mr. Mahesh Narayan. He is also the author of two works of fiction, the *Star of Sikri* and *Sanjogita*. We may publish a characterization of this paper later.

THE PUNJAB.

XX.—THE *CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE*.

There have been no important changes in the English press of the Panjab, which for all practical purposes may be said to include just half a dozen papers, the two Anglo-Indian dailies—the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore and the *Morning Post* of Delhi,—the three Indian-edited papers of Lahore, the *Tribune* (daily), the *Panjabee* (tri-weekly) and the *Observer* (bi-weekly), and the *Panjab Times* (bi-weekly) of Rawalpindi. Nothing notable has happened in the history of the *Morning Post* or to give it its full designation—the *Morning Post of India*. The *Civil and Military Gazette*—the leading Anglo-Indian paper of the province—has had the misfortune of losing last year its editor, Mr. Stephenson, who was an able and experienced journalist and who occasionally used to edit our local contemporary, the *Pioneer*. In the period under survey, the *Gazettee* has figured rather prominently both by reason of its expression of views on the Indian unrest and also opening its columns to the dissemination of opinions by its correspondents, which have been very distasteful to educated Indians. In 1906, it published a series of letters on "Change of Times in India" which caused seroues dissatisfaction to the educated Panjabees and the Indian Association of Lahore submitted a representation on the subject to Sir Charles Rivaz, praying for the prosecution of the paper. In reply the Chief Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor said that "it must be admitted that the tone of some of the letters is objectionable and His Honour regrets that the *Civil and Military Gazette* should have published them." Sir Charles declined, however, to grant the prayer of the Indian Association for the prosecution of the paper. In 1907, great offence was taken by the educated Panjabees at many of the editorial articles that appeared in the *Gazette*. The Indian Association again submitted a lengthy representation on this subject, to the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson and renewed their prayer

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for the prosecution of the paper. The reply of the Chief Secretary to Sir Denzil said that

the Lieutenant-Governor admits that there is much in the articles in question to justify the complaint of the Indian Association. He too has watched with pain and regret the appearance of such passages, more especially at a time when it should be the endeavour of all to calm excitement, to promote good feeling, and to draw together on the side of order all the loyally-disposed in whatever section of the community they may be found; and the fact that articles of a still more objectional character may be found in the contemporary Native Press does not in his opinion constitute any justification for the use of the language complained of. Sir Denzil Ibbetson thinks that it is hardly necessary for him to disavow all sympathy with expressions that are calculated to wound gratuitously the feelings of a class among whose members he personally numbers many good friends and to which the Government has been and will continue to be, indebted for much admirable service, rendered in positions of responsibility and authority.

Sir Denzil did not see his way, however, to accede to the prayer of the Indian Association, for the prosecution of the *Gazette*, for he said that he had reasons to believe that changes were being made in the management of the paper and he trusted that the circumstances which had given rise to the complaint might not recur. It was a result of these observations of Sir Denzil that the proprietors sent for the late Mr. Stephenson, who was away on leave in England. It is certainly to Mr. Stephenson's credit that he altered the policy of the paper for the better and we are glad to note that the lines laid down by him have been adhered to, since his death last year, by his successor. The *Statesman* had the following leading article on the publication of the correspondence between the Indian Association and the Chief Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson has rendered good service in the cause of peace and racial amenity by the frank reply which he has sent to the members of the Indian Association at Lahore, who complained of the provocative tone of certain articles which appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette*. He was apparently urged by the Association to take proceedings against the offending newspaper under Section 153A and Section 505C of the Indian Penal Code. But while refusing to attempt legal punishment, he has adopted a course which ought to have a salutary effect both upon the journal in question and upon all newspapers which forget those obligations of courtesy that should be observed between one race and another. It is no small matter that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab should have given official cognisance to the writing of which complaint was made. The usual attitude of any Indian Government is one of studied indifference, however much ill-feeling an Anglo-Indian newspaper may be producing by garbled reports or offensive comment. For the Indian journal there is the rod of prosecution for seditious writing, while the Anglo-Indian newspaper which may be stirring up enmity between Hindus and Mahomedans or between Indians and Europeans, goes on unchecked and may even pose as the interpreter or adviser of Government. Sir Denzil Ibbetson has broken the tradition of silence and has done so to good purpose, for he has given the whole community a glimpse of the responsible rulers of the country towards the Jingo section of the Anglo-Indian press. Writings of the kind which Sir Denzil Ibbetson reprobates, far from being a help or an inspiration to any Government in India, are an annoyance and a source of embarrassment. Like the cock who imagined that his crowing caused the sun to rise, the blatant purveyor of racial provocation is apt to flatter himself that every repressive measure is due to the docile reverence with which the Government listen to his raving about sedition. He may now learn that his efforts bring only "pain and regret" even to strong rulers of the type of Sir Denzil Ibbetson. We entirely agree with the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab that the right aim of the Anglo-Indian press should be to promote good will. With this object it ought to set forth the truth without malice, to beware of racial prejudice, and to remember that there are two sides to almost every incident. As this is the policy which will conduce most to the peace and prosperity of the country as a whole, so it is that which is best designed to promote the welfare of the European community; and the great majority of Europeans who have any stake in the progress

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of India deplore the exaggeration, the misinterpretation and the vituperation in which some English journals are wont to indulge. We are free to admit that considerable provocation is offered by the excesses of some Indian-edited journals. But Sir Denzil Ibbetson is again right when he remarks that such objectionable articles do not constitute any justification for the language that he condemns. As a matter of fact, the Indian papers seldom attack the character of the English as a people. They do not habitually ridicule our education, politics or amusement; and in this respect they manifest a restraint which some English journals might well imitate.

XXI.—THE *TRIBUNE*.

Of the three Indian-edited papers of Lahore, the *Tribune* and the *Panjabee* have had changes in the occupants of their editorial chair. In 1906, Mr. Alfred Nundy, Bar-at-Law, a well-known publicist and a valued contributor to this and other periodicals had been appointed by the trustees of the *Tribune* as editor of the paper. All on sudden, in the beginning of last year, the news went round the press that Mr. Nundy had had to sever his connection with the *Tribune* and soon after he filed a plaint against the trustees claiming Rs. 2,000 as damages. We are glad to learn that the suit has been withdrawn, the affair having been settled out of court, for it might have led to some washing of dirty linen, which would hardly have conduced to public interest. So long as Mr. Nundy was in charge of the paper it had a high reputation for sanity and sobriety, especially amongst Europeans. It is not often that European globe-trotters deign to look at "native" papers or say anything appreciative about them in their books. It is therefore a feather in Mr. Nundy's cap that Sir Henry Craik, who visited Lahore during Mr. Nundy's editorship of the *Tribune*, should have noticed the paper in the following flattering terms in his book, *Impressions of India*:—

> The *Tribune* is the organ of the Moderate Hindu party. I can only judge it by what I have myself seen; and I am bound to say that I have not read a word which is open to objection. We may not share all its views, but it is a model of fair and reasonable comment and no sedition, nothing tending to encourage resistance to authority or to foster insane ambitions, has appeared in any number of the paper that I have seen.

On the severance of Mr. Nundy's connection with the *Tribune*, it was placed in the editorial charge of Mr. Sunder Singh Bhatia, B. A., who had been on the staff of the paper as an Assistant editor. Mr. Bhatia had long been connected with the Indian press and he is a sound and capable journalist His promotion to the editorial chair of the *Tribune* is notable for the fact that for the first time in the history of the paper, since it was founded nearly thirty years ago, a native of the province of the Panjab—that too a typical Panjabee as opposed to a Hindustani—was placed in charge of the editorial responsibilities of this leading and influential organ of Panjab public opinion.

XXII.—THE *PANJABEE*.

The *Panjabee* has had a notable record during the period under survey. Its proprietor and its late editor—Mr. K. K. Athvale—were both prosecuted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and fine under section 153A of the Indian Penal Code. On appeal and revision the sentences were reduced, but the judgment of the Magistrate was upheld. On his release from jail, Mr. Athvale severed his connection with the paper, which was placed under the charge of that veteran publicist, Mr. Amrita Lal Roy, who had for many years

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been editor of the *Tribune*. Mr. Roy still continues in charge of the paper, though for some reason or other he has not been formally declared as the editor. Early last year, it was announced that the *Panjabee* was going to be issued as a daily, but just when expectations were running high came the sad announcement that by reason of the proprietor's being in the grip of a serious malady, it was not possible to carry out the project. Since October last it has been appearing, however, three times a week. The *Panjabee* is not, for obvious reasons, in the good books of the officials or the Anglo-Indians in general. Even a globe-trotter like Sir Henry Craik vouchsafes to it but half a dozen words in his book referred to above. These are : " Of the *Panjabee*, the less said the better." Amongst educated Indians it is much appreciated by those inclined to Extremism, though the *Panjabee* itself has felt compelled to repel the suggestion of even " sober Extremism." This is what it recently said about its policy with reference to the remarks of a contemporary :

The *Panjabee* hardly feels complimented by the designation of " sober Extremist " which our contemporary gives us. Not that " sober Extremists " are any worse than immoderate Moderates, but the *Panjabee* has always tried not to identify itself as a party organ, and has consistently discussed the various questions that have cropped up in connection with the Congress on their individual merits.

Truth to say, it is difficult to diagnose the policy of the *Panjabee*. Its policy is very much like that of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, but beyond that it is difficult to characterize it. Of late it has made a vigorous stand against the demands of the Muslim League and proved itself a formidable opponent to its local contemporary—the *Observer*. Apart from its views, it is conducted with ability and its editorials are, as a rule, marked with forcefulness and virility. But it is too pronounced a partisan of one set of opinions to take a charitable view of those who have the misfortune of differing from it, Thus, for instance, of the Reform scheme, it writes :—" Excepting Muhammedan demagogues and Hindu quack politicians who have found in the controversies of the day a chance for self-advertisement (we wonder, if this is for the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale ?) all others have begun to grow cool with regard to Lord Morley's white elephant." Any comment on this uncharitable generalization is rendered superfluous.

Further, the *Panjabee*, as at present conducted, has given great dissatisfaction, even to many admirers of it as a " smart " paper, by reason of its indulging in vituperation against those who have the misfortune not to be able to see eye to eye with its conductors on the question of carrying on the public work on Moderate lines. It this respect the *Panjabee* has evidently taken its cue from its local contemporary of the *Observer*—which we characterize later--in so far as the policy of the latter is concerned with those who differ from it. As between the *Panjabee* and the *Observer*, it is but a question of degree and not of kind. The following extract from a recent issue of the *Indian People* gives expression to views about the Lahore paper, which, we believe, are shared by many thoughtful people :—

The *Punjabee*—more bitter now than ever before—is doing its mighty best to ridicule the Congress movement, and to create a feeling against it in the Punjab. As between the *Tribune* and the *Punjabee*, there is no doubt that the latter is more full of dash—and dash in these days is an essy

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road to popularity. The very word 'Moderate' seems to stink in the nostrils of the *Punjabee* and there is no Moderate leader in the country whose reputation this paper would spare. Of course what the red rag is to the bull, that Mr. Gokhale's name is to the *Punjabee*. We cannot and do not wish to question the *Punjabee's* right to its views, but we have no doubt Mr. Gokhale will outlive the *Punjabee's* anathema, as he has no doubt outlived many other vile and ugly denunciations. But the real question is not whether Mr. Gokhale is right or wrong but whether the *Punjabee* has got any constructive theory of its own to put forward before the country. Just now the *Punjabee* is emulating the reputation of Muhammad Ghaznavi in journalism. It will have no idolatry, nor superstition. The Congress is to it idolatry of the worst type, and a superstition of the most degrading character. Well, we should be only too willing to give up the Congress and everything connected with it, if the *Punjabee* would be pleased to give us something better in its stead. We have read with interest its articles on the duty of the Hindus, and while we do not yield to the *Punjabee* in our disapproval of the special protection given to the Mahomedans in the matter of election representation and in some other matters, we cannot say that it affords us any justification for an attitude such as the *Punjabee* is seeking to create. To have a distinctive feature of its own, it is not necessary to be distinctively irritating, but evidently the *Punjabee* thinks otherwise. There is nothing more easy than to run down men who cannot and will not retaliate, but it is hardly brave or fair. We still trust that the *Punjabee* may see that there is more credit to be had by co-operating with a body, which in spite of its defects and errors has built up a political sentiment during a quarter of a century and bringing about reforms in it from within, than by standing across the fence and hurling vituperations on its devoted head from there. The Punjab cannot better play into the hands of the enemies of the Congress and for the matter of that, of all public life, than by petulantly and sulkily refusing to have anything to do with the Congress. We still trust that there is enough of good sense in the Punjab, and that local differences will not be allowed to affect the general issue.

To the above censure of the *Indian People*, the *Panjabee* gave a long rejoinder, from which we extract below the portion relevant to the controversy :—

The *Indian People*, whose amiable paragraph is reproduced elsewhere, has certainly not set an example how not to be "distinctively irregating," a feature of journalism our contemporary pretends to dislike. It is not honey and nectar that he has distilled into a small compass. He has given a fine sample of the policy of abusing the other side in order to win a cause. "Dash" may be an "easy road to popularity," as he says, but he evidently believes in the plan of withering an opponent with the coruscations of contemptuous sneer as the easier path. But we are in no danger of succumbing to our contemporary's scorn any more than we believe Mr. Gokhale is likely to collapse under the *Panjabee's* displeasure. Criticism need not always be intended to damn a person as our contemporary would probably wish to do in our case, and "running down" Mr. Gokhale has certainly not been our object. Of course, we believe that a great name or even great services should be no excuse for preaching doctrines subversive of the sense of self-respect of one's countrymen, or for strengthening the hands of those who would curb and crush every attempt at self-assertion on the part of the Indian people. We have no faith in the hypocrisy which would gloss over the failings of one who happens to belong to the sacred circle, or in observing a conspiracy of silence when a brother goes astray. However, we do not see the use of dragging Mr. Gokhale's name into a discussion of the *Panjabee's* attitude towards the Congress, unless it was intended to crush an humble adversary with the weight of a great name.

To the above the *Indinn People* returned in a long editorital in which it gave ths *Panjabee* a bit of its mind, with a freedom not usual in Indian papers. It is to be hoped that the following observations of our local contemporary of the *Indian People* will have a whole'some effect on the future policy of the Lahore paper :

If any proof were required of our statement in these columns that the *Punjabee* was more bitter now than ever before in its attitude towards the Congress and leading Congressmen it has been supplied by our contemporary itself in its rejoinder to our cirticism. In a characteristic paragraph which appears in its last issue, it complains that we have not treated it to honey and

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nectar' and that we have given "a fine sample of the policy of abusing the other side in order to win a cause." Well, if our criticism was gall and wormwood to our contemporary, all we can say is that it proves to our mind that it has got a super-sensitive palate. But those who are ready to strike blows must be prepared to receive blows in return. The *Punjabee* itself would be the last to maintain that criticism should be all rose-water and kisses. As regards the charge that we have abused the other side in order to win a cause, we are not conscious that we have yet become so enterprising. We are not one of those who mantain that those who differ from us must needs be cowards, traitors and villains. We have always maintained that difference of opinion can never be any justification for abusing an opponent. We have no party purposes to serve, and if duty requires we shall be as ready to criticise the Moderates as the Extremists. We have to win no cause excepting the cause of public good, and if public good requires that we should criticise even the *Punjabee*, we shall not fail in our duty. And we *maintain* that we never did *abuse* any 'other side' and we do not propose to do so even now. If we introduced Mr. Gokhale's name in our paragraph which has called forth the wrath of the *Punjabee*, it was only to give an illustration of the attitude of our contemporary. Fortunately for ourselves, our contemporary confirms our view about its ways in its rejoinder. It is all very well for the *Punjabee* now to denounce men whose worth and mettle has been tried in the past, who have built up public life such as it is in India, but who must needs be in bad odour because they do not see eye to eye with it or the school of politics to which it belongs. It does not cost much intellectual labour to describe the Congress as an 'emasculated and officialised Congress.' The *Punjabee* is the spoiled child of journalism in the Punjab, and it can well afford to indulge in such language with impunity at present, but we may tell it, and all others who admire it and seek inspiration from it that the main issue should not be obscured by introducing into the discussion questions which after all are purely personal. If the *Punjabee* has nothing better to tell us in reply to our demand for a constructive scheme of its own than that the Congress itself has been 'a purely critical and discursive movement,' and that 'to erect a pandal annually at the cost of thousands of rupees, for the purpose of making declarations binding on nobody does not make a movement constructive,' then we think we are entitled to hold that it ought not to assume to enlighten and guide other people's minds If the *Punjabee* does not know its own mind, and that if the mission of the *Punjabee* is no better than indiscriminate denunciation of all those who differ from it—the Congress, and the Government—and to offer no constructive theories to its readers, then it is at best a barren and thankless task, and we sincerely feel sorry for the Punjab.

XXIII.—THE *OBSERVER*.

The *Observer*—the organ of the educated Panjabee Mussalmans—has come into great prominence of late by reason of its taking a very active and important part in urging the view of the Muslim League in the matter of representation of Muhammedans. No reasonable person can object to the expression of all shades of opinion, so long as they are couched in language befitting the discussion of serious problems. Unfortunately, the *Observer* has chosen to assume, during the course of the recent discussions, such a militant, truculent and bellicose attitude towards all those who may not care to subscribe to its papal bulls, that no well-wisher of the Mussalman community but will regret the change in the policy of the paper. Of late, it has been the most uncharitable amongst all Indian papers. It has been foremost in attributing ignoble motives to its opponents—which includes all those who would not subscribe to its views *in toto*—in characterizing them by harsh and opprobrious epithets, and its columns have been completely destitute of a single generous sentiment, a single sign of fair-mindedness towards those who differ from it. To differ from the *Observer* is to be a knave, destitute of honour, of principle, of capacity. Whether it is Lord Morley or Sir Louis Dane or Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterji or Mr. Syed Ali Imam, they are all in the same category,

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if they dare to differ from the *Observer*. Officials must carry out its behests, non-officials must *in toto* subscribe to its views—on pain of being attacked with rancour. Not only has the Secretary of State been often violently assailed by it but the threat has been held out to him that if he does not obey the *Observer's* mandate "Muhammedans are determined to lay their case before the King-Emperor!" We doubt not it was this threat and the fear of dismissal by the King-Emperor that has weighed with Lord Morley. And take this in connection with Mr. Hobhouse's statements in the House of Commons:—

Such travesty of even-handed justice, of which our Hindu fellow-countrymen are so fond, can be possible only under a Radical Ministry imbued with astounding notions of equity and fairplay.

And this is how this Extremist organ preaches boycott of the new Councils, precisely on the lines of Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal:—

The position is, as we stated two days ago, that Mahomedans refuse absolutely to listen to any scheme other than that of separate electorates throughout. . . . . We would advise Mahomedans, if this monstrously unfair scheme should become law, by way of protest to abstain from mixed elections altogether; far better it will be to have no representation at all than to be represented by traitors to the Mahomedan cause.

We must, however, give the *Observer* credit for candour, for it does not mince matters in its utterances. It writes with perfect *naviette* with reference to the ideal of "United India"—an idea accepted by most thoughtful Muhammedans:—

The Muhammadans are too obtuse to clearly perceive the high value of these ideals, and are sordidly practical enough to realise in what direction their interests lie.

This is how the *Observer*, "gives it" to Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterjee, for suggesting in his address as Vice-Chancellor the adoption of the Panjabee language as the medium of instruction in primary schools and to Sir Louis Dane for expressing himself as not quite opposed to this view.

Encouraged by his success in the United Provinces, the Hindu has now started the same controversy in the Punjab, where another *Irish* Lieutenant-Governor is sure to sympathise with his *national* aspirations, *strikingly similar to those of the Irish nationalists.*

So *artfully* has Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterji, the Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, *concealed* the Hindu national ideal in his Convocation address that he may be congratulated for the *subtle* fashion in which he has managed to *hoodwink* such a clever statesman as His Honour Sir Louis William Dane, into the belief that the language question is a purely educational question and has no political aspect at all. It is said that the Convocation speech of Sir Pratul is a specimen of high scholarship and close reasoning. It may appear so to the lay reader, who is ignorant of the fundamental principles which govern the inter-relationship of the various dialects of a language and the growth of independent literatures in such dialects. We cannot praise him for the scholarship revealed in his Convocation speech, but we certainly admire him for the *skill* with which he has *wielded* against the Englishman the very *weapons* the use of which he has learnt from the Englishman himself.

The following comments of the *Panjabee* on the above, do not in our opinion, verge on severity:—

Here, for the *Observer's* purpose, the *Irishman* is suddenly transformed into the *Englishman*, and the writer forgets that the Irishman and the Hindu are charged with the use of the same weapons against the Englishman the use of which they both have learnt from the latter. Are we to understand that Sir Louis Dane is an Irishman when he sympathises with Hindu national aspirations, and an Englishman when he allows himself to be hoodwinked? Does the *Observer* want to prove the Lieutenant-Governor to be a combination of the demagogue and the duffer? The *Observer* may understand the so-called "fundamental principles which govern the inter-relationship of the various dialects of a language," &c., &c., but the confusion of ideas with which it seems

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to be troubled cannot make its conclusions logical, and its spirit of dogmatism is the very reverse of the spirit of scholarship. But the question of greater moment to consider in this connection is not the battle of the languages, but the spirit which the Muslim League mind has developed by a constant pandering to its whims. It is not satisfied with its own share of importance in the Indian polity, but it must stand in the way of the development and advancement of others. Many a wise head has forewarned, from time to time, that the policy of petting Mahomedans, which has been in favour for some time, would lead to a situation in which they would make themselves unmanageable. It would appear the signs are not wanting that the situation is not far distant.

Last, but not least, the *Observer* has surpassed itself in attacking Mr. Syed Ali Imam and calling him a "traitor" for his acceptance at the Behar Provincial Conference of the principle of mixed electorates, side by side with separate electorates for Muhammedans. In reply to its strictures charging him with "betrayal of Muhammedan interests," Mr. Ali Imam has issued to the press a lengthy explanation, from which the following is an extract:—

Surely my association with men whose sentiments are such as these is not betrayal of the trust the Mohamedans have reposed in me. Are not these views and sentiments the same that form the basis of Mohamedan claim since Amritsar? Have I done a disservice to the Mohamedans by associating myself with Mr. Gokhale in helping the Behar Conference to give emphatic expression to and recognition of the Mohamedan claim both as to separate electorate and as to adequacy of seats in full? "Traitor" is a hard word and I expected of a responsible organ of Mohamedan views like the *Observer* to make use of it with some degree of caution, if not magnanimity. At a time when militant opposition to Mohamedan claim has surged from the Calcutta Town Hall to the office of the Panjab Hindu Sabha, I should have thought that the Behar Conference proceedings would have been received by the *Observer* with some gratification.

Such is the *Ovserver* of to-day—an irresponsible paper, abusing all and sundry, from the Secretary of State to the President of the All-India Muslim League. It is open to the *Observer* to say that it and its constituents understand their own interests better than others can; but that can not prevent us from expressing ourselves about the policy of the paper, since it affects public interests.

XXIV.—MYSORE.

Except Mysore, there is no other Indian-governed State, in which there is any press—English or vernacular—worth the name. Even Baroda which, in some matters, is in advance of Mysore, has no press of any consequence. In course of time, the press in Mysore had developed a strong body of public opinion and until last year (when a press law was enacted) there were several important and influential papers—English and vernacular. They were evidently criticising the doings of the Mysore Government with great freedom and so the day of their reckoning came at last. The provisions of the Mysore Press Act of last year—which were explained and criticised in this review at the time it was promulgated—are well-known and so they need not be set forth at length here. The following editorial paragraph in one of the leading Anglo-Indian dailies of Calcutta—the *Indian Daily News*—graphically sums up the provisions of the Act and its results:—

Some time ago, the Mysore Government enacted a Press Law of an extraordinary character. It was a simple and drastic law. No newspaper was to be published without special license, and whenever the Government revoked the license—and this it may do without stating any reason—the newspaper shall stop publication, the press and its appurtenances shall be confiscated and the editor deported from the State. No charge, no trial, but summary confiscation of the press and deportation of the editor! This seemed very nice from the point of view of the State; but naturally the local press did not view it in that light. You cannot have a self-respecting press to exist on the

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Mysore Government's terms. No rule as to criticism is laid down, not the slightest safeguard against the petty tyranny of officials dressed in little brief authority. We note the whole of the Mysore press has committed *hari kari*, among them being two of the oldest English journals and three vernacular journals of repute. There is something pathetic in the circumstances attending the dissolution of these journals. No fault has been alleged against them, and they prefer to wind up, seeing the conditions imposed upon self-respecting journalists are so onerous and intolerable. Now that the newspaper press has ceased to exist in Mysore, the wiseacres who designed this Draconian law will realise the futility of their efforts to interfere by executive action with its freedom. The ruler of Mysore has great powers, but even he cannot have the sort of press he wants, and on his terms. It is a notable lesson to those who hanker after muzzling the press. A little reflection will show that it is the Mysore press that has won and not its would-be persecutors.

As a result of the promulgation of the Act, five leading journals, two English and three vernacular—practically constituting the whole of the Mysore press, considering their influence and importance—deliberately suspended publication, so as to evade the clutches of the new law. The two English journals were the ably-conducted *Mysore Standard*, which was started in 1895, and the older and the very influential *Mysore Herald*, which had to its credit good public work for a period of nearly a quarter of a century. Both these papers were conducted with great ability and public spirit and were fearless exponents of public opinion and critics of abuses of a public character. The valedictory articles in both these papers—which we regret we have no space to reproduce—were pathetic reading. The matter attracted considerable attention at the time and the Act was strongly condemned by not only the whole of the Indian press—English and vernacular—but by even some of the leading organs of Anglo-Indian public opinion, notably by the *Indian Daily News* in the terms quoted above. Some of the re-actionary Anglo-Indian papers suggested a similar enactment for British India and the irrepressible Mr. Rees, either taking his cue from these Anglo-Indian papers or on his own initiative, brought the suggestion to the notice of Mr. Buchanan, the Under-Secretary for India, in the form of a question in the House of Commons. We take the following from the parliamentary report in *India*:—

> Mr. Rees asked whether the Government of Mysore had recently passed a regulation providing, that no newspaper in Mysore should be published without the written permission of the Government, that any person contravening this provision should be required to leave Mysore within a week, and not to return without permission, and providing also for forcible expulsion of the offender and confiscation of his press and his plant; and whether the Bill passed through a Legislative Council consisting of Indian gentlemen without a dissentient voice.
>
> Mr. Buchanan: I understand that the facts are as stated.
>
> Mr. Rees: Do the Government propose to follow this example, and govern India according to native ideas and ideals?
>
> Mr. Buchanan's answer was not audible.

If Mr. Rees were not an incorrigible and unrepentant mischief-maker, one could have commended to him the following observations of the editor of the leading monthly of the United States—the *North American Review*, made in the course of a lecture, recently delivered at the Yale University:—

> A "chartered libertine" the American press may be, as distinctly to-day as when the discriminating Curtis so designated it twenty-five years ago, and yet how true it is now as then, as he hastened to add, that 'no abuse of its privileges can be so great as the evil of its suppression.'

The Mysore enactment did not and could not affect the two English journals, published at Bangalore—the *Daily Post* and the *Bangalore Bulletin*,

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as that place is not within the jurisdiction of the Mysore Government. Of the many new English papers, which were announced to be started, in place of the *Mysore Herald* and the *Mysore Standard* (which had committed *hari kari*) only one, to our knowledge, saw the light. It was the *Mysore Mail*, which was started as the "first daily newspaper in the annals of Mysore," and "the first venture in journalism with the restriction imposed by the Mysore Newspaper Regulation." The conductors, however, found it difficult to keep up "the first daily newspaper in the annals of Mysore" and after announcing its conversion into a bi-weekly, it had at last to stop its publication.

The only other notable incident has been the refusal of the Mysore Government to sanction the starting of four newspapers for which applications were made. The following are the details of two of them as given by the *Hindu*, with its comments:—

In November last, one Mr. L. Ramchandra Row of the General Agency, Mysore, applied for permission under Section 2 of the Regulation to start an Anglo-Kannada weekly newspaper, to be called the *Mysore Patriot*. Three or four weeks before, another Mr. Chokkappa Hebbar, also requested permission to edit and publish an Anglo-vernacular daily newspaper, to be called the *Mysore Mirror*. These two applications were pending till the 29th March, 1909. On that day the following orders were passed on the applications:—"From enquiries made by them, Government learn that the applicant, L. Ramchandra Row, is a young man of about twenty years of age and that he does not possess the qualifications, literary and other, needed for editing and conducting a respectable newspaper. There is also reason to think that the applicant is a mere name-lender and that he has been put forward as the ostensible editor by persons who, for various reasons, wish to keep their connection with the enterprise in the background. Government consider that in such cases as these, in which irresponsible youths come forward as editors and publishers of newspapers, probably merely as a blind, the discretion to grant or refuse permission conferred by the Regulation should be exercised. The permission asked for will accordingly be refused." The order in regard to the other application was as follows:—"From enquiries made by them, Government understand that the applicant is a young man in his teens and a student reading in the Matriculation class. There is reason to think that the applicant has been put forward as the nominal editor, the real persons concerned in the enterprise remaining in the background. The Government consider that the applicant is hardly a fit person to understand the responsible conduct of a newspaper. They are, therefore, not prepared to grant him the permission applied for." It is obvious in either case that what the Government dread most are the supposed real men in the background who are believed to keep their connection with such enterprises secret. In other words, certain persons have rendered themselves obnoxious to the administration and every time an application is made for printing or publishing a newspaper, they could not get rid of the notion on their brain that these persons are at the bottom of such applications. A more helpless state of things for an executive could not be conceived. One of the grounds on which permission was refused to the first of these two applicants, who wanted only to start an Anglo-Kannada weekly newspaper was that he did not possess "the qualifications, literary and other, needed for editing and conducting a respectable newspaper." We had no idea that the Mysore Press Regulation contemplated an examination by the executive in the English and Canarese classics. It would be interesting to know how the examination of the editor candidate was conducted in this case and who were the examiners. In justification of the measure, at the time of the passing of the Regulation, it was stated on behalf of the Government that it did not follow that because they had a law like this it would be necessary to enforce its punitive sections. But this assurance would by no means appear to have been kept in mind, since. Applications, such as the above, rejected on the most frivolous of grounds, throw a lurid light on the real intentions of the framers of the measure.

All this was during the administration of the late Dewan. Mr. Madhava Rao, C. I. E. Since the new Dewan, Mr. Ananda Rao, has assumed office,

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the following amusing incident has occurred with referenee to the Mysore Press Act. The extract is copied from a Madras paper.

Under the auspices of the Ladies' Association at Bangalore, a meeting of the ladies was held to convey their congratulations to Mrs. Ananda Rao, on the office of Dewanship being conferred upon her husband. Mr. Ananda Rao is one of the ardent members of the Association and has been taking considerable interest in the progress and welfare of her sisters. The meeting was attended by nearly 300 ladies and the proceedings were conducted with perfect order. At the close of an interesting programme a congratulatory address was read. After the address was over, Singaramma, of the Srinivasa Mandiram, in a few well chosen words implored the guests of the evening to use her influence with her husband to get the Press Act repealed. This is the first time in the history of India when a number of ladies met to do honour to one of their own sisters and incidentally to voice forth the feelings of their educated brethren. These ladies have by the step they have taken taught a valuable lesson to their brethren here that it did not become them merely to be sitting idle groaning under the wrongs perpetrated and that like men they ought to bestir themselves and make their grievances heard. It is hoped that the earnest entreaties of these ladies couched in such dignified and patriotic language will not be lost upon deaf ears and we trust that Mr. Ananda Rao will, if not for the sake of justice and liberty, at least for the sake of the entreaty of his fair sisters, communicated to him through his wife, will see his way to repeal this barbarous piece of legislation and restore the good name of his family and its liberal instincts.

XXV.—BURMA.

We noticed in our last sketch the appearance of an English weekly at Rangoon, called *United Burma*, owned and edited by Mr. Madanjit. This journal was in the beginning, what might be called a Moderate organ, but under stress of circumstances it began to verge towards Extremism. The Moderate party in Rangoon then established an English weekly of their own and there was naturally no love lost between the two journals. As it happened the new journal had to suspend publication, on which *United Burma* made some nasty remarks about its conductors. This roused the Rangoon Moderates to fresh activity and they revived their journal under a new name. Having done so, they naturally gave vent to their wrath against *United Burma* and the latter returned the compliment. From altercation to recrimination, and from it to high words and literary blows were the inevitable concomitants of the great duel between the two journals, which naturally attracted more attention in Madras than elsewhere, as the conductors of the Moderate organ were natives of the Southern Presidency. For several weeks the controversy raged with terrible fury and it was, no doubt, a source of delight to those who enjoy the washing of dirty linen in public. To us, the "literary" duel—we characterize it by no harsher name—was reminiscent of the scene in Dickens' *Pickwick Papers*, in which a terrible battle was fought between Pott, the editor of the *Eatanswill Gazette* and Slurk, the editor of the *Eatanswill Independent*. Quoth Pott:—"The *Independent*, sir, is still dragging on a wretched and lingering career. Abhorred and despised by even the few who are cognizant of its miserable and disgraceful existence, stifled by the very filth it so profusely scatters; rendered deaf and blind by the exhalations of its own slime; the obscene journal, happily unconscious of its degraded state, is rapidly sinking beneath that treacherous mud which, while it seems to give it firm standing with the low and debased classes of society, is, nevertheless, rising above its detested head, and will speedily engulf it for ever." To which Slurk replied:—"If you can wade through a few sentences of malice, mean-

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ness, falsehood, perjury, treachery, and cant, you will, perhaps, be somewhat repaid by a laugh at the style of this ungrammatical twaddler." To which Pott retorted :—"I consider you, sir, a viper. I look upon you, sir, as a man who has placed himself beyond the pale of society, by his most audacious, disgraceful, and abominable public conduct I view you, sir, personally and politically, in no other light than as a most unparalleled and unmitigated viper." Then the fight began. So was the case between the two Rangoon journals. The new one has since blossomed forth as a daily under the name of the *Rangoon Daily Mail*, while *United Burma* still continues to be a weekly, in the Extremist interest.

As it is possible that readers of the above extract from *Pickwick Papers*, or of a similar scene in Thackeray's *Arthur Pendennis* between the editors of the *Dawn* and the *Day*, may run away with the idea that the kind of journalism portrayed by Dickens and Thackeray as characteristic of the early Victorian era had no existence outside the regions of romance and fiction, we reproduce below a few passages from the leading organs of that period—one of them, the *Times*, still regarded by many as the leading journal of the world—to show how far the two great novelists were justified in making fun of the then prevailing fashion in journalistic amenities and of which we have had so recent an example in Burma.

Here is a genial epigram on the great Irish leader, Daniel O' Connell, from the *Times* of January 1st, 1840 :—

With the frame of a porter, with a visage of brass,
With the heart of a hare, and the lungs of an ass,
With a curse on his lips, and a leer in his eye,
With the tongue of a scold, and the smell of a sty,
The first to insult, and the first to back out,
An impudent bog-trotting mendicant lout—
(When I add one more line you will name him, I hope),
"Tis the jackal of Melbourne, the cur of the Pope"

And here is one in prose from the *Times* of January 3rd, 1840 :—

Let him (O' Connell) placard our names all over Ireland; let him consume his tough lungs in virulence and brutality against us; let him "death's-head" and "marrow-bone" our dwellings, if he dare. Here we stand; here we laugh at him; here we have launched at least a couple of hundred articles that scorched and blasted and consigned him to an age of infamy. . . . He "die in the field!" He means, of course, on a dunghill!

The *Weekly Dispatch* was at that time a very popular paper. Its circulation was at least double that of the *Times*, and of which it was the avowed enemy. The following is from an open letter to Mr. Barnes, the then editor of the *Times*, published on March 22nd, 1840 in the *Dispatch* :—

Saturated with a desire of lucre, the innate depravity of your heart and vulgarity of your mind have so absorbed you in delight of machination and in the enjoyment of malignity, that you have actually forgotten the point you had in view, until you are now nothing more than a debauched, exhausted, impotent and despised nuisance. . . . . Foolish drivelling old man. . . . Mr. Thomas Barnes, your intellect is gone!

Later, in the same year, the two papers had a journalistic duel. The *Weekly Dispatch* wrote on August 30th, 1840 :—

Certain is it that London, amongst all its journals, possesses but one liar of the first magnitude—but one thorough-going, quick-trotting, fast-galloping, out-and-out liar. We need not say that this is the *Times*. The creature is at its dirty work again.

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The next day, August 31st, the *Times* returned fire :—

The fulsome adulation which, like a pot of scented bear's-grease, Alderman Harmer (proprietor of the *Dispatch*) has contrived to procure from his Gravesend toadies, in order to perfume himself for the mayoralty of London, strongly reminds us of the common trick of drunkards, who, in their idle endeavour to preserve appearances, buy a few peppermint lozenges to prevent their breath from betraying them. . . . As the *Times* has been the chief instrument in exposing the dissolute, Deistical and Republican dogmas wherewith Mr. Harmer's paper has been for many years victimising the lower classes, and providing himself with Old Bailey clients, this miserable man, unable to rebut a single statement we have made, is driven to the adoption of a mean and pitiable recrimination. Stung with rage at the part we have taken in securing his rejection from the civic chair, the degraded magistrate, instead of attempting to answer our strictures, resorts to the unavailing artifice of inventing imputations against ourselves. For some time past he has endeavoured to persuade his readers that the editor of the *Times*, during his alleged attendance at the University of Cambridge, was actually guilty of the insane and brutal profanity of administering the Lord's Supper to his horse.

The *Weekly Dispatch* replied to the above on September 6th ;—

You now speak of the story "administering the Lord's Supper to his horse." The assertion of the *Dispatch* was that the individual had administered the Lord's Supper, not to his horse, nor to his ass, but a jackass. How aristocratic you are, Sir ! Not content with changing the jackass to a horse, you convey by innuendo that you kept your horse or horses !

Two more excerpts from the *Times* may be given as curiosities. The first, on Palmerston, subsequently the idol of the *Times*, appeared in its issue of September 14th, 1839 :—

Lord Palmerston—call him cupid, as you say Lucus, a *non lucendo*, if you will—seems to be occupied just now more fittingly than he has been employed for years, whether one regards his morality, his capacity, or his capacity's bent. Having at present no official mischief or mummery on his hands, he has returned to his old, but unacknowledged trade of puffing himself and his colleagues in whatever print he can command. We are sorry, however, to see that the "old young fellow" (fifty-five and more), the "juvenile old whig" (rank Tory till 1830), has his hand rather out ; and that he is not near so smart a lampooner as he was when he slandered his opponents anonymously in a Sunday print some years ago.

The next and last excerpt is a comment on the British Association, and appeared in the *Times* on September 9th, 1839 :—

The annual gaudeamus which they have just terminated at Birmingham has differed in nothing from its predecessors except that . . . the opportunities of display afforded to solemn and loquacious dunces—the discreditable intriguing for preferences and distinctions—the artificial hatching of addled astronomers and geologists—the fulsome admiration of the turtle and champagne school . . . all of which constituted the opprobrium of the British Association in former years, have in 1839 increased and completed its disgrace. That eight or ten distinguished men can find their vanity flattered by the toadyship of some 1500 ignoramuses, to whose elaborated mare's nests they are obliged in return to extend a humiliating applause, is to us infinitely less intelligible than that the said toadies should be ambitious of yoking their insignificance to such a car. . . . That a man of his high scientific reputation (Mr. Babbage) could allow himself to be made a cat's-paw of by Mr. Impey Murchison, or by any imp in existence, was scarcely to be expected ; and we are much mistaken if . . . such transactions, as we have now detailed, do not occasion a general secession of eminent men from the mummyism and puppism of this drivelling association !

Those who are hard upon the newspapers and journals conducted by Indians, especially in the vernaculars, might do worse than modify the severity of their judgment after going through the extracts we have printed above.

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TOPICS OF THE DAY.

By Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

Provincial Executive Councils—Mahomedan Representation—Features of the Debates on the Councils Bill—Functions of the Government of India—Recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission—Indians in the Transvaal—The case of the Deportees—Budgets and Budget Debates—Provincial Conference—The Acquittal of Mr. Aravindo Ghose—Indians as Judicial Commissioners.

I.

THE Indian Councils Bill has passed both Houses of Parliament and become an Act on receiving the Royal assent, which was only a formality. The chief features of the debates in the two Houses may be stated with a few remarks on the same.

The clause enabling the Government of India to bring into existence Executive Councils in provinces ruled by Lieutenant-Governors was first dropped, then re-introduced in a slightly modified form, and further amended and, in the process of emendation, restricted in its scope. The exact position at present is that an Executive Council will be established in the Lower Provinces alone (thanks to the friendly attitude of the Honourable Sir Edward Baker), and that before one can be created in any of the other provinces, Parliamentary sanction has to be obtained. The feeling cannot be resisted that with the best will in the world Lord Morley has made a greater surrender to the House of Lords than he need have done. Certainly his Lordship knew much better than we in this country can do whether it was rendered necessary by the amendment of which Lord Cromer gave notice, but the opinion has been expressed in more than one London newspaper that the Upper Chamber was in a mood to accept Mr Hobhouse's amendments passed by the House of Commons. As it is, it is still satisfactory that an Act will not have to be passed afresh every time that a Provincial Executive Council is to be established, but only Parliament's sanction has to be obtained to the Proclamation of the Government of India. It will, we fear, be some considerable time before the Government of India exercises the power conferred on it by the Act, as the Conservative Government which will succeed the Asquith Ministry will not allow any advance to be made.

May we say in this connection what serious injustice has been done to the United Provinces by the non-establishment of an Executive Council? So long ago as in 1833, Parliament passed an

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Act for the introduction of Council Government with a Governor, as in the case of Madras and Bombay, in the province of Agra. That Act still stands on the Statute book. Since that year, as the Provincial Conference at Agra has pertinently reminded the Government and the Secretary of State, the area of the province has been extended by the annexation and amalgamation of Oudh, the population has considerably increased, the revenues of the Government have been vastly enhanced, the administration has become more organised and complex, a political consciousness has grown among the people consequent on the spread of education. With what reason can the people here be refused a concession which is to be extended to their neighbours of the Lower Provinces? It cannot be on the ground of the less advance made by these Provinces, in education and industry as the larger part of the Lower Provinces as it is at present constituted, is not the advanced Bengal but the provinces of Behar and Orissa, with only a small part of Bengal with which the United Provinces have no reason to fear comparison. Many of the advanced districts of Bengal are in the new province which is not to get an Executive Council. Bengal as people knew it before, was cut in twain so recently as in 1905 to enable the Lieutenant-Governor to attend to his duties without being over-burdened with work, and again relief is to be given to him by the establishment of an Executive Council. We could have understood the *rationale* of Bengal alone being so favoured, had Lord Curzon's blunder been undone and the two Bengals re-united and placed under a Governor in Council or even a Lieutenant-Governor in Council, but not in the situation as it exists. Notwithstanding the gift of an Executive Council? Bengal will and is bound to remain dissatisfied so long as the Bengali-speaking community is not brought together again. More. We shall be vastly surprised if the very establishment of an Executive Council does not accentuate discontent, for the advanced people of the sundered districts will be without a Council and obliged to tolerate the rule of a single man (and that too a Sir Lancelot Hare) while their brothers of the Western districts will enjoy the good fortune of being ruled by a ruler of the stamp of Sir Edward Baker, aided by a Council of which one of the members will probably be an Indian. Next, Behar's dissatisfaction will not be abated by a pin's head, as notwithstanding its larger area and greater population and in spite of its repeated prayers, it is condemned to remain a subordinate partner of Bengal between whose children and educated Beharis there is unhappily not much love lost. Thirdly, the people of the United Provinces have the

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justest cause to be highly dissatisfied at their neglect by the Government. At numerous meetings in the districts of both Agra and Oudh, an Executive Council for these Provinces was asked for. Hindus and Mahomedans, zemindars and taluqdars, landholders and lawyers, —have vied with one another in demanding it, till it became in the language of Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan (at the Agra Conference) the demand of the nation. This universality has been contemptuously ignored. Are the people then to be blamed if they will conclude, as Nawab Sajjad Ali Khan truly said (at the same place), that they are made to pay the penalty of their silence and quietness?

One word remains to be said here, and it is to express the deep disappointment of the people at the action of the Honourable Sir John Hewett, who is understood to have strongly opposed the establishment of an Executive Council. It is the unfortunate truth that His Honour's popularity has been considerably affected among thinking men of the community, by his attitude of unfriendliness in this all important matter. It is contrasted with that of the the Hon: Sir Edward Baker and suggested that while Sir John Hewett is a sympathetic administrator of unquestioned capacity, he does not seem to be so much of a friend of their political aspirations.

It is confidently hoped that announcements will be made at an early date of the appointment of Indian members of the Bombay and Madras Legislative Councils, and of the establishment of an Executive Council in the Lower Provinces with an Indian member thereon. And it is to be trusted, too, that the choice of Government will in all three instances be not less happy than that of the Law Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council. A wrong appointment will deprive the privilege conferred of half of its value in the eyes of the people. Merit, which comprehends ability and character, ought to be as we are sure it will be, the sole criterion, and it may be hoped too, that service of the country in the sphere of political activity will not be held to disentitle a man to a seat on the Executive Councils.

II.

The chief question with reference to Legislative Councils is that of Mahomedan representation. And in this matter we are compelled to the reluctant conclusion that the subject has not been handled with skill or success by the Secretary of State or the Government of India. The first blunder was made by His Excellency the Viceroy when he incautiously committed himself to untenable positions from which his Government and the Secretary of State find it a no easy task to extricate themselves. This was in reply to the Mahomedan

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Deputation of 1906, which has been exploited for all that it is worth, but the genesis of which may disclose several interesting though ugly facts. We do not propose to discuss this, however. The second blunder was a consequence of the first, and, if we may judge from the general character of that document, the authors of the despatch of 1907—now happily forgotten—must have been only too willing to make ample recognition of Mahomedans' special position. For a third time, the Government of India declared the same views in 1908. This was in their dispatch of last October. They had the less excuse to do so on this occasion, as they had before them the opinions of the several Provincial Governments who, with a greater knowledge of and regard for the realities of the situation, more or less concurred in opposing special representation of any one community. Sir John Hewett was the one Lieutenant-Governor who was in favour of separate electorates, but even he stoutly resisted the proposal for separate representation on municipal and rural boards. Lord Morley seemed to clearly perceive that a different arrangement was called for, if unity was to be preserved among the different communities composing the great Indian nation and he accordingly put forward a scheme of mixed electoral colleges by which to secure the proportional representation of all sections of the people; and in this his Lordship took care not to distinguish between one minority and another. This scheme was a perfectly workable one, and it was at the same time equitable. The Mahomedans, as represented by the Moslem League, took it into their head to oppose this scheme and organised an active agitation in the course of which many fantastic suggestions were made and inexcusable sentiments uttered which did no credit to the heads or the hearts of their authors. Opponents of Indian reform both here and in England ranged themselves on the side of the Moslem League. The agitation unfortunately succeeded in unnerving Lord Morley to a certain extent, with the result that he announced in the course of his speech in the second reading debate in the House of Lords the abandonment of his own scheme, to which however he continued to give his intellectual assent as was clear from the speech, and his intention to concede the demands of the Moslem League for exclusive as well as disproportionate representation. This declaration was the signal for a counter-agitation among Hindus. It is risky in these days to affirm that the opinion of Hindus carries weight with Government when it is opposed to that of Mahomedans, and so we cannot say to what extent this counter-agitation influenced their deliberations, but the statements of Mr. Buchanan (whose serious illness, by the way, has

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caused widespread regret among Indians) and the Government of India's telegram read by Mr. Hobhouse in the House of Commons, had a somewhat reassuring effect on the public mind of non-Muslim India, as it was made clear that the Government of India adhered to their original scheme propounded in their dispatch of 1st October and that Muslims and non-Muslims would not be divided into water-tight compartments right through from village *punchayet* up to the Viceroy's Council and that there would be joint elections in certain stages. But though this very scheme had previously called forth effusive expressions of gratitude from the spokesmen of the Moslem League, it now failed to evoke any satisfaction and an agitation characterised by an amount of acerbity against the Government and antipathy to the Hindus was again started. Clearly unmerited success and nauseating tributes to their alleged superiority in loyalty, political importance and what not, made them spoilt children. The opponents of Indian reform in the House of Commons eagerly seized that opportunity afforded by this renewed Mahomedan agitation to move amendments to and deliver attacks on the Bill and the policy of which it was the expression. The Indian Mahomedans, we hope, will yet feel convinced that rabid enemies of Indian progress like the Earl of Ronaldshay and Mr. Joynson Hicks are not friends or spokesmen of which they may be proud. The agitation again seems to have done its work, and the Government again seems to be wavering between adhesion to their scheme of 1st October 1908 and absolute surrender to the Moslem League. Mr. Hobhouse, whatever may be his other merits, does not seem to posses, the gift of lucid exposition, and it is difficult from his several speeches to make ought definitely what is going to be done eventually. It seems to us that the Secretary of State and the Government of India failed to examine every aspect and detail of the subject from all points of view as statesmen should have done when, they excelled each other in making all sorts of promises to the Moslim League, and now find it a by no means easy task to work out these pledges in actual administration. Nor can the Government look to the Moslem League for assistance in solving the difficulties of its creation. Of course, it is none of the League's business to descend to particulars. Its duty is done when it has sung in diverse tunes on the necessity for an amount of representation in excess of the community's numerical proportion by means of exclusive electorates uncontaminated by the touch or shadow of Hindus. We have done no injustice to the Government in stating the position as we have done, for we have Mr. Hobhouse's authority therefor. In his speech in

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Parliament on the Earl of Ronaldshay's amendment in the report stage, he said :—

The Government of India have made enquiries, and in the course of making enquiries they discovered the difficulties in carrying out what they want and what we want .... Every endeavour will be made by the Government of India and the Government at home to remove any sort or kind of obstacle which may be found to be within our power to the carrying out of the pledges which have been given before this House. But it is quite impossible, looking to the diverse conditions to be found in every province, to set up a set of rules for elections which shall be uniform and identical. That is the whole difficulty which, as anybody who knows India knows, must be with the Government in carrying out the pledges we have given to the House.

The Hindus have no reason to thank the Government for their attitude on the question, still we cannot withhold a word of sympathy from them who have unwittingly allowed themselves to be landed in untenable positions by men who have an unreasoning distrust of and unworthy disregard for their Hindu fellow-countrymen. The Secretary of State and the Government have shown a regrettable lack of skill, firmness, consistency as well as of a clear understanding of their own mind in the whole of this affair, and we respectfully express the hope that the lesson will not be lost on them. Meanwhile, let us be done with this most disagreeable, unfortunate and fruitless controversy. But this cannot be until the Government of India make a final declaration of their intention. We pray them not to delay, for the sake of ending the controversy.

III.

Another matter in connection with the reforms that was debated at length in the House of Commons was the suggestion that deported persons might be disqualified from becoming members of Legislative Councils. Mr. Makarness moved an amendment that this should not be, but Mr. Hobhouse speaking for the Government declined to accept it. He, however, said in his speech that it was not intended permanently to disqualify a deported man. Reading the whole of Mr. Hobhouse's speech, we find it difficult to say what exactly he meant to convey or what is the precise intention of the Government. This we will say for ourselves, that even the temporary disqualification of a single deported man, for no other reason than that this unjust punishment has been imposed upon him, cannot be approved. The reasons for our being irreconcilably opposed to such proceeding were stated at length in an editorial article that appeared in these pages in April and need not be repeated.

Of the speeches delivered in either house in various stages of the debate, Lord Morley's own deliverances and Mr. Asquith's speech in

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the second reading debate must be welcomed as breathing a spirit of genuine Liberalism. Mr. Buchanan's speech in moving the second reading was an able and every way excellent performance and it is matter for regret that illness should have prevented him from piloting this Bill in its subsequent stages. Without doubt he would have brought greater ability to bear on the task. We are grateful to Lords Ripon, Reay and Courtney, to Sir Charles Dilke and Sir Henry Cotton, to Dr. Rutherford and Messrs. Makarness and O'Donnell for their speeches in behalf of progress and reform. The attitude of the Conservative party became in the later stages pronouncedly hostile, and we trust that those of our countrymen who profess to find no distiction between a Liberal and a Conservative Government have not failed to learn the lesson that the speeches of Lords Curzon and Cromer, Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Balfour and Earl Percy convey. It is inconceivable that these defenders of vested interests and friends of bureaucracies and autocracies—men to whom reform has very little meaning and imperialism is the very breath of the nostrils—would ever have taken the initiative as Lord Morley to his infinite and lasting credit has done. Lord MacDonnell's attitude should teach our people that not every able and sympathetic admintstrator is a progressive statesman. And Mr. Smeaton's discreditable and insulting speech at the report stage ought to make us pause before believing in the sincerity of the friendship professed by every Anglo-Indian who may have had his own reasons for being *agen* the Government for the time being. Well, the Bill is now law, and India is decidedly the better for the event. And again and again do we tender our grateful thanks to Lords Morley and Minto for this valuable act of friendly statesmanship for which they will long be remembered in this country with the utmost esteem and regard.

The regulations remain to be framed. We hope they will be conceived in the same liberal spirit as were the dispatches of October and November last. We must no doubt be prepared for some disappointment. It would be strange inexperience of politics and of the world which would expect that in every respect the views of the Government and the people would coincide or that the regulations would not fall short of reasonable expectations or even the requirements of the situation. Wherever this may be so, it would be the duty of public bodies to make every possible constitutional endeavour to secure a removal of deficiencies and obtain modifications of the regulations. It will be a sad mistake if anybody thinks that nothing remains to be done as the Bill has been passed. In a sense the real work lies ahead as the Bill is but a skeleton measure and a very great deal turns upon

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the character of the regulations. It it to be hoped therefore that activity and not apathy will be the watchword of political associations in dealing with the developments of the reform scheme.

IV.

The Report of the Decentralisation Commission is an informing and instructive document which amply repays perusal. Its summary of the existing administrative arrangements is very ably done, and every student of Indian politics should master it. Having briefly described the machinery of the Central Government, and before considering the organization and powers of the Provincial Administrations, the Commissioners have made a few general observations on the functions of the Government in India, which deserve to be laid to heart. These are in many respects, much wider than in the United Kingdom. They show at a glance what a vast and complex organisation is this Government of India—what rare powers of statecraft it puts under requisition—what amount of training and experience are acquired to run this machine smoothly—and what signal testimony it is to the genius of Britons for ruling men that they manage all these affairs of a foreign and an alien people without a hitch. What priceless moral qualities the ruling nation must have developed in the course of centuries of constant battling with difficult problems, and what an amount of prolonged and extended discipline Indians have to put themselves to in one and all spheres of the nation's life before they can say with confidence that they are as truly fitted as their rulers at present are for governing their country themselves. And what people are there in the world who can make better teachers in these arts than Britons? That is why our late great teacher, Mahadeo Govind Ranade used to say that Englishmen are in India in a twofold capacity—as rulers, of course, but not less as teachers. And now we will reproduce the passage from the Report of the Decentralization Commission. (pp. 12—3):—

The Government claims a share in the produce of the land; and save where (as in Bengal) it has commuted this into a fixed land tax, it exercises the right of periodical re-assessment of the cash value of its share. In connection with its revenue assessments it has instituted a detailed cadastral survey, and a record of rights in the land. Where its assesments are made upon large landholders, it intervenes to prevent their levying excessive rents from their tenants, and in the Central Provinces it even takes an active share in the original assessment of landlord's rents. In the Punjab, and some other tracts, it has restricted the alienation of land by agriculturists to non-agriculturists. It undertakes the management of landed estates when the proprietor is disqualified from attending to them by age, sex, or infirmity, or occasionally, by pecuniary embarrassment. In times of famine it undertakes relief works and other remedial measures upon an extensive scale. It manages a vast

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forest property, and is a large manufacturer of salt and opium. It owns the bulk of the railways of the country, and directly manages a considerable portion of them ; and it has constructed and maintains, most of the important irrigation works. It owns and manages the postal and telegraph systems. It has the monopoly of note issue, and it alone can set the mints in motion. It acts, for the most part as its own banker, and it occasionally makes temporary loans to Presidency banks in times of financial stringency. With the co-operation of the Secretary of State it regulates the discharge of the balance of trade, as between India and the outside world, through the action of the India Council's drawings. It lends money to municipalities, rural boards and agriculturists, and occasionally to the owners of historic estates. It exercises a strict control over the sale of liquor and intoxicating drugs, not merely by the prevention of unlicensed sale, but by granting licenses for short periods only, and subject to special fees which are usually determined by auction. In India, moreover, the direct responsibilities of Government in respect to police, education, medical and sanitary operations, and ordinary public works, are of a much wider scope than in the United Kingdom. The Government has further very intimate relations with numerous Native States which collectively cover more than one-third of the whole area of India, and comprise more than one-fifth of its population. Apart from the special functions narrated above, the government of a sub-continent containing nearly 1,800,000 square miles and 300,000,000 people is in itself an extremely heavy burden, and one which is constantly increasing with the economic development of the country and the growing needs of populations of diverse nationality, language and creed.

V.

It is not possible, nor is it very necessary, to deal with all the recommendations of the Commission. Many of them are of merely departmental interest if we may say so and do not concern the public over-much. Nor are those who have no inside knowledge of the working of the administrative machinery in a position to make useful criticism of these recommendations. Leaving these alone, we have other recommendations touching subjects both more important and more closely affecting the public weal, which require careful consideration. These relate to Provincial Finance, Local Self-Government, District Advisory Councils and the delegation of powers by superior to subordinate authorities. They received adequate attention from the United Provinces and Behar Provincial Conferences that were held in April at Agra and Bhagalpore respectively, and the opinions embodied in the resolutions passed thereat, ought to prove generally acceptable. The Commission says with reference to Provincial Finance that in present circumstances it is generally satisfied with the financial relations now existing between the Government of India and Local Governments. We fear this feeling will not be shared by the general public. It is notorious that almost no Provincial Government has placed at its disposal a proportion of the revenues raised in its province adequate for the due performance of the duties cast upon it. And as the departments for which a Provincial Government are

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those on the progressive efficiency of which the well-being and advancement of the people depends, the people rightly make the cause of the Provincial Governments their own. The Commission's recommendations on this head are timid to a degree, nor are the reasons they assign for rejecting the bolder proposals put before them by some of the witnesses of a convincing character. The Commission suggests that when fixed assignments in any province become unduly large, they should be commuted, as circumstances permit, into shares of growing revenue ; and that when the revenues of Provincial Governments require general increase, this might be provided by gradually provincialising certain heads of revenue which are now divided. Further, the suggestion is made that if Provincial Legislative Councils obtain an effective control over Provincial finances it will be necessary hereafter to give the Provinces more distinct sources of revenue and greater powers over their budgets, as well as to allow Local Governments to impose special Provincial taxation, subject to the preliminary sanction of the Government of India. Two of the members, Sir Steyning Edgerley and Mr. W. L. Hichens, in a separate note, urge that the time has come when the number of divided heads ought to be materially reduced. Sir Frederick Lely would leave it 'to the local authorities to decide what to do with the grant the receive.' He also prominently mentions the fact that 'each Local Government must be keenly conscious of crying demands which cannot be met,' for want of funds. The arguments of the Commission against one of the proposals placed before it for improving the existing Provincial Financial arragements, *viz.*, that definite proportions of the total revenues raised in a province should be assigned respectively to the Provincial and Imperial Governments, are altogether inconclusive. This arrangement would have the effect at once of simplifying the system and of improving the financial position of the Provincial Governments (provided, of course, a reasonable and equitable apportion ment is made), and we confess we are not at all convinced that the Commission is right in rejecting it.

The recommendations dealing with the extension of local self-government are generally satisfactory and acceptable. They ought to be approved by the Government, as they mark but a cautious advance over the existing arrangements, and equally by the people as in several respects they tend to make local self-goverment more of a reality than at present. The Commission proposes the revival of village *punchayat* and the granting to them of definite powers and responsibilities and of funds to carry out their obligations, without at the same time the imposition of fresh taxation ; and increase of the

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elective element in, relaxation of official contral over, and improvement of the financial position of, municipal as well as rural boards. Indeed the Commission might have gone farther in the direction of reform, but partial relief is all that can be secured in many an affair in this world, and so the Commission's recommendations may well be supported by Indian public opinion.

It is to be regretted that the Commission has made the double mistake of both recommending a large increase in the powers of local executive officers and the non-establishment of administrative or Advisory Councils in districts to act with the Collector. If Lord Morley's intention 'to make a breach in the bureaucratic system' of administration is to be realised, if the people are to have confidence in the day-to-day administration of the district which so intimately touches the daily life of the people, if those who do the thinking and the speaking for the masses are to be made to feel that they are not nobodies contemptuously kept at a distance but men in whom the Government reposes confidence and who therefore ought to conduct themselves as responsible advisers of the officers of Government, if the only link between the Government and the people is not to be 'the hated link of the police,' if the Collector is not to make himself more unpopular and troublesome than at present in the exercise of the larger powers which it is proposed to vest in him, then the creation of such Councils must be held to be a paramount necessity. The Honourable Mr. Gokhale, among other Indian witnesses, went fully into the subject in his masterly evidence before the Commission, and it is to be regretted that no attempt has been made by it to meet his arguments though his proposal has been rejected. The Commission simply does not want an addition to the number of boards, councils and committees already in existence. It accordingly contents itself with the suggestion that the Collector might take the opinion of district boards in matters which are not legally within their purview. But it is not sought to make an obligation on him to do so, and it may be safely assumed that he will not take such course when he is not bound to do so. It is right that Mr. Dutt has dissented from the majority of the Commission in their view of the matter. He

thinks that an Advisory Council, with some provision for its giving help to the Collector in his executive work, would make district administration more efficient and popular. The isolation of the district administration which is virtually a one-man-rule, is, he thinks, the real cause of much discontent in India, and to invest the Collector with larger powers, as we recommend in this report, without some provision to associate the people with him in his general work, would create discontent and dissatisfaction among the people.

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Here speaks the Indian statesman with a real insight into things. We suggest that Indian public bodies may take a strong line in regard to this matter in any representations they may address to Government. They may definitely say.—'Either establish Advisory Councils, or do not increase the powers of District Officers.' The latter without the former will make the last state of affairs worse than the first.

A word has to be said on two other recommendations of the Commission, one by way of approval and commendation, the other for thoroughly dissenting from. The first is 'that the general principles of (land revenue) assessment, such for instance, as the proportion of the net profits on the land which the Government shall be entitled to take, and the period of settlements, should be embodied in provincial legislation instead of being left to executive order, as is now the case outside Bombay.' (P. 95, par. 252.) This is the recognition of a prinicple for which our friends in Madras have long contended. The evils of present practice have been thoroughly exposed by them times out of number, and by none with greater ability or persistence than Mr. Ganjam Vencataratnam—a painstaking and exceptionally informed publicist, whose disappearance from the arena of public contention owing to continued illness is nothing less than a public calamity. Thanks to the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils, non-official members will in future possess substantial powers in provincial Legislative Councils, and the carrying out of this recommendation of the Commission will therefore be the more useful and valued.

The recommendation for 'the enactment of a general Delegation Act on lines analogous to that which has worked so well in Sind, so as to enable the transmission of executive powers from a higher to a lower authority by Government notification' (P. 146, par. 416) we should regard as highly retrograde and bordering on the dangerous, notwithstanding the limitations and safeguards subject to which the power is to be exercised. The large enlargement of the area of executive jurisdiction which will result from this, together with a corresponding curtailment of the sphere of independent action by the Legislature, is objectionable as an encroachment on the province of the latter, as a principle which is in itself and will not work to the advantage of the people and practice, and as a measure which involves a curtailment of the liberties of the people and will have the effect of tightening the grip of the local executive officers over the people, who are obliged even now to go before them with bated breath and whispering humbleness. We entirely endorse what Mr. Dutt

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has stated in dissenting from this proposal for a General Delegation Act.

Mr. Dutt thinks that a General Delegation Act, empowering removal of legislative safeguards by executive orders is bad in principle. A general Act of the kind proposed does not exist in any part of the British Empire, and the numerous delegations proposed by local Governments clearly indicate the dangers of such an Act in India. All reasonable delegations, requiring amendment of the law, can be effected by a few amending Acts with schedules passed by Legislative Councils after due consideration, while to give a "blank cheque" to the executive would create alarm in India. And it would be considered a breach of faith, Mr. Dutt thinks, if existing Acts be altered under powers now conferred by a General Delegation Act.' (P. 146.)

We hope that Legislative Councils will take care to disregard the dangerous suggestion of the Commission (P. 147, par. 417) that future Acts should, as far as possible, give wide powers of delegation by executive notification. Already too much rule-making power is given to the executive, and it ought by no means to be extended.

VI

The position of our unhappy but most persevering and honoured countrymen in the Transvaal has steadily grown worse since the subject was last discussed in this review, and is fast becoming intolerable and impossible. The *Natal Mercury* took exception to the characterisation of the attitude of the Colonial Government as callous, but what else is it? Can any one who has perused the latest blue-book on the subject help stigmatising as heartless in the extreme the colossal indifference of Generals Botha and Smuts to the sufferings of the brave and just among Indians? But the easy conscienceless ness with which the consideration of so urgent a question is approached by the Transvaal Government cannot rouse in us more righteous indignation than the meek willingness of Lord Crewe and his colleagues of His Majesty's Government to allow things to take their own course. The hesitancy and humbleness with which alone the Secretary of State for the Colonies can venture to approach the almighty Dutch Government would be ludicrous and arouse nothing but pitiful laughter, were it not the cause of untold suffering and disastrous ruin to as honourable a body of men as ever graced our poor humanity. Mr. Gandhi has just been released, after undergoing for the third time, hard labour in jail and the latest report states that he starved himself there as a measure of passive resistance against the inhuman and vicious jail regulations which do not enable the Indian prisoners to satisfy their hunger. It is nothing but that, defeated at every step and disgraced, oppressed and ruined beyond measure and beyond endurance, our injured countrymen have become desperate

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and begun to attribute the failure of their heroic efforts for the good name of their nation and their motherland to the indifference of Indians out here to their cry of anguish. Public men and public bodies alike in India of every party and every shade of political opinion have sorrowfully to plead guilty to the charge that they have not been as active as they ought to have been and to be in defence of their kith and kin—the blood of their blood and the bone of their bone, who are engaged in the unequal moral struggle in the inhospitable and rude South Africa. At the same time we would beg of the latter to remember this in extenuation of the comparative inactivity of people here, that it is little that they can do beyond holding public meetings and sending up petitions and prayers to an authority which has all but abdicated the functions of a supreme government. The Government of India has no power of direct intervention, and even the Secretary of State for India can only approach his colleague, their Secretary of State for the Colonies for redress. Unfortunately for India neither the late nor the present Colonial Secretary is a particularly able man endowed with insight and foresight, and both Lord Elgin and Lord Crewe have failed to rise equal to the occasion. While His Majesty's Government as a whole seem to leave the solution of the grave and far-reaching issues involved in this truly imperial controversy to the unaided judgment of the Colonial Secretary. All the same, it is the duty of the Government of India not to rest until a solution which does not outrage the national self-respect of Indians nor involve the Indians settled in the colony in material ruin and moral degradation, has been reached. Should not retaliatory measures be adopted even when a colony has become so dead to fairness and reason as well as imperial obligations as has the Transvaal? It is the duty of the people of India to press this on the Government. It is to be hoped they will will subordinate all other questions to this one of compelling urgency and do everything that is within their means to support the righteous cause of their suffering brethren across the seas. Meanwhile we offer the brave and noble patriots in and outside the jails of the Transvaal our sympathies and our congratulations and wish to give expression to the universal feeling in India that no mother can hope for truer or worthier children than it is India's pride to possess in the Indians settled in the Transvaal, and that when a race is still capable of producing men of the stamp of Mr. Gandhi that race need not despair of the future.

VII

Indians are deeply beholden to Mr. Makarness and his colleagues of the Indian Civil Rights Committee for their unceasing efforts for

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the release of our nine deported countrymen. It is no exaggeration to say that Mr. Mackarness has not allowed the grass to grow under his feet. By raising a debate on the Address and in the Committee stage of the Indian Councils Bill and by untiring and ceaseless interpellation, Mr. Makarness has kept the question well to the fore. A largely signed petition too has been submitted to the Prime Minister. Mr. Asquith's answer to it is highly unsatisfactory. He repeats the vague insinuation first made by the Under Secretary for India that the deported men incited to anarchical violence. The countrymen of the deportees will indignantly repudiate this calumny against such men as Babus Aswini Kumar Dutt and Krishna Kumar Mitter, unless and until the most conclusive proof of their guilt is adduced by their accusers. Government in India for the most part acts on police testimony. It is so shut off from the people that it is without genuine and respectable sources of information. In the language of Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt 'the hated link of the police' is the only connection between the Government and the people. How dangerous it is for the Government to take so grave a step as the deprivation of free citizens of their liberty on the mere strength of police testimony was exposed two years ago in the Rawal Pindi case, last year in the Midnapur case and but yesterday in the Barah dacoity case. The story of the manufacture of dacoities by the police that has come from Bahraich in the United Provinces has its own moral to convey. Nor are the strictures made by Hunt and Sankara Menon, JJ, of the Travancore High Court in the Trevandrum riot appeals helpful to those who are prepared on police evidence to hang men, when the hanging of a cat evil not be justified. The late Sir James Davies, one of the most fearless men, who adorned the bench of the High Court, at Madras, once delivered himself of the *dictum* that it was nothing but creditable if a Magistrate disbelieved police evidence, other things being equal. Lately in the House of Commons Sir Charles Dilke quoted from the evidence of the Inspector-General of Police of the Punjab before the Decentralisation Commission to establish this same point of the unsatisfactory and unreliable character of the work of the Criminal Investigation Department. And it is to the point to note that Sir Charles Dilke did so in speaking on this very question of deportation on Mr. Makarness amendment. We do not forget that the spokesmen of the Government have said more than once that they have very reliable sources of information. We want to know what these are. Was merely police report or something more valuable upon which the Government acted? To take shelter behind the plea that it is

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not in the public interest to disclose the information in its possession might possibly have given rise to no complaint a century ago, it fails absolutely to convince anybody now. Suppose the Government is justified in withholding information from the public; what excuse is there to keep it from the knowledge of the deported persons themselves? How in the name of wonder are these unfortunate men to vindicate their innocence, if they are not to be told what charges they have to meet? What is the objection to tell them (in private if you so will) why they have been punished, so that they may at least make an effort to satisfy their accusers that they have acted wrongly? To do nothing of the kind and to make insinuations which they cannot meet, is not a method of proceeding of which a Liberal Government may be proud. This is adding insult to injury.

VIII.

The Budget of the Government of India was laid before the Supreme Legislative Council on the 22nd March and the academic discussion on it took place a week later. After a series of prosperity budgets the Finance Member was faced with a deficit, and hence arose the need for retrenchment after a period of prodigal finance. The country is indebted to the Honourable Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson for having arranged to meet the deficit without resort to fresh taxation. At the same time it was distinctly disappointing that he made no serious contribution to the discussion on high prices nor did he say anything definite regarding the proposed expert enquiry into this embarrassing economic phenomenon. Can it be that the suspicion has seized hold of the mind of the Government that enquiry may establish the soundness of the criticism which holds the heavy coinage of rupees to be the immediate and its whole currency muddling to be the underlying cause of the rise in precis? On the speech-making day a week later, the Honourable Mr. Dadabhoy distinguished himself by his outspoken criticism of the policy of favouritism to a particular community which is a recent development in the Indian Government and the Honourable Mr. Gokhale by his searching analysis of questions relating to finance and currency. His Excellency the Viceroy made one of his happy speeches breathing simple sincerity and genuine sympathy for the people.

The dominating feature of the Madras Financial statement was the accumulation of a balance of 118 lakhs. The Honourable Mr. Krisnaswami Iyer pertinently criticised this policy of accumulating huge cash balances when the money could be so profitably utilised in several directions and (it goes without saying) failed to elicit a convincing answer in defence of it although, naturally enough, the

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official members refused, to believe that whatever they did was not right thing to do. The chief incident of the debate was a formidable indictment of Madras jail administration by the Honourable Mr. P. Kesava Pillai. The Honourable Mr. Forbes grow furious over the attack and delivered a speech in reply which for heated temper and bad form was all that he would have done well to avoid. Neither Mr. Forbes nor His Excellency the Governor, who too spoke with warmth, succeeded in disproving Mr. Pillai's facts or allegations.

The budgets of Bengal, the United Provinces and Eastern Bengal and Assam were distressful to a degree. None of these Provincial Governments has money adequate for all the purposes of a progressive administration. The last of these is bankrupt and is simply living on the bounty of the Supreme Government. A new settlement has been concluded between the latter and the United Provinces Government, but the Provinces do not fare much better under it and many useful educational, industrial and sanitary projects will have to remain indefinitely hung up for want of funds unless the supreme master of the Stater evenues relents and makes a further dole to these always neglected Provinces. As regards the Lower Provinces, Sir Edward Baker's strong criticism seems to have told and the Finance Member has almost promised to consider its case. The 'debate' in the Provincial Council was distinguished by the very liberal-minded speech of Sir Edward Baker in support of the establishment of an Executive Council for the provinces. With the exception of Sir George Clarke no other Provincial ruler would have spoken so sympathetically.

IX

The Third United Provinces Conference was held at Agra, the Second Behar Conference at Bhagalpore, and the Second Sind Conference at Hyderabad during Easter. There were Industrial Conferencesas well at the first two places, and Social Conferences at Agra and Hyderabad. Sind does not hold an Industrial Conference, nor Behar a Social Conference. It is to be hoped that these deficiencies will be supplied next year. All the Conferences were highly successful and did a deal of useful public service. Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma—an exceptionally good- hearted man and a veteran publicist—as President of the Agra Conference, Mr. S. Sinha as President at Bhagalpore and Mr. Bulchand Dayaram at Hyderabad delivered speeches marked by great ability, in which they took a comprehensive review of the situation in the country and discussed wisely and well the needs of their own respective provinces. The resolutions passed at the three places were on the whole sober, informed and responsible

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statements of the policy that should be pursued by the Government in the matters with which they deal. Mr. Yusuf Ali and Kumar Krityananda Sinha delivered excellent speeches as Presidents of the United Provinces and Behar Industrial Conferences, while Pandit Motilal Nehru's almost combative plea for social reform had a freshness about it which made it more than ordinarily interesting. The Sind Social Conference rendered itself conspicuous by throwing out the usual proposition against enforced widowhood.

X.

The Alipore case at last terminated, just after a year of the institution of proceedings against the many accused. Much to the relief of his countrymen, Mr. Aravindo Ghose was acquitted. We heartily congratulate our talented countryman on this honourable ending of of a sore trial. In acquitting him the learned Sessions Judge, Mr. C. P Beachcroft, showed of what stuff a British judicial officer worth the name is made, and he has done more than any other man in recent years to rehabilitate the fast-waning confidence of increasing numbers of our countrymen in the administration of criminal justice.

XI.

We thank His Honour Sir John Hewett for appointing an Indian lawyer as the officiating Judicial Commissioner of Oudh, and we congratulate him—for clearly the circumstances call for congratulations to him and not to the gentleman appointed—on having been able to persuade the Honourable . Rai Bahadur Pandit Sundar Lal, C. I. E., to accept the office.

Similarly, thanks and congratulations are due to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces for the appointment of an Indian, our honoured countryman, Sir Bepin Krishna Bose, Kt., C. I. E., as Additional Judicial Commissioner of the Central Provinces.

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CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS AND COMMENTS.

N. B.—The contributions under the heading refer to matters previously treated in the *Hindustan Review*. Criticism of any article will, as a rule, be limited to a single issue The discussion ends with a reply from the original writer.—Ed.

(*a*)—Special Mohammedan Electorates.

In the April number of the *Hindustan Review*, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani subjects the demands of the Muslim League to a very searching analysis. His arguments are unanswerable. The political power in the land had been wrested from the hands of the Moghul before British rule began. This is a simple fact of history. Mr. Chintamani quotes unimpeachable testimony to the effect that in all the details of their daily life there is little difference between the Hindu and the Mahomedan even in the Punjab. The passages cited from Sir John Strachey and Sir Denzil Ibbetson on this point, are conclusive. From an argumentative point of view, Mr. Chintamani has totally demolished the airy fabric of the Muslim League. Nevertheless, we doubt whether a responsible publicist like Mr. Chintamani would, if he were consulted, advise Government to ignore the demands of the League. The initial mistake was committed, we are sorry to say, by the leaders of the Anti-Partition movement when they declared that one of their objections to the Partition was that it placed the Hindus in a minority in the new Province. If Lord Curzon had intended it, he at least said nothing about it, and leaders claiming to be nationalists should never have set it up as an argument. The immediate effect was that Mahomedan opinion which till then, had been indifferent, if not hostile, to the Partition, became unsettled. Sir Bampfylde Fuller, casting about for some means of supporting his authority, took prompt advantage of the cleavage and succeeded in organizing a considerable body of Mahomedan sentiment in East Bengal against the Hindus, who favoured the Anti-Partition movement. There is no use ignoring facts, and the fact was that Sir Bampfylde Fuller's tactics were so successful that the Government of India were glad, when an opportunity came, to accept his resignation and free the country from his embarrassing presence. It was at this juncture that the Deputation of the Muslim League waited on the Viceroy at Simla. Sir Bampfylde Fuller's parting words, warning the Mahomedans against Government as well as the Indian leaders, were ringing through the country. The occasion was extremely critical. It was not a time for argument. Lord Minto had before him the alternative of claiming the confidence of Mahomedans by conceding the principle of separate representation or of allowing a dangerous agitation to continue with a dismissed Lieutenant-Governor for its central figure. We see that the *Indu Prakash* calls Lord Minto's concession a blunder. It might be so, only it would have been a greater blunder to have withheld the concession. And, as the Hon. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar reminded us the other day, politics is often a choice between two blunders. After all, the test of statesmanship

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is not logical accuracy but the power to keep the course of affairs well within the control of its policy. We do not mean to say that His Excellency had not many other reasons in his mind in justification of his promise.

That the Viceroy should go back on his pledge, is, of course, not to be thought of. Any scheme of reform for which Lord Minto may be responsible, must, it is thus clear, include a measure of special electorates. And no one whose judgment is of any value, believes that, but for the strong backing-up from His Excellency, Lord Morley, with all his great prestige and power, would have been able to make the reforms as broad and far-reaching as they are. Those who hold that it is much better not to have any reforms than have them beset with this condition, are consistent in their view, but that is not the view taken by the country as a whole, excepting Bengal and a section in the Punjab. And, after all, the very arguments used to show that Mahomedans have no separate interests from other Indians are themselves arguments against the exaggerated fears expressed in some quarters in regard to the results of special electorates for Mahomedans. Believing as we do that the interests of Mahomedans are substantially identical with those of Hindus in all secular matters, we are convinced that, even if the first batch of elected Mahomedans show a tendency to cast their votes against the Hindu members as such, the second or third batch will not be able continuously to pursue such a policy. In all matters affecting the immediate material condition of the population, the Mahomedan members must side with the non-Mahomedans. Our chief fear is as regards their attitude in matters which concern the more abstract principles of progress. Mahomedan members must vote with other Indian members on such matters as taxation, administration and so on. What will be their attitude when such principles as the liberty of the press and the freedom of public meeting, are before the Councils? But even in such matters, the position, if not better, will not, at any rate, be far different from what it is now. Even now the surest safeguard of these liberties is not to be found in the Indian Councils but in Bristish—in which term we include also Anglo-Indian—statesmanship and in British public opinion. These will continue to operate, even though the official extremists be able to claim the consensus of Mahomedan opinion in favour of repression. All things considered, and notwithstanding the weight of argument on the other side, we are of opinion that separate electorates to the extent and in the manner mentioned in the telegram which Mr. Hobhouse quoted in the House of Commons from His Excellency the Viceroy, are not likely to affect seriously the future of India's national development. We think we may and ought to accept them without any misgivings, in the hope that the experience of the next few years will totally dispel the fears professed by the Muslim League and enable Government to dispense with such electorates. The subject, as we have said, is no longer one for argument.

So much for the non-Moslems' apprehensions about the practical effects of special electorates. We notice, however, that the Mahomedan press has lost its head quite superfluously over Mr. Hobhouse's announcement of the views of the Government of India. The telegram of the 12th April from His

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Excellency the Viceroy, which the late Under-Secretary of State for India read before the Committee of the House of Commons said that the method proposed was simply that in general electorates, like that of Municipalities and District Boards and for membership of the Provincial Councils, all sects and classes should vote together. This would give Mahomedans some, but insufficient representation. In addition to this a certain number of places would be reserved for Mahomedans, which the latter alone would have a voice in filling. These might be filled by simple election, or by election by association, or electoral colleges, or nomination, as the circumstances of the different Provinces required. For a telegraphic summary of a telegram, that, we think, is remarkably free from obscurity or ambiguity. Read in the light of Mr. Buchanan's observations in moving the second reading of the Bill, there is absolutely no excuse for misunderstanding the meaning of the telegram. After explaining that the suggestion about electoral Colleges had to be dropped owing to the opposition from Mahomedans, the Under-Secretary of State added: "We have, therefore, fallen back on the proposals of the Government of India, with the result that Mahomedan representation, would be obtained in different ways from the different provinces—in some provinces, by a system of Mahomedan eletorates specially constructed, in other cases by asking Mahomedan Associations to name representatives, in others, at any rate for the time, by nomination." This is precisely what the Government of India said in their despatch of the 1st October. After summarising the views of Local Governments, they went on to say: "Our view is that in provinces where election by a regular Mahommadan electorate is feasible, that method should be adopted; that Mahommadan Associations should be made use of where electorates cannot be formed; and that nomination by Government should be resorted to where neither of the first two methods is practicable." This again is perfectly consistent with the actual words of His Excellency the Viceroy in reply to the famous deputation of the Muslim League three years ago. We have more than once quoted them, but they will bear repetition.

"Please do not misunderstand me," said His Excellency. "I make no attempt to indicate by what means the representation of communities can be obtained, but I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of the continent."

It seems that the point which causes most anxiety to the spokesmen of the Muslim League, arises from the fact that the general electorates will include voters and choose members following the Islamic as well as other religions. Lord Morley, in his despatch of the 27th November, suggested that if Mahomedans were to be given special electorates, with a definite proportion of the seats on the Councils, without taking them out of the general territorial electorates, "they would evidently have a double vote, and that would probably be resented by other classes of the population." As the Government of India have not denied the force of this argument

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and do not propose to refuse access to the general electorates to Mahomedans, the obvious inference is that they do not intend the total number of Mahomedan members, that may be fixed upon for any Council, to be elected by the special electorates. The Government of India's despatch fixes the number to be elected by special Mahomedan electorates. There is, therefore, no basis for the suggestion that the general electorate will be able to put the special electorates out of office by electing all the members. Our own belief is that there is under the proposed system a greater chance of the number of Mahomedan members in the Councils being in excess of the numerical and political importance of the community than of its being otherwise. And what is more, we expect that the most capable and broad-minded Mahomedans will find their way into the Councils through the general electorates. Mr. Syed Ali Imam, if he cares, as he probably will, to stand for a general electorate, will certainly be returned by it. Madras will most certainly return the Nawab, who has borne himself so consistently throughout as her representative in the Viceroy's Legislative Council. The Hon. Mr. Ibrahim Rahimutulla in Bombay, will not find a general electorate less ready to recognise his many merits and public services than any sectional electorate that may be devised. The special Mahomedan electorates will, by and by, become the monopoly of men of the type of the Nawab of Dacca, Mr. Rafiuddin Ahmed, and Nawab Mahomed Raza Khan of Madras. Earl Percy made a very shrewd remark in his speech on the second reading of the India Council's Bill in the House of Commons. "The Mahomedans," said His Lordship, "asked for a separate register of their own, and the Secretary of State endorsed the demand. If Mahomedans are to be elected directly to the Legislative Councils and Hindus are to be elected indirectly by the Municipal Councils, the result will be that the Mahomedans on the Legislative Councils will be at a disadvantage in the matter of experience as compared with their Hindu colleagues." That is carrying the issue to a deeper point than the Muslim League is able to appreciate at present. But the argument is one of very great force, and one which must force itself on the attention of the Muslim League at no distant date and, perhaps, awaken it to the advantages of purely territorial electorates.—The *Indian Social Reformer*.

(*b*)—Mr. Havell on Indian Art.

In the April number of the *Hindustan Review* there appears from the pen of Mr. E. B. Havell, a powerful indictment of the attitude which our English Government has adopted towards the expiring remnants of Indian architectural skill. Mr. Havell prefaces his attack with a reminder that a short time ago, Lord Morley had, from his seat in the House of Commons, declared that if any one with experience of Indian affairs would lay his finger on any specific defect in the working of governmental machinery he would exert all his power to remove it. Mr. Havell then states that for many years he has been trying to convince officialism of shortcomings "which play a not unimportant part in the growing dissatisfaction and discontent in India," and proceeds to discuss them with regard to architecture and art

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in general. We can agree with all the charges which Mr. Havell subsequently brings forward, but it is surely rather an absurd stretching of a point to attribute any of the unrest to neglect of Indian artistic merit. We feel sure that the crowds which nightly gathered on the Madras beach to cheer the bloodcurdling denunciations of Bepin Chandra Pal, never glanced aside at the Chepauk tower in its scaffolding, to stimulate their wrath with the thought that an English architect was at work defacing a beautiful piece of Indian architecture. It must be admitted that Mr. Havell mentions what he considers a concrete case, when he himself nearly came in for rough treatment from weavers whose system of weaving he was trying to improve, because they thought he was the agent of an administration which recognized as industry only the factories of capitalists who were ruining their hand-weaving trade. Of course it is always possible for an agitator to work up the feelings of a crowd by misrepresentation, but over-taxation and vexatious exactions are far more potent weapons than mill competition with village industry. We cannot believe that the neglected goddess of Indian art will ever find a niche in the temple of sedition. Bizarre arguments of this sort must weaken the main contention. However we have no doubt that Mr. Havell is right in his main contention, and that insufficient attention is paid to the artistic skill which is dormant but dying in India. The architects of the P. W. D. whom we have scattered over the country have not availed themselves of the assistance, which in many cases must have been at hand, of men versed in the hereditary lore of stone decoration, wood-carving, and other crafts which helped to build the stone and marble glories of mediæval India. We do not for one moment reproach the individual, but we do reproach the system. The system consists of running the Public Works Department on lines of modern commercialism and its attendant economies, although Mr. Havell denies the economy, and the individual is too hard-worked and harassed with routine to go out of his way to get inspiration and local colour for his designs. Mr. Havell states that local traditions and indigenous art still live, though in their decay. Thirty or forty years ago James Fergusson wrote that he had imbibed more from the great master-builders of India of the true principles of architecture as practised by the great master-builders of Europe, than he had learnt from all the books he had read, and Mr. Havell himself states that in his opinion "India could still rival great architectural triumphs of the past, if the cruel and senseless official boycott which our administrative system imposes upon her master-builders were removed." Even Lord Curzon, whose work in preserving architectural monuments, is warmly eulogised, is accused of having done nothing to revive true Indian architecture, but only of having tried to raise the standard of Anglo-Indian architecture by building imitation Rhine castle at Simla.—The *Madras Times*.

(c)—The Arya Samaj and the Government.

The cry is still they come. The Arya Samaj *is* a political body. Why, "because we think so" is the answer that is invariably given by these self-styled judges of the Arya Samaj. The Arya Samaj denies the charge that it has anything to do with the current politics and yet the charge is reiterated that it is. The special correspondent of the *Times* sent from Meerut a letter

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to that paper in which he has given some space to the Arya Samaj. That letter has now been received in India. We have reproduced elsewhere that portion of the letter which concerns the Arya Samaj. The special correspondent of the *Times* has, the reader will find, tried to throw dust into the eyes of others. He has promised to write in detail about our movement after he has been to Panjab because it is the Land of the Five Rivers where the Arya Samaj exerts the greatest influence. That letter has also been published but is not to hand yet. However, we hope to publish it in our next. We will review both the letters in our next In the meantime, we would draw the serious attention of the reader to the editorial note that we have reproduced elsewhere from that excellent periodical, the *Hindustan Review*. Mr. Sachhidananda Sinha, Bar-at-Law, the talented editor of the *Hindustan Review*, is one of our leading public men and as such, possesses the means of knowing the real aim and object the Arya Samaj which are not at the disposal of the correspondent of the *Times*, even though he be a special correspondent. Mr. Sinha declares, in no equivocal terms, that the Government is committing great indiscretion in regarding the Arya Samaj with the eye of suspicion. Then, Mr. Sinha is no firebrand. He is moderate in views and hence can take a calm and dispassionate view of the whole situation. His words must carry weight with the Government. But will they? The past experience answers that question in the negative.—The *Arya Patrika*.

Our Last Issue.

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, the able editor of the *Hindustan Review*, is to be congratulated on the excellent April number of his review, which is far and away the best of its kind published in this country. The political articles dealing with the burning question of the position of Moslems under the Reform Scheme are full of powerful criticism and reflect the better mind of reformers, Hindu and Moslem, who realise the disadvantage of recognising purely racial and religious differences in any electoral scheme. Mr. E. B. Havell puts in a strong plea for Government exerting itself to give an impetus to the revival of Indian Art and Craft by organisation, by educational means and by the reform of the Public Works system. The articles on literary and historical subjects are ably written. A feature of the present issue is a review of the progress of the English Press in India, which is at once sympathetic in tone and discriminating in criticism.—The *Indian Daily News*.

We must thank the *Hindustan Review* for a most liberal appreciation of the value of our criticisms. There is an article in the current number, on the English Press in India during the past year which is divided into fifteen sections. The first seven are devoted to interesting notices about individual journals of the Bengal press. The eighth is on the Indo-English dailies of Bengal, and a note from the *Madras Times* recording its opinion of Babu Surendranath Banerjea is quoted in full. It also records our opinion of the *Hindoo Patriot* and the *Indian Mirror*. In section IX on Indo-English weeklies our appreciation of the *Indian Nation* is published with

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this added commentary " praise from the *Madras Times* is praise indeed." In section XI on Bombay papers, our opinion of *The Mahratta* is given at some length. Section XV is devoted to the Anglo-Indian dailies of this Presidency, and here indeed we figure largely over three pages and are given this significant recommendation : " The *Madras Times* should be read by all Indian publicists and public men who desire to keep themselves in touch with the views and sentiments of that (we fear) large section of the Anglo-Indian public which is frankly illiberal and reactionary." We can express our hopes that this advice will be followed. Our worthy contemporary of the Beach is then dealt with in a few lines, the last sentence of which is " may it always adhere to its present policy." Though perhaps it is not patriotic to say it, in this pious prayer we most cordially and unreservedly join.—The *Madras Times*.

The *Hindustan Review* for April is rather a wealthy number and its contents range over quite a large variety of interesting topics. Perhaps the most interesting to journalists is the article on " The English Press in India in 1907-08" in which all the weeklies and dailies are passed under review with friendly but discriminating criticism. The *Hindustan Review* is always kept well up to mark.—*Capital.*

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THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I.—"*I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard.*" (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Liberator*).

MOTTO II.—"Minds may doubt and hearts may fail, when called to face new modes of thought or points of view; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange." (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation*).

OUR representative at the last session of the Kayastha Conference has sent us the following detailed report of the proceedings of that body :—

The Kayastha Conference.

The twentieth Session of the Kayastha Conference was held at Allahabad during the last Easter holidays. About 100 delegates and visitors from outside Allahabad attended the Conference ; most of these gentlemen were accommodated in the Kayastha Pathshala school and Boarding house buildings. Every arrangement was made for the comfort of the visitors and the Honorary Secretaries, Munshi Gulzari Lal and Dr. D. R. Ranjit Singh are to be congratulated on the excellence of the arrangements connected with the Conference. Chaudhri Babu Mahadeo Prasad, Rais, entertained the delegates as his guests. The number of local delegates was about 200.

At all the three sittings of the Conference the Mayo Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity, about 1,500 persons being present. The meetings were very orderly and great enthusiasm prevailed throughout. Among the distinguished visitors were the Hon'ble Sir George Knox, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Aikman, Mr. K. Rustomji, District Judge, Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, Collector, Mr. C. Moore, Joint Magistrate, Mr. G. B. Muniford, Municipal Chairman, the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Pandit Sunder Lal, C. I. E., and Mr. Charu Chandar Mitra. On the 10th April 1909 the proceedings opened about noon. Munshi Govind Prasad, M. A., Vakil, High Court, President of the Reception Committee, in a short speech welcomed the delegates to the sacred city of Prayag and exhorted them to be practical in all their deliberations and to give their first consideration to the Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad.

Munshi Gulzari Lal, Vakil, High Court, then read out the report of the working of the Reception Committee. It was quite clear from his report that the real reason why the sittings of the Conference were not held in the Kayastha Pathshala premises was that when the question of inviting the Conference to Allahabad arose in 1907, the body of trustees of the Pathshala decided that *only* the Educational Conference could be held within the Pathshala grounds. In other words, that—as alleged by the *Hindustan Review*—they deliberately tabooed the Social Conference and not having the courage to say so, freely resorted to "expedient untruth."

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The election of Munshi Narsingh Prasad, M. A., Rais and Government Pleader as President of the Conference was then proposed by Mr. Gokhul Prasad, M. A., President of the Pathshala and seconded by Rai Bahadur Babu Ram Saran Das and the proposition was carried unanimously.

The President then delivered in the vernacular his address, which covered no less than 34 large-sized sheets of closely printed matter. He read out the address in a loud, sonorous voice and the audience followed the speech--inordinately long as it was—with close attention. Apart from the subject-matter, the address had about it a literary flavour and like a typical Kayastha's performance, was interlarded with Persian and Hindustani couplets. The speech, as it deserved to be, was very appreciatively received, alike for its manner and matter. It is not possible, in the space at our disposal, to present anything like an adequate summary of the President's address, nor is it desirable to compress it into a mere bald statement, which would be doing injustice. The President dealt with all the burning topics of the day—educational and social —in the Kayastha Community. He urged strongly the desirability of improving and raising the status of the Kayastha Pathshala and of imparting to Kayastha young men technical education. He pointed out in emphatic language the defects in the management of the Pathshala, which, it is to be hoped, the authorities of that institution will take to heart. He then ably discussed the many social reform problems—such as sea-voyage movement, and inter-dining and inter-marriage among the various sub-sections of the Kayastha community. He put in a strong and effective plea for greater sympathy and cohesion between the Bengalee and the Hindustani sections of the Kayastha communities. Altogether, the speech was conceived in a broad and liberal spirit and was certainly an exposition of advanced views, on the whole. There can be no doubt that much of the success of the Conference was due to the influence and the conduct in the chair of the President and those who brought about his election may well feel proud of their work, while those "patriotic" gentlemen, who even after Babu Narsingh Prasad's formal election by the Reception Committee, tried to work mischief by offering the presidential chair to Tom, Dick and Harry might well be left to repent of their folly.

The proceeding then closed after the election of members of the Subjects Committee.

The Subjects Committee met that very evening in the Kayastha Pathshala. Dr. Lakhshmi Narain moved that our first resolution should be that social matters be completely excluded from the programme of the Conference in future. This was strongly opposed by Munshi Gulzari Lal. Votes had to be taken and it was decided to put the resolution before the Conference.

On the 11th April 1909 the proceedings opened at 11·30. Report of the Education Committee was read during the course of the proceedings by B. Sohan Lal, B. A., and adopted.

Dr. Lakshmi Narain moved the first resolution as to the complete exclusion of social matters from the scope of the Conference. There was a hot discussion on the subject. Munshi Iswar Saran moved an amendment that the name Kayastha Educational Conference was a misnomer and the old name Kayastha Conference should be revived so as to leave no doubt that social

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matters are as much part of the programme as education. The resolution was ultimately withdrawn by the mover, Dr. Lakshmi Narain, the result being that the constitution of the Kayastha Educational Conference remained what it was decided to be at the last Conference held at Aligarh.

The Educational Committee of the Conference was then reconstituted, Dr. Lakshmi Narain, Barrister-at-law, being its President, Guzari Lal, B. A., Vakil, High Court, its Secretary, and Munshi Kamta Prasad Dana of Gwaliar, Joint Secretary.

As requested by Kayastha Pathshala body of trustees a large number of persons were then nominated as the members of the Deputation Committee for collecting funds for the Kayastha Pathshala.

A very forcible and earnest appeal was then made for funds in order to raise the Kayastha Pathshala to the position of a first grade College and to meet other requirements. Dr. Lakshmi Narain, Pande Ram Saran Lal, Munshi Iswar Saran and Babu Shyam Kishore spoke with utmost vehemence. The whole audience was moved into tears and responded to the call in a very whole-hearted manner. A letter from Chaudhri Mahadeo Prasad Rais of Allahabad, was read by his son-in-law, Babu Bishambhar Nath Singh, to the effect that the Chaudhri Sahib promised to contribute one lakh or property yielding an income of Rs. 5,000 a year, if within a year or two the Kayastha public was able to raise a sum of 3 lakhs. Babu Bishambhar Prasad explained that the condition attached to the generous offer was imposed by the donor only to stimulate exertion and that we may expect to get the amount at no distant date. The other donations promised or paid amounted to Rs. 32,421-7-6 out of which about Rs. 28,014-15-0 was received in cash, the largest sum promised without any condition was that of Rs. 10,000 which B. Kesri Narain Chand of Gorakhpore undertook to collect for the Pathshala. Even the students of the Pathshala came forward with their offers of help. One poor scholarship-holder offered to collect Rs. 50 for the Pathshala during the next long vacation and stated that if he did not succeed in doing so he would raise that amount by the sale of clothes and things. Pandit Suraj Nath Agu, who was among the distinguished visitors and who took a very keen interest in the proceedings, offered Rs. 100 for the Pathshala. For more than two hours the hall resounded with cheers and loud applause as each donation was announced by the President. The proceedings lasted till it was quite dark inside the Hall and the President had a hard days work to do in announcing the numerous donations and promises as they kept pouring in. The large and beautiful water-colour portrait of Munshi Kali Prasad prepared at the request of the Reception Committee by Babu Raghobar Dyal, Kayastha Artist of Aligarh, which was hung up at the head of the dais helped considerably in giving point to the speeches of different speakers and in rousing enthusiasm in the hearts of the vast audience assembled on this occasion. Our best thanks are due to Babu Raghobar Dayal for his artistic performance.

An inter-dinner was held in the evening of the 11th April at the house of Munshi Govind Prasad Sahib, M., A., Vakil, High Court. About 100

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Kayasthas belonging to different sub-sections sat down to eat *Kacha Khana* in right orthodox style. On the whole, the function was a great success.

On the 12th April the Conference passed a formal resolution thanking Chaudhri Mahadeo Prasad for his generous offer.

Munshi Kamta Pershad Dana's scheme of *Muthi-ata*-fund under which doles of flour were to be received as charity from each household and the proceeds applied to communal objects, was unanimously accepted.

Resolutions were then passed impressing the need of female education among the Kayasthas and calling the attention of the Kayasthas in general and of the Kayastha Pathshala authorities in particular towards the introduction of commercial and technical education. Another resolution approving of sea-voyage was also passed.

A lengthy report of the work of the Social Reform Committee was then read by M. Ganga Prasad of Mainpuri.

The proceedings at this stage were getting rather dull when some of the delegates put before the President a resolution which had not been put in the agenda by the subject committee, *viz.*, that intermarriage between the different sub-sections of the community be sanctioned by the Conference. The President allowed the resolution to be put before the Conference. Then followed a very interesting and enthusiastic discussion. The most remarkable was the spech of Babu Kedar Nath of Allahabad who denounced in unmeasured terms the introduction of intermarriage between members of different sub-sections of the community. He looked forward with horror upon a union between one who was orthodox and with one who freely partook of fowl eggs ("murga, murgi anda") and other objectionable food. He argued that under the sacred texts of the Hindus the issue of such marriage would necessarily be "Baran-Sankar." Babu Jswar Saran and others met these and other objections by very powerful arguments but the most humorous reply was that given by Mr. Ram Dyal Fuller of Aligarh, who expressed his surprise why those who in spite of being orthodox freely ate the flesh of goat and sheep and a great variety of birds and fish should object to fowl and eggs. The resolution was passed almost unanimously. This may be considered a great achievement of the last Conference and were it not for the cool courage displayed by the President, Munshi Narsingh Prasad, this resolution would never have been brought forward and passed.

Just when the intermarriage question was being hotly discussed, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale who happened to be passing through Allahabad came to visit the Conference. He received a most enthusiastic ovation as he was led up to the Dais At the earnest request of the audience Mr. Gokhale said a few words as to the usefulness of caste conferences as helpers in the cause of general natural progress.

Some prizes awarded by Munshi Bhagat Bihari Lal of Rampur were given away by the President to students who competed in Sanskrit recitation, sports and English speaking.

As to where the next Conference was to be held it was resolved that the matter was to be decided after further consideration.

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Thus ended the 20th session of the Conference which was a marked and distinct success from every point of view. In conclusion we offer our congratulations to those earnest men who worked strenuously to make the Conference a success—particularly to Munshi Gobind Prasad and Munshi Gulzari Lal, the President and Secretary, respectively, of the Reception Committee, as also to Babu Iswar Saran whose energy and eloquence materially contributed to the notable success of the last session of the Conference.

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Hindustani and Bengalee Kayasthas.

We have much pleasure in publishing the following communication sent to us by Mr. Iswar Saran :—

The Kayastha Conference held this year during Easter was a great success. The efforts of the reactionaries to exclude questions of social reform from the programme of the Conference completely failed and it is to be hoped that they will not attempt to repeat their dubious tactics in future. You can form some idea of the attitude of the community towards questions of social reform, when you find that the Conference not only enthusiastically reaffirmed the resolution about foreign travel but passed by an overwhelming majority the resolution advocating inter-marriage between the various sub-sections of the Kayastha community. The predictions that the resolution about inter-marriage would wreck the Conference proved to be utterly false and the Conference by its bold and timely action has justified its existence in the eyes of all right-thinking men. The various sub-sections have begun inter-dining in an open and recognized fashion and is it really too much to hope that inter-marriage too will soon become an accomplished fact? It is for the educated men to come forward, in spite of the doubts and fears of the "old ladies" of both sexes, to give practical proof of their devotion to the cause of social reform and progress.

But in my humble opinion there is a larger question than these which awaits solution. Are the Bengali Kayasthas different in origin from the other Kayasthas in the country? Are they not branches of the same parent-stock? It is gratifying to observe that the able President of the Conference in his inaugural address clearly said that the Bengali Kayasthas formed a part and parcel of the community to which we all belong. He was further of opinion that there was no valid reason why they should not be recognised as such by the Hindustani Kayasthas. The question, I admit, is by no means easy of solution. We have become so different in language, manners and customs that it has come to be generally assumed that we belong to two separate communities. Much labour will be needed to bring about a change in the opinions that are generally held at the present day—of course inter-dining and inter-marriage will take some time to come. But the difficulty of the question should not deter us. That will be a glorious day indeed when the Kayastha community all over the country will be thoroughly united.

I venture to make an appeal to such of the Hindustani and the Bengali Kayasthas as have the necessary ability and leisure to take up this question in right earnest. It has first of all to be impressed on us that both are branches

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of the same parent-stock. The question will have to be studied and the conclusions placed before the public. I have no doubt that the editor of the *Hindustan Review* will allow space in this periodical for the discussion and elucidation of these facts. I shall also take the liberty of suggesting that some of those gentlemen in Bengal who really feel that the two branches ought to be united should make it a point to attend the sittings of our next Conference. There may be temporary checks and rebuffs but we should be prepared for them. The prospect in the beginning may seem gloomy but persistent efforts are bound to bring about the desired results.

I may in this connection be permitted to observe that the Kayastha community in Upper India is a progressive community. If you proceed with tact and skill, it is my settled conviction, that you can make it accept many wholesome reforms. There are so many educated men in our community here as well as in Bengal that it will be sad, very sad indeed, if our joint efforts cannot successfully grapple with this question.

The Behar Provincial Conference.

The inaugural address delivered by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha at the second session of the Behar Provincial Conference held during the last Easter holidays, at Bhagalpur, has been very widely noticed in the press of the country. We reproduce below some short extracts from many of the representative organs of public opinion—Indian and Anglo-Indian—which noticed the speech and the proceedings of the Conference over which Mr. Sinha presided :—

The session of the Behar Provincial Conference, held at Bhagalpur last week, is notable chiefly for the "Compromise" on the Hindu-Moslem question. The outcome of the Hindu-Moslem *entente* promoted by the organisers of the Bhagalpore Confrence is eminently creditable to both communities. Mr. S. Sinha in his able presidential address pleaded eloquently for the compromise as vital to the success of the reforms. The essence of the scheme, which, by the way, has been supported by Mr. Gokhale and the Moslem-Hindu opinion reflected at the Behar Provincial Conference, is that a substantial minimum of seats should be thrown open to election on a territorial basis, in which all qualified voters can take part, whithout distinction of race or creed. Thereafter, supplementary elections confined to special electorates representing minorities are to be held for the exclusive benefit of such minorities. As Mr. Gokhale admirably puts it: "The great advantage of this plan is that it provides for composite action by all communities up to a certain point, and then it prevents injustice, in practical operation, to minorities by giving them special supplementary electorates of their own."—The *Indian Daily News*. (Calcutta.)

The inaugural address was delivered from the chair by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, the accomplished editor of the *Hindustan Review*. The address was full of interest from beginning to end and breathed throughout a broad

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and liberal spirit. Mr. Sinha went on to speak of the education question which he touched in an illuminating manner. Mr. Sinha's address is well worthy of a careful perusal by all interested in the topics he has discussed.—*Capital.* (Calcutta.)

The address delivered by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, editor of the *Hindustan Review*, from the presidential chair of the Behar Provincial Conference, especially that part of it which relates to Mahommedan representation, deserves to be widely read and inwardly digested by his educated countrymen. In point of moderation, catholicity of views, sobriety of thought, the address stands unrivalled. Mr. Sinha showed that co-operation between Hindus and Mahommedans is possible, and that for the future progress of India it is absolutely necessary that the two communities should work hand in hand.—The *Madras Times.*

The Behar Provincial Conference was presided over by a most cultured and public-spirited Beharee, Mr. S. Sinha, Bar-at-Law and editor of the *Hindustan Review*, who delivered a very able inaugural address in course of which he made a critical survey of current provincial and imperial topics. We may not agree with all his political views, but this we are bound to note, that his speech is characterised by sanity and breadth of view.—The *Indian Planter's Gazette.* (Calcutta.)

The compromise effected between Mr. Sinha and Mr. Ali Imam at the Behar Provincial Conference is a salutary one. Mr. Sinha and those who think with him and are endeavouring to act fairly to Mahomedans are almost certain to be denounced. Mr. Sinha has made a manly attempt to bridge the widening gulf between Hindus and Mahomedans and bring the two communities together, in the best interests of the country.—*The Indian Daily Telegraph.* (Lucknow.)

The Behar Provincial Conference appears to have had a most successful session under the presidency of Mr. Sinha, the well-known Barrister and editor of the *Hindustan Review.* It was a sober and well-reasoned speech which he delivered on the occasion. The President made an eloquent appeal for a compromise. This was the sense of the entire assembly. The Behar Conference is to be congratulated upon its most sensible course. We are at one with the Hon. Mr. Gokhale that the Behar Conference has set an example which, it may be hoped, will be followed by the rest of India. It is but natural that with such a cordial feeling, prevailing among the people of Behar, they brought the Conference to a most happy termination. The keynote was the cordiality which prevailed between the Hindus and the Mahomedans. It solved the much vexed question of Mahomedan representation in connection with the Reform Scheme, to the satisfaction of both parties. The credit of this achievement belongs to Mr. Sinha—the President of the Conference—the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, and Mr. Ali Imam—the President of the Moslem League. We are glad to see that the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's services in this connection have been appreciated by the Behari community. If the example of Behar is followed by the rest of India, we may see the unfortunate Hindu-Mahomedan controversies laid to rest for ever.—The *Indian Mirror.* (Calcutta.)

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The second session of the Behar Provincial Conference was held at Bhagalpore, during the Easter, presided over by the well-known publicist, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Bar-at-Law, and editor of the *Hindustan Review*. There is much that is of interest in connection with the proceedings of the Behar Conference.—The *Hindu*. (Madras.)

What will strike the reader as an important feature of the Behar Provincial Conference, which has just closed its sittings and which was presided over by Mr. Sinha of the Allahabad Bar, was the cordiality which prevailed between the Muhammadans and the Hindus.—The *Madras Standard*.

The happy compromise, at the Behar Conference, between Hindus and Mahomedans, was affected mainly by the efforts of a few well-meaning and serious-minded men on both sides. It was a compromise, and as such involved a little surrender on either side. Mr. Gokhale was there as the principle peace-maker, and there was Mr. Ali Imam representing the Mahomedan side aiming at the same end as Mr. Gokhale. A compromise was finally struck which while recognising the necessity in the best interests of the country of all classes without distinction of race or creed participating in the General Electorate, nevertheless declared it "essential in present circumstances to secure full and adequate representation for so important a minority as the Mahomedans by the creation of special Mahomedan electorates."—The *Indian Patriot*. (Madras.)

Among the several conferences that met in the different parts of the country during the Easter Holidays, not the least notable, was the session of the Second Behar Provincial Conference that met at Bhagalpore, under the presidency of Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Bar-at-law, the well-known editor of the *Hindustan Review*. Mr. Sinha has been the most prominent publicist and Congressman in Behar and his selection to the presidential chair of the Provincial Conference was in every way a happy choice. And the address Mr. Sinha delivered in the capacity of the president of the Conference is notable alike for its literary felicity, and the comprehensiveness of its review of the present situation. It is also pervaded by a feeling of philosophic detachment and freedom from the strife and the squabbles of the hour. The whole speech is couched in a spirit of compromise and conceived with the laudable desire to foster the cause of unity between the different communities That it is a very able performance admits of no doubt; Mr. Sinha has discussed several public questions of pressing importance to his province as well as to the whole country in the manner a competant and genuine Congressman should have done, and has thereby rendered a no mean public service.—The *Tribune*. (Lahore.)

Mr. Sinha made some well-considered and thoughtful observations on the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission and on the Reform Scheme. Mr. Sinha discussed with excellent judgment and propriety the question of Hindu-Mahomedan claims. He spoke out frankly. There are few people in the position of leaders of public opinion who speak out in a matter of this kind, and we are, therefore, specially glad that Mr. Sinha, who has within a few years made a conspicuous place for himself in Indian public life, has made such a weighty pronouncement. The *Indian Social Reformer*. (Bombay.)

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The Behar Conference, at Bhagalpur under the presidency of our friend Mr. S. Sinha, well-known as the editor of the *Hindustan Review*, sought to harmonise the relations between the two communities, Hindu and Mahomedan. It must be said to the credit of Behar that Hindus and Mahomedans have, unlike other provinces, worked shoulder-to-shoulder for the political welfare of their province. It was not long ago that the leaders of both communities came together to voice their common grievances before the Lieutenant-Governor. That Mr. Ali Imam, of the Moslem League, and Mr. S. Sinha, of the National Congress, should meet on one common platform and discuss and agree as to one of the most contentious details of the Reform Scheme, does really speak volumes of the good feeling existing between the two communities and of the restraint mutually imposed upon each other not only to retain but advance the harmonious relations.—The *Advocate*. (Lucknow.)

The manner in which our Beharee brethern held their last Provincial Confernce at Bhagalpur goes to show that when different communities or people of different shades of opinion are earnestly bent upon mutual co-operation and harmonious work they can make up their difference by coming to a compromise without any material sacrifice of principle on any side. The gathering at Bhagalpur was rather a unique one. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha in his elaborate presidential address has exclusively shown the necessity of class representation for the Mahomedan community. By making a solution of the problem Behar has set an example to her sister provinces and it would be well if the example were readily followed.—*The Mussalman*. (Calcutta.)

That such prominent Hindus as the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C. I. E., Mr. S. Sinha and others do not take a gloomy view of the situation and in the present state of public feeling in the country, have cordially supported the Mohamedans, ought to disarm the growing spirit of ill-well towards the latter, whose stake in the country is as great and as prominent as those of any other section of the community.—The *Muslim Herald*. Bazarbandi.

The speech of Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha at the Behar Provincial Conference was in every way admirable. Mr. Sinha's speech deserves broadcast repetition as oil on troubled waters.—*The Parsi*. (Bombay.)

During the last few days two important conferences have been held, one at Agra under the presidency of Babu Ganga Prasad Varma, of Lucknow, and another at Bhagalpore, under the presidency of Mr. Sinha, editor of the *Hindustan Review*. Mr. Sinha and Mr. Varma are both representative journalists well-equipped in all public questions and with an excellent record of patriotic service to their credit. They represent the most reasonable and cultured school of politics and as such their views must command the respect and attention they so richly deserve.—The *Wednesday Review*. (Trichinoply.)

So long as Hindus and Mahomedans are at cross purposes they will be playing the game of those who do not wish well either to Hindus or to Mahomedans. This was realised in some measure at the Behar Conference. Let Hindus and Mahomedans unite and confouud their enemies.—*The Indian People*. (Allahabad.)

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At Bhagalpur we took the golden middle part. While we do not ignore the differences which exist among us we have sought by a system of double representation to bind the majority and the minority together. This was adumberated in the masterly speech by which Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha inaugurated the proceedings and the thunder of applause which greeted this portion of Mr. Sinha's great speech showed that the president and the delegates were of one mind in this matter. But all the same we all felt that the Conference would stand or fall by the tact and wisdom it would bring to bear upon this question and at one time there was no small danger that the extremist wing of either party would get out of control and wreck the Conference on this all-important question. But though Behar has at one time been called the Bœtia of India, no one can now twit us with being lax or backward in political wisdom.—The *Kayastha Messenger*. (Gaya.)

Mr. Jagan Nath Sahai.

Mr. Jagan Nath Sahai of Arrah, in the province of Behar, who had been to Japan in 1905 to study textile industry, has just returned home after a four years' sojourn. He was accorded a hearty ovation at the Arrah Railway station and the student community gave him an address of welcome at a public meeting convened for the purpose. While in Japan Mr. Sahai had to go through a three years' training both in theoretical and practical subjects. Before joining the higher technological institution, he worked in a weaving factory at Hongo. He was also an apprentice in the Fuji Spinning and Weaving Mill towards the close of his first year. At the end of the second year he joined the Yoyoda's Loom Works at Nagoya and the sizing department at Atsuta.

After graduating Mr. Sahai worked for sometime in the Osaka Cotton Mill and the President of the Mill was much pleased with him and granted him a certificate. He has doubtless been an acquisition to Behar and the textile industry is sure to receive much encouragement at his hands. It is hoped he will pay more heed to the spinning and weaving industry, which has, for a pretty long time, been suffering from a steady decadence and which of all other industries deserves the first and foremost consideration.

In this connection, it may be noted that the Bhagalpur Tasar industry is at present in a much neglected condition and is still carried on in a haphazard and irregular way. There is much room for improvement provided the services of an expert are engaged to work it on modern and improved lines. We dare

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say, Mr. Jagan Nath Sahay's services will be most valuable in the interest of this important industry which lacks much in organisation and improvement. Mr. Sahai, despite his appointment elsewhere, will be very glad to lend his services in the interest of the Tasar industry, if the enterprising spirit of the monied classes is directed towards opening a factory at Bhagalpur on scientific and improved methods without dispensing with the handloom, other processes being carried on with steam power.

Mr. Ram Dayal "Fuller."

At the session of the Kayastha Conference held here in April last, an effective but most amusing speech was made on the question of inter-marriages by Mr. Ram Dayal "Fuller" of Aligarh. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* gives the following account of how he can be named after the first Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam :—

Sir B. Fuller has not left behind him in India anything good for which he should be remembered. But there was one incident in his life which perforce keeps his memory green at least at one place in India. He acted in his early career as Magistrate at Aligarh. A Kayastha zemindar of that city, who was very much attached to him, had a son born to him at the time. He approached Mr. Fuller with a request to name his son after him. The reason given was that by doing so he would never forget him. Sir B. Fuller readily consented and the new-born babe was named "Fuller Saheb." The then boy has now grown into a man and is known all over the country by this name.

A Popular Official.

A correspondent sends us the following :—

A very successful evening party was given on the 1st of May 1909, by the members of the Meerut bar to their popular Munsiff, Mr. Banke Behari Lal, on the eve of his transfer on promotion to Aligarh as Assistant Sessions Judge, in the open grounds of the Town Hall which was nicely decorated. There was a very large gather ing of officers, Barristers, Vakils and Raises to give him a cordial send-off. In bidding him a hearty farewell, Messrs. Abdul Qadir, Bar-at Law, Babu Lal, a leading Vakil and Ramanuj Dial, an Honorary Magistrate, expressed on behalf of the Bar and the public deep appreciation of his work and of invariable kindness and courtesy shown by him to all who came in contact with him. Mr. Banke Bihari, in his turn, replied in very suitable words and thanked them all for the assistance which he received from them.

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The Kayastha Pathshala.

The *Indian People* has the following remarks on the prize distribution held at the Pathshala in April last.

Within the last few days the Allahabad public have witnessed not only the ceremony of the distribution of prizes in the Kayastha Pathshala performed by the Hon. Mr. De. Lu Fosse, the Director of Public Instruction but also the annual sittings of the Kayastha Educational Conference in the Mayo Hall. This activity among the Kayasthas bodes some good and is full of promise and hope. The ridiculous social restriction which hampers the educated Hindus of all castes in all directions is a Hydra-headed monster to conquer which not only strength of mind but also patience is required. The line of least resistance is really the path most expedient to follow. Squabblings, brickerings, heart-burnings will be the result of a hasty move. Tact, caution and circumspection are needed. In every clime and in every age there are bound to be communities, which are more backward or more forward than others. It is for the backward communities to approach the forward ones with slow steady steps feeling every inch of ground and not to take long jumps to reach the forward ones. We are glad to note that resolutions of what may be called a revolutionary character did not find a place in the Socio-Educational Conference in the Kayasthas. Education is the key-note of success of individuals as well as of communities and our Kayastha brethren are doing well in attending to the educational needs of their community. The Kayastha Pathshala is making steady progress as we learn from the report read by Munshi Gokul Pershad, the President of the Kayastha Pathshala Committee, on the occasion of the recent prize distribution ceremony of that institution. We sincerely trust that the strenuous efforts of the members of the Kayastha community of raising of the Pathshala to a first class educational institution will be crowned with success. Let us hope that the brilliant example of Choudhri Mahadeo Pershad will not be lost upon the other well-to-do members of the community.

Female Education among Kayasthas.

We commend to our readers the following observations of the *Indian People*:—

The conference of the Kayasthas means principally to deal with the chief social disabilities of the community. Inter-dining or inter-marriage among the different sub-sects appears to be the *desideratum* for which many of the people are anxious; at least, the discussions in the Press that preceded the sittings of the Conference have led us so to think. Among the social disabilities of this community are many things which are grievances for communities, Kayastha and non-Kayastha alike. The social condition of the females, for example, is as much a thing to be improved among the Kayasthas as among any other non-Kayastha Hindus. Female education is not so much in advance among our Kayastha brethern as one could wish. This session of the Conference offered the best opportunity to our Kayastha friends to bring this matter to the front. In importance and urgency this

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subject yield to none that can possibly engage the attention of the delegates assembled. Indeed it has been truly said that the social condition of a community is to be judged by the way in which it provides for the improvement in the condition of its female members. In Allahabad at least a beginning ought to have been made by our Kayastha friends for an organised scheme for the teaching of the females. The Bengalee community in Allahabad, through the "Bengali society" took a census as to the number, condition, means, social position and education of the female members of the Bengalee community; and those of our friends who were present at the last Reunion of this community had an opportunity of witnessing in what way in one direction at least, that of providing work for its indigent female members, this community had made an advance. Many of our Kayastha friends who were there evinced great interest in what they saw the leaders of the community were doing in this direction. This community has a matured scheme of house to house teaching in the different wards in which it has divided the whole city But unfortunately for want of adequate funds it has not as yet been able to give much practical effect to its scheme. Cannot our Kayastha friends join in this scheme and bring it to success to the attainment of the best interests of both these communities? This is a kind of undertaking in which these two communities can have no difference of opinion. With the resources of both these communities combined in this respect, the leaders of both can form into a representative committee to carry on this grand work to success. The aspiration and aims of both these communities must be identical at least in this respect. The social intercourse brought about by such a combination as we have ventured to suggest, will be far-reaching in its effects, and when the members of each come to understand one another better in this way nothing but good can be the ultimate result to either. The Young Man's Christian Association could bring out even a Professor of Physical culture from America. It is a pity that important communities here have not been able to get together an efficient staff of female teachers even when the *Shastras* enjoin that the daughter like the boy ought to be reared and educated with all possible care and effort.

Tem[illegible]re *Statesman* has the following obser-
[illegible]as as Temperance Reform among Ka-
[illegible]has :—

[illegible]ct to the promoters of Temperance Reform in the
[illegible]t has been found possible, owing to the progress
[illegible]into one Report the proceedings of the two years,
[illegible]dquarters of the All-India Kayastha Temperance
[illegible]he Gwalior State, and its main work is the issue
[illegible]o safeguard and perpetuate that love of temper-
[illegible]mmunity regards as one of their most honourable
[illegible]cases of drunkenness are much less frequent
[illegible]that has been proposed to excom-
[illegible]ms to have met with general

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approval. An appeal for the necessary funds to carry on the work has elicited a generous response. Each year the Secretary takes a census of a number of families from the total abstinence point of view. During the years 1907 and 1908, the number of families reported on was 760, comprising 4,142 individuals. Of these 94 per cent. were returned as abstainers from *bhang*, 98 per cent. from opium, and 96 per cent. from alcohol. The occasions on which there has seemed to be a tendency to depart from their habitual sobriety on the part of some Kayaths have been marriages and religious festivals like the Holi; but it is hoped that this has been checked.

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